THE DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA

(EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD)

By

H. C. RAY, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.)

With a Foreword

By

L. D. BARNETT, M.A., Litt.D.

VOL I

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FOREWORD

"Histories," says Bacon, "make men wise." To read with understanding the record of men's strivings in the past for good and for evil, of the ambitions of individuals and the struggles of masses in their play and counter-play, is often saddening, but always helpful for the knowledge of the present. Most of the worst errors of society might be avoided if its leaders had knowledge of its past and power to use it. Even the driest bones of historical fact are precious: they reveal conditions and forces in the past which have still a significance for the present, for man changes little, and "bleibt stets von gleichem Schlag," even the most sweeping revolutions being unable to destroy the bonds which unite him to former generations.

Indian culture has produced singularly few works of genuine historiography; but it has preserved abundant materials for the historian in the form of inscriptions, literary data, and documents of various kinds. By judicious use of these, it is possible to construct a record of the political and social experiences of many centuries. The story is indeed very incomplete: great gaps yawn in many parts of it, and even where the facts are visible, the causes which brought them about are often obscure. But the main lines of Indian history are now certain, thanks to the patient and skilful labours of generations of scholars, and, in the present work, Dr. Ray has rendered a service of immense value by supplying a complete critical survey of them as they run through the North from the latter end of the classical period down to the beginnings of the modern era. He has not only collected all the relevant materials and arranged them in lucid connexion, but he has likewise

examined them in the spirit of judicious and constructive historiography, emending where possible their errors, discounting their exaggerations, and endeavouring to interpret obscurities by the light of sober sense. No such comprehensive work in the domain of Indian history has yet appeared, and Dr. Ray deserves credit as much for the boldness of his design as for the skill and industry with which he has executed t.

L. D. BARNETT.

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.
21-iv-30.

TO THE MEMORY

OF

ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

PREFACE

In the present work an attempt has been made to give an account of the dynasties that ruled in Northern India during the period of transition intervening between the decline of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire and the Muslim conquest. The history of Northern India between *c.* 916 and 1196 A.D. only very roughly covers the *period* of this transition. In my account of the dynasties I had often to go beyond these limits for the reason that the history of some of the dynasties began before 916 A.D., and in other cases some of them were not conquered by the Muslims till considerably after 1196 A.D As the work was really intended to bridge the gulf between the Hindu and the early Muslim (better called Turkish and Afghan) periods, I have, acting on the advice of Dr. Barnett, taken the liberty of over-stepping the limits whenever necessary.

The idea of the present work suggested itself to me as early as 1920-21 when I was faced with the task of delivering lectures on the Hindu period of Indian History to the Post-Graduate students of the University of Calcutta. The first two volumes of the work were however actually planned and completed during my stay in Europe during the years 1927-29. These two volumes mainly contain the political history of the 'Dynasties.' The third volume which is in course of preparation will deal with the following topics : (*i*) Minor Dynasties, (*ii*) Administrative History, (*iii*) Economic History, (*iv*) Social and Religious History, (*v*) Literary History, (*vi*) Monuments and Coins, (*vii*) Origin of the Rajputs, and (*viii*) The Causes of the Decline and Downfall of the Hindu Dynasties in Northern India.

Within the limited time at my disposal, I have spared no pains to make the Index and the Synchronistic Table as full and

accurate as possible. In some cases I have tried to indicate in the Index alternative forms of the spelling of names, so that the reader may find the name from whatever angle of transliteration he approaches the book. I have thus sometimes given the same name twice under different forms. As a general rule modern place names are spelt as they appear in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India (Atlas)*, Vol. XXVI. One important exception is 'Bihar' for Behar. As to ancient Sanskritic names, I have followed the system adopted by Profs. Macdonell and Keith in the *Vedic Index*. Any want of uniformity in the spelling of Arabic and Persian names will, I hope, be rectified to some extent by the Index.

The importance of Maps in the study of History is recognised in all countries. In the case of Ancient and Mediaeval Indian History, however, the task of preparing maps is rendered extremely difficult by the lack of detailed information concerning the exact areas indicated by the various geographical and topographical names in Indian records. Moreover, there is evidence to show that in some cases the same geographical term indicated different regions not only in different periods but also within the same period. I have, therefore, taken some risk in preparing the ten maps which are included in the first volume. Moreover, to save time and cost I have prepared the maps by my own hand and therefore they may not be found to be so accurate as mechanical reproductions of Survey of India maps. But within these limitations I have spared no labour to make the maps useful to the reader. In this task I have received considerable assistance from Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri. The printing of Ancient and Mediaeval names in red will, I hope, increase the value of the maps.

At various stages of my work I have received occasional suggestions and help from the late Sir T. W. Arnold, Sir E. Denison Ross, Sir Wolseley Haig, Prof. H. H. Dodwell, Mr. H. A. R. Gibb, Dr. Margaret Smith (all of the School of Oriental Studies, London), Prof. F. W. Thomas (Oxford

University), Mr. C. A. Storey (Librarian, India Office), Mr. John Allan (British Museum), Mr. J. Van Manen (Asiatic Society of Bengal), Prof. R. C. Majumdar (Dacca University), Dr. M. W. Mirza (Lucknow University), Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri and Prof. M. Z. Siddiqi (of the University of Calcutta). I take this opportunity to express my gratefulness for their kind assistance. To Mr. J. C. Chakravorti, the Offg. Registrar and Mr. A. C. Ghatak I am thankful for the help rendered to me in the printing and publication of this volume. Acknowledgment is also due to Mr. Benoy Krishna Ray for assistance in preparing the Index. To Messrs. H. C. Chakladar and J. N. Bannerji I am indebted for the permission to use an excellent snapshot of the porch of the temple of Mukteśvara at Bhuvaneswar, which is reproduced on the cover. To Messrs. Aga Kazim Shirazi and S. N. Mitra I am indebted for occasional help in proof reading. I must also express my appreciation of the courtesy and consideration shown to me by the officers in charge of the various European libraries, specially those attached to the School of Oriental Studies (London), the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. But above all, I am indebted to Dr. L. D. Barnett, who with unfailing kindness and great patience has gone through every chapter of the first two volumes of the present work and suggested corrections and alterations most of which I have incorporated in the body of my thesis. It was also due to his intercession that the High Commissioner of India made a grant of £30 towards the expenses of the publication of this work. Dr. Barnett has further increased my debt of gratitude to him by adding a kind Foreword to this work.

It was the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who first offered me facilities for research in Indian History. The irreparable loss which the University of Calcutta has suffered by his untimely death is too well-known to require any mention here. But I take this opportunity to dedicate this volume of my work to his memory as a token of the gratitude and admiration I shall ever cherish for him.

In conclusion I must add that I am fully conscious of the many lapses and omissions in this volume inspite of my best efforts to make it useful to the reader. I can only hope :

सूर्पवद्दोषमुत्सृज्य गुणम् गृह्णन्ति साधवः ।

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA.
25th December, 1930.

HEMCHANDRA RAY.

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GENEALOGICAL TABLES

CORRIGENDA

P. 1, l. 7 from foot : *for* Mukaddasī *read* Muqaddasī

P. 3, fn. 4 *for* Postands ,, Postans.

P. 7, l. 9 ,, Zīyād ,, Ziyād.

P. 8, l. 17 ,, Sulāymān ,, Sulaymān.

P. 9, l. 16 ,, Avani Janāśraya ,, Avanijanāśraya.

P. 9, fn. 2 ,, can Bailamān be... ,, that Bailamān may be...

P. 13, ,, 5 ,, Naṣar ,, Naṣr

P. 14, l. 15 ,, ...a Quraisite, and the... ,, a Quraishite, and of the...

P. 14, fn. 2 ,, *Dhahb* ,, *Dhahab*.

P. 14, ,, 3 ,, *Akālīm* ,, *Aqālīm*.

P. 25, l. 14 ,, appears ,, appear.

P. 26, l. 6 from foot : *for* Malāḥida ,, Mulāḥida.

P. 26, fn. 4 ,, ,, ,, ,,

P. 30, l. 3 (and pages following) *for* Mīr Ma'ṣūmī ,, Mīr Ma'ṣum.

P. 43, l. 5 *for* Maḥmūd ,, Muḥammad.

P. 47, l. 10 ,, 1581 A.D. ,, 1511 A.D.

P. 49, l. 8-10 : after (15), *read* (15*a*) Mūsā i. Yaḥia 217 A.H. (832) ; *for* 'Amran i. Mūsa 217 A.H. (832 A.D.) *read* 'Amran i. Mūsa 221 A.H. (816 A.D.)

P. 49, l. 6 from foot : *for* 332 to 366 A H. = 942-976 *read* *c.* 332 to 349 A.H. = *c.* 943 to 960 A D.

P. 55, l. 4 *for* Behistum *read* Behistun (Bahistān).

P. 57, l. 10 ,, the Śiva ,, god Śiva.

P. 58, l. 1 ,, *Ṣāhanuṣāhis* ,, *Ṣāhānuṣāhis*.

P. 61, l. 19 ,, Epthalites ,, Ephthalites.

P. 62, l. 1 ,, the Śiva ,, god Śiva

P. 62, l. 11 ,, Turks were ,, Turks who were.

P. 64, l. 14 ,, they succeeded ,, it succeeded.

P. 65, l. 4 ,, ībn ,, ibn

P. 66, l. 5 ,, numbers ,, number.

P. 87, l. 19 ,, west bank ,, left bank.

P. 111, l. 6 ,, Parbal ,, Marbal.

P. 113, l. 21 ,, A D. 855-56 to 823 ,, A.D. 855-56—883.

P. 118, l. 18 ,, Darbāvābhisāra ,, Dārvābhisāra.

P. 121, l. 2 ,, serious taxation ,, serious form of taxation.

P. 127, l. 3 ,, Svapākī ,, Śvapākī.

P. 127, l. 25 ,, of his cruel ,, at his cruel.

P. 130, ll. 3-4 ,, Parvateśvara ,, Parvagupteśvara.

P. 135, l. 8 from foot : *for* Toṣī ,, Tauṣī.

P. 154, l. 17 *for* Advantipura ,, Avantipura.

P. 180, l. 1, place 'and' before 'Alleśvara.'

P. 188, l. 5 *for* marks ,, mark.

P. 193, l. 11 ,, Ral-pa-éan ,, Ral-pa-can.

P. 208, l. 4 ,, year 261 (1141 A.D.) ,, year 254 (1134 A.D.).

P. 216, l. 5 from foot : *for* on the part ,, on the part of.

P. 231, ll. 9-11 omit vertical line which connects Rājalladevī and Jaya-Rājadeva : join Jagatsiṁha with Rājalladevī with a vertical line.

P. 251, l. 23 *for* *Prāgjyotiṣādhipas* *read* *Prāgjyotiṣādhipatis*.

P. 257, l. 17 ,, *bhūvi* ,, *bhuvi*.

P. 261, l. 1 ,, Bakht yar ,, Bakht-yār.

P. 265, l. 16 ,, Karnānī ,, Karrānī.

P. 268, fn. 1 ,, establised ,, established.

P. 272, l. 6 ,, Sumha ,, Suhma.

P. 276, l. 12 ,, Jīvitagupta ,, Jīvitagupta II.

P. 284, l. 20 ,, *jaladhe* ,, *jaladher*.

P. 285, l. 7 from foot : *for* Vordhamāna ,, Vardhamāna.

CORRIGENDA

P. 296, l. 2 from foot : *for* 29th	*read* 39th.
P. 307, ll. 19-20 ***read*** inscription of Dhaṅga informs us.....the Candella Yaśovarman defeated the king of Gauḍa.........	
P. 321, fn. 4 *for* Gobindacandra	*read* Govindacandra.
P. 338, 8 ,, *Sahodara*	*anuja*.
P. 341. 2 from foot : *for* Kośala-nāḍu	Kośalai nāḍu.
P. 351, 7 ,, ,, ,, Bhāṭṭaputra	Bhaṭṭaputra.
P. 368, 10 *for* Varuṇā andt	Varaṇā and
P. 384, ,, Vākpāla	*Vākpāla*.
P. 387, ,, Akga	Aṅga.
P. 418, . 7 from foot : *for* 18th	187th.
P. 421, after Parama-vaiṣṇavī omit hyphen	
P. 423. . 1 *for* The Bhañjas	(3) The Bhañjas.
P. 423. . 3 from foot : *for* fact that none	fact that almost none.
P. 432. . 2 ,, ,, ,, (B) N	(B. M.
P. 451, . 5 *for* Avanti	Ananta.
P. 455, . 20 *for* (x + 44 + 3 + 35 + 3 + ½ + 3 +	(x + 44 + 3 + 35 + 3 + 35 + ½ + 3 +
P. 460, . 13 ,, Kimidi Kosala	Kimiḍī, Kosala.
P. 472, . 3 ,, Chandralekhā	Candralekhā.
P. 475, . 7 ,, Bhīma II	Bhīma I.
P. 477, . 14 ,, Anaṅgabhīma III	Anaṅgabhīma II.
P. 478, . 5 from foot : *for* sister	daughter.
P. 483, fn. 3, l. 2. omit Anantavarman	
P. 501, *for* Kāmārṇava VI	Kāmārṇava V.
,, Mādhu-Kāmārṇava V	Madhu-Kāmārṇava VI.
,, Aniyaṅkabhīma II	Aniyaṅkabhīma I.
,, Anaṅgabhīma III	Anaṅgabhīma II.
P. 565, omit the vertical line above 'Chikkora' and add one above 'Śaṅkaradev'	
P. 567, *for* Bālaprasāda (*c* 880-1000 A.D.) *read* Bālaprasāda (*c.* 980-1000 A.D.)	
P. 578, fn. 1, l. 1 *for* 3rd Century A.D	*read* 3rd Century A.H.
P. 595, ll. 2 and 4 ,, Karṇa	,, Lakṣmī-Karṇa.
P. 597, l. 6 ,, *Tabqāt*	,, *Tabaqāt*.
P. 600, fn. ,, *Habīb us-siyar*	,, *Habīb us-siyar*.
P. 604, l. 2 ,, on doubt	,, no doubt.
P. 633, ,, Jīvitagupta III	,, Jīvitagupta II.
P. 642, l. 7 ,, Manṣūrah	,, Manṣūrah.

LIST OF CONTRACTIONS

AAK	*Ā'īn-ī-Akbarī* Trans. by Blochmann and Jarrett.
ABOI	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Poona (India).
AGI	*The Ancient Geography of India* by Alexander Cunningham, 2nd edition. Edited by S. N. Majumdar, Sastri, Calcutta, 1924.
AO	*Antiquities of Orissa* by Rajendralala Mitra, Calcutta, 1875 and 1880.
AR	Tod's *Annals* and *Antiquities of Rajasthan*. Edited by William Crooke.
ARB	*Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency.*
ASI	*Archaeological Survey of India.* Annual Report.
ASI, WC	*Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.*
ASR	*Archaeological Survey Reports* by Cunningham.
ASWI	*Archaeological Survey of Western India.*
BEFEO	*Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient.*
BG	*Bombay Gazetteer.*
BHG	*History of Gujarat* by Sir Edward Clive Bayley, London, 1886.

BI	*Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar*; published by the Bhavnagar Archaeological Department, Bhavnagar.
BR	*Buddhist Record of the Western World* by S. Beal.
Caliphate	*The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall* by William Muir.
CBMC	*Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge*, by Bendall, Cambridge, 1883.
CCIM	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I*, by Vincent A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.
CHI	*Cambridge History of India.*
CI	Central India (Province).
CIC	*Catalogue of Indian Coins (Andhras and Kṣatrapas)* by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908.
CMI	*Coins of Mediaeval India* by Cunningham.
CP	Central Provinces of India.
CPMDN	*Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, by H. P. Sastri, with a Historical Introduction by Prof. C. Bendall, 1905, Calcutta.
CSBM	*Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the British Museum* by C. Bendall, London, 1902.
DLI	*Descriptive List of Inscriptions in C. P. & Berar* by Hiralal, Nagpur, 1916.

EHI	*Early History of India*, 4th edition, by V. A. Smith.
EI	*Epigraphia Indica.*
EIA	*Essays on Indian Antiquities* by James Prinsep. Ed. by Edward Thomas, London, 1858.
Elliot	*The History of India as told by its own Historians* by Sir H. M. Elliot.
GDI	*Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, by N. Dey, Luzac, 1927.
GI	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, Gupta Inscriptions* by John Faithful Fleet, Calcutta, 1888.
GOS	*Gaekwad Oriental Series.*
HA	*History of Assam* by Sir Edward Gait, 2nd Ed., 1926, Calcutta, Thacker Spink & Co.
HR	*History of Rajputana* by Ojha (Rai Bahadur Pandit G. H.), Ajmer.
I	*Ibn.*
IA	*Indian Antiquary.*
IB	*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, Edited with Translations and Notes by N. G. Majumdar, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1929.
IGI	*Imperial Gazetteer of India*
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
IHT	*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* by F. E. Pargiter, London, 1922.

JA	*Journal Asiatique.*
JAOS	*Journal of American Oriental Society.*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
JBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JBTS	*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.*
JL	*Journal of the Department of Letters,* University of Calcutta.
Journey	*A Journey in Nepal and Northern India* by C. Bendall, Cambridge University Press, 1886.
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London.
KFB	*Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* of Balādhurī, Trans. by Hitti and Murgotten.
KH	*Kitāb ul-Hind* of al-Bīrūnī.
KY	*Kitāb-i-Yamīnī* of 'Utbī. Translated by Reynolds from the Persian version, London.
KZA	*Kitāb Zain ul-Akhbār* of Abū Sa'īd 'Abd ul-Ḥayy b. ad-Ḍahhāk b. Muḥammad Gardīzī (*c.* 440 A.H.). Ed. by Muḥammad Naẓīm, Iranschahr, Berlin, 1928.
LEC	*Lands of the Eastern Caliphate,* by Le Strange, Cambridge, University Press.
Life	*Life of Hiuen Tsiang* by S. Beal.
M	*Mahārājādhirāja..*
MA	*Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān.

MASB	*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
MASI	*Memoirs of the Archælogical Survey of India.*
MER	*Madras Epigraphist's Report,* by Dr. E. Hultzsch, Nos. 814, 815, Public, 6th August, 1896.
MG	*Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin* by M. Habib, 1927.
MM	Mukhaliṅgeśvara Temple at Mukhaliṅgam, Ganjam district (Madras).
NA	*Notes on Afghanistan* by Raverty.
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
NKGWG	*Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
OH	*Oxford History of India* by V. A. Smith.
OM	*Orissa in the Making* by B. C. Mozumdar, 1925.
P	*Parameśvara.*
PASB	*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
Pb	*Paramabhaṭṭāraka.*
PB	*Pṛthvirājavijaya*
PC	*Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga Ācārya. Trans. by C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1901.
PI	*Preaching of Islam* by T. W. Arnold
PTOC	*Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference* (India).
QJAHS	*Quarterly Journal of Andhra Historical Society*

Ras	Forbes' *Ras Mala.* Edited by Rawlinson, Oxford, 1924.
RGD	*Records of the Gupta Dynasty* by Edward Thomas, London, 1876.
RMR	*Rajputana Museum Report.*
Śāhis von Kabul	*Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth zum Doctor-Jubiläum*, Stuttgart, 1893. *Zur Geschichte der Śāhis von Kabul* by Marc Aurel Stein.
SC	*Sasanian Coins* by F. D. J. Paruck, Bombay, 1924.
TA	*Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Bibliotheca Indica Trans. by B. Dey.
TF	*Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta.*
TFSB	*Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhi* of Baranī.
TFSS	*Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī* of Shams-i-Sīrāj 'Afīf.
TH	*Ta'rīkh-ul-Hind* of al-Bīrūnī.
TK	*Tuḥfat ul-Kirām* of 'Ali Shīr Qāni'.
TKA	*Al-Ta'rīkh ul-Kāmil* of Ibn ul-Athīr.
TM	*Ta'rīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī.*
TN	*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of Maulānā Minhāj ud-Dīn. Translated by Raverty.
TRAS	*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
UP	The United Provinces of India.
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.* Also known as 'Vienna Oriental Journal.'

YC — *On Yuan Chwang*, by Thomas Watters, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1904.

ZDMG — *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

INTRODUCTION

Nowhere is the comparison of history with a stream that rises in the dark and mysterious heights of the past and flows into eternity more apt than in the case of Indian history. Very few countries in the world "can boast of an ancient civilization, so continuous and unbroken as in India." But while this is true, it is also unfortunately a fact that its source and earlier courses are shrouded in a mystery which is darker than in the case of most countries. We do not even know who were the most ancient peoples in India. The theory that the Dravidians were the autochthons of India is gradually being given up in favour of the Pre-Dravidians. The Mundas of North-Eastern India are supposed to be typical representatives of this physical type, which is preserved on small isolated areas in India and Burma. Their language, which is closely allied to the Austric group of speech, is found scattered over a wide area, extending from the South Pacific and the Indian Ocean to the Punjab. So far there is no inherent improbability in the supposition that a branch of this great race of the human family inhabited India at least before the Dravidians. As to these latter nobody can definitely say whence they originally came or what their features originally were. The difficulty of an attempt to generalise a physical type from the appearance of the modern speakers of the Dravidian languages, is exemplified in the case of the Brahuis in Baluchistan, who are totally different in appearance from their supposed cousins in the south of India. If the Brahui type was altered by the admixture of Iranian blood, what guarantee is there that the Dravidian tribes who filtered into the Indian peninsula were not also fundamentally altered by contact with the Pre-Dravidians ? The presence of Dravidian speech in Baluchistan, near one of the gates of India, in the north-west, and "the undoubted similarity of the Sumerian and Dravidian ethnic types," have given rise to rival theories. While Rapson

contends that they came into India through Baluchistan, Hall thought that they went to Western Asia from India. The recent excavations at Harappa (Montgomery district, Punjab) and Mohen-jo Daro (Larkana district, Sind) may have important bearings on the question. Scholars have found a similarity between this Indian civilization and the Sumerian culture of the 4th millennium B.C. In the present state of our knowledge, it would be perhaps risky to base any conclusions on the data revealed by the explorers' spade; but it is significant that so far no arms or weapons of any kind have been discovered at Harappa and Mohen-jo Daro. To all appearance therefore they were colonies of a people devoted mainly to the arts of peace. If this is conceded, it rather goes against their identification with the *Dāsas* against whose citadels and weapons the Āryans so often invoked the aid of Indra. The identification of the *Dāsas* with the Dravidians, again, though frequently assumed, is difficult to prove. Beyond the fact that they had flat noses (*anās* =noseless ?) and are described as 'of hostile speech' (*mṛdhra-vāc*), of black skin (*tvacam kṛṣṇām*; *kṛṣṇā*) and possibly as phallus-worshippers (*śiśna-devāḥ*), we know very little about the physical appearance of these enemies of the Āryans. It may be pointed out that some of the epithets mentioned above may still be applied without distinction to many of the tribes who now speak Dravidian or the Austric languages. It is not unlikely therefore that the word *Dāsa* was a term which was used in general to denote the non-Āryan tribes who opposed the Vedic Indians. In that case, the term may not have had in the Vedic period any definite ethnic sense to designate a compact racial group.

The problems confronting us in regard to the rise and growth of the power of the Vedic Āryans are not less obscure. After a discussion extending over a period of about a hundred years we are still in the region of conjecture as to their original habitat and the date of their first arrival in India. The discovery of the names of Ṛgvedic gods in the Boghaz-köi inscriptions

in Cappadocia, dated in about 1400 B.C., and of Āryan names in the inscriptions of Mesopotamia of about the same period, must have an important bearing on these questions. But though this may be accepted as "specific evidence for the supposition that by the fifteenth century B.C. tribes of Āryan stock held, or exercised influence over, a wide area, extending from northern Asia Minor over north-west Babylonia to Media," the further assumption of Dr. Giles that "even then, or soon after, the Āryans pushed their way still eastwards" till they reached India is obviously open to some doubt. Jacobi and Pargiter, for instance, have formed quite different conclusions on the same data. Without agreeing with all that these scholars have urged, we may point out that nothing conclusive can be urged against their view that the Boghaz-köi inscription may be an evidence of an overflow of races of Āryan stock from India. Not only is the date of the first arrival of the Āryans in India uncertain, but anything of the nature of the accepted chronology for the whole period down to about 600 B.C. is practically non-existent. It is true that the epic and *pauranic* literatures claim to give us the history of this period. Thorough analysis of this tradition by Pargiter and a number of Indian scholars has shown that these should not be hastily rejected as mere 'bardic tales.' But the scheme of chronology proposed by them on the basis of this tradition [1] has not yet been thoroughly discussed and tested so that it can be safely adopted in any survey of Indian history. For practical purposes the approximate dates of the

[1] (a)	Kṛta Age	c. 2090-1610 B.C.
(b)	Tretā Age	c. 1610-1310 B.C.
(c)	Dvāpara Age	c. 1310-950 B.C.
(d)	Sudāsa and the battle of the 10 kings	c. 1274 B.C.
(e)	Foundation of the Bārhadrathas	c. 1106 B.C.
(f)	The Bhārata battle	c. 950 B.C
(g)	Beginning of the Pradyotas	c. 619 B.C.
(h)	Accession of Mahāpadma	c. 402 B.C.

See Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, London, 1922. The chronology adopted in Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, Book I, and Pradhan's *Chronology of Ancient India* is somewhat different.

Achaemenian invasion of India (*c.*520-18 B.C.) and the date of Alexander's irruption (*c.* 326-25 B.C.) are still the earliest landmarks known for certain in Indian history. By calculating backwards from these dates, and with the assistance of the information contained in the chronicles of the Brahmans, Jains, and Buddhists a rough chronological framework has been established from about 600 B.C. downwards. It seems that about this period Northern India and a portion of the Deccan were parcelled out into small independent principalities. A stereotyped list of sixteen such states is probably contained in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* of the Buddhists. Before the death of Buddha, however, in the eighties of the fifth century B.C. a considerable change appears to have taken place in the political geography of Northern India. Some of the smaller states seem to have been absorbed in four principalities of considerable size, *viz.*, Avanti, Vatsa, Kosala and Magadha. About the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., the last of these had swallowed up the other three. When Alexander crossed the Ravi in 326 B.C., he was opposed on the Beas by an Indian prince who was most probably a king of the Nanda dynasty of Magadha. Under the Mauryas the Magadhan empire grew until it embraced the whole of India excepting the extreme south, where a few Tamil states were suffered to exist by the peaceful policy of Aśoka. This practical unification of India under the hegemony of Magadha is an event of great importance in the history of India before the advent of the British. It was twice nearly achieved under some of the Tughluqs and the Mughuls. But during the Hindu period India was never again united under one sceptre. Historians have, of course, tried to add unity to pre-Muslim history by clustering the political events round this or that dynasty of Northern India which grew powerful from time to time ; but it must be pointed out that none of these ruled even over the whole of Northern India, not to speak of the peninsular portion, where often equally powerful if not stronger dynasties ruled contemporaneously, with them. The Magadhan empire did

not long survive the death of Aśoka. The pressure of successive hordes of Yavana, Śaka-Pahlava, and Yueh-chi invaders from the north-western gates and the rise of the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan gradually reduced the successors of the Mauryas to little more than Magadhan princes. The establishment of the Kuṣāṇa empire in the North-west removed the centre of political interest, at least in Northern India, from Pāṭaliputra to Peshawar. In the time of Kaniṣka the Kuṣāṇa dominions stretched across the Punjab to the Ganges valley as far east as Sarnath, and may have even included Magadha. By the beginning of the 3rd century, the Kuṣāṇas were reduced to the position of local rulers in the Punjab, while the rest of Northern India was probably parcelled out amongst the Satraps of Ujjayinī, the Nāgas, the Licchavis, and other minor powers, and in the Deccan the position of the Sātavāhanas appears to have been taken up by the Vākāṭakas. Further south, in the Guntur, Bellary and the Northern Tamil districts, we find the first beginnings of the rise of the Pallava power. The end of the 3rd century brings us to a revival of the power of Magadha under the Guptas. By the end of the 4th century the Magadhan empire under Candragupta II embraced a large portion of Northern India. But Sind, portions of Rajputana and the Punjab, Kashmir, portions of Nepal, Assam, and large areas of Bengal and Orissa remained permanently outside the orbit of the Gupta empire, though some of them may have acknowledged a nominal allegiance to the Gupta emperor. The Southern contemporaries of the Guptas during this period were in the Deccan, the Vākāṭakas and further south the Pallavas and Kadambas.

The failure of the Guptas to capture and guard the north-western gates of India soon resulted in the arrival of another horde of barbarian invaders, the Hūṇas, about the middle of the 5th century A.D. The shock of the Hūṇa invasions must have shaken the foundations of the imperial power of the Guptas, although, as is indicated by the Damodarpur plates (443-543 A.D.), they apparently retained a substantial section

of their dominions till about the first half of the 6th century A.D. But the Gupta power was fast declining by that time, and new rivals had arisen who threatened its foundations. The period that followed saw a scramble for power amongst the Puṣpabhūtis of Sthāṇvīśvara, the Maukharis of Kānyakubja, the Gauḍas of Karṇasuvarṇa, the Bhagadattas of Prāgjyotiṣa, and the later Guptas. The struggle ended about the beginning of the 7th century A.D. in the establishment of the hegemony of the Puṣpabhūtis over a large portion of Northern India, with their capital at Kanauj. In the Deccan the Calukyas of Vātāpi had supplanted the Vākāṭakas, while further south the Pallavas of Kāñcī were fast growing into a great power. There was little love lost between these three kingdoms, and bitter wars soon ensued between them. The Calukyas had to maintain a twofold struggle on the Narbada and the Kistna-Tungabhadra frontiers against their northern and southern enemies.

The death of Harṣa, soon after 646 A.D., has been regarded by historians as an epoch in the history of India. According to V. A. Smith, India after this date lapsed back into its normal condition, " a medley of petty states with ever varying boundaries and engaged in unceasing internecine war," till it fell a prey to Islamic invaders. During the period that followed everything declined, and polity, literature, and religion sank into mediocrity. Accordingly that excellent historian considered the year 647 A.D. as the beginning of the mediaeval period of Indian history. In this conclusion, he has of late been followed by a number of writers both European and Indian. But even a superficial examination of the facts shows the utter hollowness of the proposition. The year 647 A.D. marked no epoch in the history of the Deccan and the far south, which continued to flourish as before under separate dynasties. In the Deccan the Calukyas (*c.* 550-753 A.D.) were followed about the middle of the 8th century by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (*c.* 753-973 A.D.) and the latter in the middle of the 10th century by the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa (*c.* 973-1190 A.D.). In the south the Pallavas (*c.* 550-880 A.D.)

continued to reign till about the last quarter of the 8th century, when they were supplanted by the Cōḷas (*c.* 880-1300 A.D.) as the supreme power south of the Tungabhadra. Even Northern India was not wholly included in Harṣa's dominions. Smith himself admits that Kashmir, Punjab, Sind, Rajputana and Kāmarūpa were outside his empire. The evidence on which Valabhī, Nepal, and Bengal are reckoned as part of his dominions is extremely uncertain and vague. An Indian scholar has recently tried to show after a critical study of the epigraphic and literary evidence that Harṣa's territory only " comprised the districts roughly corresponding to the present United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, with a portion of Eastern Punjab and Western Bihar.[1] "According to this view Harsa's dominions were bounded by the Himalayas, the Western Punjab, Rajputana, Central India, and Bengal." Though this may perhaps be regarded as a rather extreme statement of the position, yet I think the time has come when we should try to avoid basing our conclusions on vague statements of partisans and *praśastikāras*. That Harṣa was the most considerable prince of Northern India is proved by the epithet *Sakala-Uttarā-patheśvara*, applied to him by his enemies the Cāḷukyas;[2] but we must learn to differentiate between the most powerful king of Northern India and the emperor of Northen India. In view of this position, it is absurd to say that no emperor arose in Northern India whose dominions could rival those of Harṣa. There is unquestioned evidence, as we shall see later on, that some of the Pratīhāra emperors ruled over an empire more extensive than that of the Puṣpabhūti king. Again, the assertion that there was a general decline in everything from about 647 A.D. is, to say the least, extremely exaggerated. It is true that no Kālidāsa was born again; but to regard poets and dramatists like Bahavabhūti, Viśākhadatta and Rājaśekhara as representatives of a

1 Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *JBORS*, 1923.

2 *EI*, Vol. V, p. 202, line 9.

decadent literature is, I fear, somewhat inaccurate. In religion, if Buddhism disappeared, the period saw the birth of teachers like Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. In the field of Mathematics and Astronomy it produced the famous Bhāskarācārya, whose work "enjoyed more authority in India than any other astronomical work except the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*." In the domain of architecture Smith himself admits that "it was practised on a magnificent scale" during the period that followed the death of Harṣa. Under these circumstances to regard Harṣa's death as an epoch marking the end of all unity in India and ushering in the mediaeval period is to show a false perspective of the main currents of affairs. If Indian history lost her unity she lost it with the death of Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C. If we have to find for practical purposes another date which will serve as a landmark in the history of Northern India, then 916 A.D., and not 647, is more appropriate, as we shall presently see.

But though the year 647 A.D. cannot be regarded as an epoch marking the transition of the ancient into the mediaeval period, it is certainly a date of considerable importance in the history of Northern India. There is some reason to believe that after the death of Harṣa the power of Tibet extended across Nepal to the Ganges valley. There was also probably a revival of the power of the Guptas under Ādityasena. But the most important event that followed was the struggle for the mastery of Kanauj. That city appears to have acquired an imperial reputation under the sway of the Maukharis and the Puṣpabhūtis. For about a hundred years Kānyakubja and the Ganges-Jumna Doab remained a bone of contention amongst the rulers of India. The struggle was opened by the Kārkoṭa Lalitāditya of Kashmir, who about 736 A.D. conquered the principality of Kānyakubja, which at that time extended "from the bank of the Yamunā to that of the Kālikā" (probably the Kāli Nadī, which runs parallel to the Ganges and falls into it below Kanauj). Then came the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, who some time after 783 A.D., under Dharmapāla, conquered the city of Kanauj and extended their

power as far as the eastern districts of the Punjab. Then came the attacks of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Western India and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan. The tripartite struggle between Pālas, Raṣṭrakūṭas and Pratīhāras at last resulted in the winning of the *Mahodayaśrī* by the last-named. It is not exactly known when they first captured Kanauj; but they must have done it some time before 836 A.D., the date of the Barah inscription of Bhoja I, which was issued from Mahodaya itself. The capture of this city gradually led to the foundation of a Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire which rivalled that of the Guptas, and was more extensive than that of the Puṣpabhūtis. Even if we omit the somewhat doubtful passage in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which refers to the dominion in the Punjab of an *Adhirāja* Bhoja, the power of the Bhoja I in the Punjab is unquestionably demonstrated by the discovery of his Pehowa inscriptions in the district of Karnal. The Una grants of Balavarman and Avanivarman show that the Saurāṣtra-*Maṇḍala* (Kathiawar) was within the dominions of Mahendrapāla I. As the Khajuraho inscription of the Candellas, dated in V. S. 1101 (A.D. 954) still acknowledges the sovereignty of Vināyakapāla, it is reasonable to conclude that the Candellas were also feudatories of the Pratīhāras from an earlier period. The Dighwa Dubauli plates of Mahendrapāla I, show that Śrāvasti-*Viṣaya* in the U. P. was in his dominions. The writings of the Arab geographers seem to indicate that the Gurjara empire touched the borders of Sind in the extreme west, while the Ramgaya, Guneria and Itkhori inscriptions in the East show Pratīhāra power in Bihar. The recent discovery of a pillar-inscription of Mahendrapāla I at Paharpur, in North Bengal probably shows the extreme eastern extension of, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras' kingdom. In the face of all this epigraphic evidence which shows that the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire embraced the whole of Northern India excepting Sind, western portions of the Punjab, Kashmir, Nepal, Assam and portions of Bengal, C. P., and Orissa, it is absurd to say that they ruled over only "the Cis-Sutlej districts of the Punjab, the greater part of the United Provinces of

Agra and Oudh and the Gwalior territory."[1] Unlike the limits of the empire of Harṣa, which has been defined for us by vague expression of his friends and enemies, the bounds of the Pratīhāras' empire are determined by unquestioned archaeological evidence. It is of course unfortunate that no Bāṇa or Yuan Chwang has left for us a detailed account of the life and administration of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla I; but that is no reason why we should relegate their history to the mediaeval period, which, according to V. A. Smith and his followers, specifically deals with the history of the 'petty states' whose internecine wars preceded the Muslim conquest of India. The period of disruption that intervened between the fall of the Puṣpabhūtis and the rise of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras cannot in any sense be regarded as a curious phenomenon marking an epoch in Indian history. A period of struggle has always intervened between the fall of one and the rise of another powerful dynasty in India until the establishment of British rule. But if for practical purposes we must draw a line between the so-called ancient and mediaeval periods, it is more convenient to draw it somewhere about 916 A.D. when the Pratīhāra empire in Northern India at last began to break up into numerous petty states. As usual, "a political re-adjustment would probably have taken place, sooner or later, if the Indian states were left to themselves." But unfortunately the Turks appeared at this crisis on the north-western frontier carrying the Muslim flag. The Pratīhāra empire had played no insignificant part in preventing the Arabs from gaining the same success in India as in other lands. But the Turks were more fortunate, and before the breach could be repaired by the same natural process which had hitherto always operated in India, they charged through the gap and carried everything before them. The incidents during the period of about three hundred years (*c.* 916 to 1200 A.D.) may be taken to be only a prelude to the final act of the drama, which saw the standards of Islam

[1] Ishwari Prasad, *History of Mediaeval India*, 1925, Allahabad, pp. 2-3.

on most of the important citadels of Northern India. Considered from this point of view, the year 916 A.D. may for practical purposes be accepted as the line of demarcation between the two periods in the history of Northern India. These may be called the ancient and the mediaeval periods; but it would perhaps be more reasonable to call them simply the Hindu period and the period of the Turks and Afghans.

I have already pointed out the danger of calling Harṣa the emperor of Northern India on the strength of mere catch-phrases. A large portion of Northern India remained outside his dominions; and in this region the year 647 A.D. was only in a very limited sense, if at all, an event of any importance. Similarly a large part of it, though probably less in extent than in the time of Harṣa, lay outside the orbit of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire; and here again the year 916 A.D., which saw the beginning of the break-up of the Pratīhāra empire did not bring such vital changes as to mark an epoch in its history. To some at least the year 916 A.D., does not appear to have had the slightest significance. The time has come when we should realise more clearly the vastness of India and recognise the limitations of such expressions as 'emperor of India' or even 'emperor of Northern India' which are so frequently used in text-books on Indian history. In the strictest sense of the word there was perhaps no Hindu ruler who could be called the emperor of the whole of Northern India after the fall of the Mauryas. But for practical purposes, as I have said, the arrival of the Turk on the Indian frontier in the 10th century may well serve as a landmark in Indian history.

A minute study of the dynasties that ruled in Northern India from the 10th century till the completion of the Turkish conquest is important for more than one reason.

Firstly, the period forms a very important chapter in the growth, rise, and decay of the Rajput states. Most of the Hindu states in Northern India during this period were ruled by tribes who claimed Rajput descent. Since the day when Tod

wrote his celebrated *Annals*, no attempt has yet been made to study systematically the various sources of information and give a connected account of these tribes based on sound archæological evidence.[1] Tod's work is in many ways a masterpiece; but it is hopelessly out-of-date. The scanty accounts of these tribes given in various publications since the time of Tod are mainly based on Muḥammadan chronicles. These works have many excellent characteristics, but they were written by enemies of the Rajputs, whose difference in religion would further tend to make them more tainted and onesided. Again, these chroniclers often wrote as historians of the Delhi empire, and as such omitted many interesting details of the history of these Rajput tribes which appeared to them to be rather trivial and unimportant It has, therefore, become necessary to check and supplement their accounts, wherever possible, with the evidence of archæology and more reliable Hindu chronicles, some of which have recently been discovered.

Secondly, a critical study of this period is important for the history of the Hindus in general. For it will probably reveal some of the forces which vitally influenced Hindu society, religion and polity, the marks of which can be traced even to this day. But a critical study of the period is perhaps more important for the history of the Turks and Afghans in India. When they conquered Northern India, they could not at once change the whole system of administration of the country. Local government, revenue administration and many other features of Hindu polity must have continued unchanged under their régime. A careful analysis of this data from the inscriptions and other records of the Hindu states cannot therefore fail to be of supreme value if we would rightly understand the beginnings of Muslim rule in India. It will help us to judge how far, if at all, the Turkish and Afghan rulers borrowed their methods of administration from their Hindu predecessors.

[1] Since this was written, I have seen some fascicules of Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha's *History of the Rajputs*, written in Hindi.

DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA

CHAPTER I

DYNASTIC HISTORY OF SIND

The area indicated by the word *Sind* has varied from age to age. The Hindu geographers probably included the lower Indus valley in the term *Sindhu-Sauvīra*.[1] When Yuan Chwang visited Sind, the whole region from Shikarpur down to the sea was politically subject to Sind, but of this area *Sin-tu* (Sind) appears to have formed only a small portion.[2] To the Arab writers however *as-Sind* meant a much bigger area. Thus Balādhurī (9th century A.D.) describes al-Kīkān (modern Kelat[3] in Baluchistan) as ' part of the land of *as-Sind* where it borders on Khurāsān.'[4] Mukaddasī (10th century A.D.) praises 'al-Laḥūm,' a city in Bāmiyān as ' the trade port of Khurāsān and the treasure house of Sind.'[5] This passage probably refers to the proximity of the frontiers of Bāmiyān, Khurāsān, and Sind. Multan, which was outside Sind in the time of Yuan Chwang, was also included in *as-Sind* by the Arab historians. The boundaries of Sind in the east cannot be precisely indicated.

[1] *AGI*, pp. 285 ff. and 690; *CIC*, map facing p. 1; EI, Vol. VIII, p. 44 (line 11 of the inscription).

[2] *YC*, Vol. II, pp. 252 ff.

[3] *LEC*, p. 332; *NA*, p. 566; *Elliot*, pp. 381-83.

[4] *KFB*, Vol. II, p. 210.

[5] *LEC*, p. 418.

It was probably limited on this side by the Thar or the Indian Desert; on the south it was bounded by the sea, while on the south-west it included a considerable portion of Baluchistan and the Mukrān coast. Balādhurī,[1] describes the route of Muḥammad ibn Qāsim from Shiraz (the capital of Fars) *via* Mukrān to the cities of Qannazbur (Fannazbūr; mod. Panj-gūr[2]), Armā'īl (Armabīl), Qanīl (Qanbalī) and Daibul, all of which apparently belonged to *as-Sind*. It is also possible that the province known as Mukrān to the Arabs originally belonged to *as-Sind*. In the accounts of the earlier raids of the Arabs towards this portion of India, we find officers appointed 'over the frontier of al-Hind.' It was only after a series of raids and conquests on this frontier that Mukrān is mentioned as one of the conquests of Sinan ibn Salāmah about the year 48 A.H.[3] It was after Ibn al-Ḥarī al-Bāhilī had finally conquered the country 'after a fierce and successful campaign' (*circa* 61 A.H.) that Sa'īd was for the first time appointed by Ḥajjāj over Mukrān (*circa* 79 A.H.).[4] It is therefore very likely that this province was carved out of the territory which was politically and geographically known to them as *as-Sind*. Thus it appears that the Arabs understood by *as-Sind*, the whole of the lower Indus valley from Multan down to the sea, including nearly the whole of modern Baluchistan.[5]

The history of this region from the 7th century, or even earlier, down to the 16th century, when it was finally incorporated

[1] *KFB*, pp. 216 ff.

[2] *LEC*, p. 329.

[3] *KFB*, Vol. II, pp. 210-12.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 213 and 215. See also *NA*, pp. 567 ff.

[5] *LEC*, p. 331, fn. 1. According to Mas'ūdī, the king of Kanauj is one of the kings of Sind, and Kashmir forms part of Sind. See *Elliot*, I, pp. 22-23. He may have been misinformed. But it is possible that Mas'ūdī's remarks are based on the fact that during certain periods, the kings of Kanauj and Kashmir were rulers of portions of Greater Sind, which may have vaguely extended towards the north to the frontier of Kashmir. See fn. 3, p. 4. It is also possible that like *Hidu* of Darius I and *India* of Herodotus *Sind* may have sometimes meant the whole valley of the Sindhu and the adjacent region. For the map and boundary of Sind by Ibn Ḥauqal, see *Elliot*, I, pp. 32-33.

in the empire of Akbar, is extremely obscure. The Hindus have little or no records for the reconstruction of the history of this period, while the Muslim historians are generally exceedingly careless about the infidel inhabitants of the land ; yet it is from these writers that we can get some faint idea of the political events of this region. Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the middle of the seventh century A.D., has left us some account of the country. He tells us that the reigning king 'was of the Śūdra (Shu-to-lo) caste,.........a sincere man and a believer in Buddhism.'[1] But he does not even mention the name of the reigning sovereign. The only work which supplies us with some details of the princes of Sind from the 7th century down to its conquest by the Arabs in 713 A.D. is the late historical romance, variously known as the *Chach-nāma*, *Ta'rīkh-i Hind-wa Sind* or *Fatḥ-nāma*, a Persian work composed in the time of and dedicated to Nāṣir ud-Dīn Qabācha (613 A.H.=A.D. 1216).[2] From this work we come to know that the dynasty of the Brahman Chach, to which Dāhir, the contemporary of Muḥammad ibn Qāsim belonged, was preceded by the 'Rāī Dynasty.' Three princes of this line who immediately preceded Dāhir, are mentioned, *viz.*, Rāī Dīwāji, his son Rāī Sihras, and his son Rāī Sāhasī. This list is also found in *Ta'rīkh-i-Mā'ṣūmī*[3] but the *Tuḥfat ul-Kirām* (A.H. 1181) mentions two additional names after Rāī Sāhasī, *viz.*, Rāī Sihras II (son of Rāī Sāhasī), and his son Rāī Sāhasī II.[4] Their capital city was 'ar-Rūr'[5] (mod. Rohri), while their kingdom extended to Kashmir in the east, to Mukrān on the west to the shores of the ocean on the south, and to Kaikānān in the north. In the *Tuḥfat ul-Kirām*, the boundaries are further extended in the east to Kanauj, in the

[1] *YC*, Vol. II, p. 252; *Elliot*, I, pp. 410-11.

[2] Translated by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, Karachi, 1900. *Elliot*, I, pp. 131-211. All subsequent histories of Sind, like the *TM* (A.D. 1600) appears to have copied this account from the *Chach-nāma*. See *Elliot*, I, pp. 405; pp. 213 ff.

[3] Also known as *Ta'rīkh-i-Sind*. See *Elliot*, I.

[4] Translated by Lieut. Postands in *JASB*, Vol. XIV, 1845, Part I, pp. 78-79.

[5] For a different form of the name see *Elliot*, I, p. 363.

north to Kandahar, Sistan, the hills of Sulaiman and Kaikānān,[1] and in the south to the confines of the port of Surat.[2] It also assigns a period of 137 years to the five rulers mentioned above.[3] According to all these accounts Rāī Sāhasī[4] was succeeded by his Brahman minister Chach, who married his widow and established a separate dynasty. Chach, we are told, was a vigorous ruler. The frontiers of his dominions also touched Kashmir, and included Mukrān and Siwistan (Sijistān?); he defeated and killed a king named Mahrat (*Mahāratha?*) (a relation of Sāhasī) who is variously described as the chief of Jaipur, Jodhpur or Chitor in 'about

[1] *Elliot*, I, p. 189.

[2] Surat has been taken by Elliot (Vol. I, p. 405) to be Saurāṣṭra, *i.e.*, the Kathiawar peninsula. But the text distinctly says "port of Surat," and as our text belongs to the early 18th century, the author probably had the port of Surat in his mind.

[3] *JASB*, Vol. XIV, 1845, Part I, pp. 78 and 80. In the original Kanauj is spelt (قنوج). It has been asserted by some scholars that 'Kinnauj is not Kanauj' but only 'a dependency of Multan.' Rāī Harchandar, son of Jahtal Rāī, the contemporary of Muḥammad Qāsim is of course otherwise unknown to history (*Elliot*, I, p. 208). But as Multan was one of the parts of *as-Sind*, in this period, and as it is asserted that the limits of the latter extended up to Kashmir and Kanauj, it is more likely that the chronicler was referring in a vague way to the boundaries of the empire of Kanauj, which spread over a large portion of Northern India in the 7th century A.D. At that period the western limits of this kingdom were not beyond the reach of possible raids from Multan. Possibly Muḥammad raided some of these western provinces which once belonged to the famous empire of Kanauj.

The confusion of the scholars mentioned above must have been caused by the statement of Mas'ūdi that the king of Kanauj was one of the kings of Sind. Mas'ūdi should not, however, be taken here to refer to the modern boundaries of Sind, for in another place he includes Kashmir also in Sind. It should be noted that Mas'ūdi never says that the city of Kanauj was a dependency of Multan or that it is on the banks of one of the Punjab rivers. The city which is thus located by him was called Ba'ūrah (بؤورة Pratīhāra?) after the title of the kings of Kanauj. This city originally belonged to Kanauj, but was apparently conquered by the Amirs of Multan and formed a part of their principality. A careful analysis of Mas'ūdi leaves us in no doubt that by his Ba'ūrah (بؤورة) of Kanauj (قنوج) he is referring to the Gurjara-Pratīhāra kings of that city. History does not know of a second Kanauj, near about Multan during this period. See *Elliot*, I, 405; *NA*, p. 566; *EHI*, 4th Edition, p. 359, fn. 1; *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 7.

[4] According to *Tuḥfat ul-Kirām*, it is Sāhasī II, see above.

the first year of the Hijra ' (A.D. 622).[1] Chach ruled for 40 years and was succeeded by his brother Chandar who ruled for 8 years and was in his turn succeeded by Dāhir, his nephew, the son of Chach, who was defeated and killed by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim in 93 A.H. (712 A.D.) after a reign of 33 years, the whole dynasty having lasted 92 years.[2] It is, however, to be noticed that the total reign period of the rulers is only 81. It is difficult to find out how far this account is historical, for the *Chach-nāma*, on which this account is mainly based, is more fanciful and romantic than historical in its treatment of events. It is generally assumed that when Yuan Chwang visited Sind about the middle of the 7th century A.D., one of the princes of the Rāī dynasty was still ruling at Alor.[3] Of course this goes against the chronological arrangements of *Tuḥfat ul-Kirām*, according to which the Rāī dynasty ruled from *circa* 485 to 622 A.D.[4] But as it is supposed that Yuan Chwang could not have committed so palpable a mistake as to describe a Brahman as a Śūdra, the period of the rule of the Rāī dynasty is extended till the middle of the 7th century A.D.[5]

[1] *Elliot*, I, p. 140, fn. 1; *JASB*, Vol. XIV, 1845, Part I, p. 81. It is quite likely that this prince was a Maurya king. According to Rajput tradition the Moris (Mauryas) held sway over this tract before the rise of the Guhilots. See *AR*, Vol. I, p. 265. For the dates of the early Guhilot princes see *IA*, 1910, pp. 188-89; *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 31. There are a number of inscriptions of the early 8th century A.D. where Guhilot princes are found as vassals of the Mauryas; see *ASI*, *W. Circle*, 1906, p. 60; *EI*, XII, pp. 11-12. In the *Chach-nāma* (Mirza Kalichbeg's Trans., p. 21) Mahrat is described as the brother of Sāhasī.

[2] *JASB*, 1845, XIV, Part I, p. 96; *Elliot*, I, 412.

[3] See V. Smith's *EHI* (4th Edition), p. 369; Vaidya's *Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 19.

[4] *JASB*, 1845, Vol. XIV, Part I, pp. 80-81: "The period occupied by the rule of the five preceding Rajahs is 137 years, and then it descended to the Brahmins." Chach's victory over 'Rana Mihrut,' soon after his accession to the throne, is said to have 'occurred about the first year of the Hijera.' (622 A.D.) Prof. Dowson places the accession of Chach in A.H. 10. For his discussion of these dates see *Elliot*, I, pp. 406-07 and 412-14. Thus he places the accession of Dīwāji in 495 A.D. taking 137 years as not an improbable period of duration of 5 reigns. Also *Elliot*, I, pp. 410-11.

[5] Yuan Chwang described Kumāra (Bhāskaravarman) of Kāmarūpa as a Brahan. But his inscription describes him as the descendant of Naraka and Bhagadatta,

It is however by no means certain that the Rāīs were Śūdras, for they claimed relation with prince Mahrat (*Mahāratha?*) who possibly belonged to the Mori or the Maurya tribe which claimed to belong to the Paramāra branch of the Rajputs. The Morya or Maurya sub-clan of the Paramāras still exists.[1]

The conquest of Sind by the Arabs in 712 A.D. was the final act of a drama which began as early as the Caliphate of 'Umar in the year 15 A.H. (A.D. 636), with the Arab naval attack on Tānaḥ (mod. Thana near Bombay) and Barwaṣ (Broach).[2] The Arab fleet appeared in the gulf of 'ad-Daibul' and from this time onward kept on raiding this frontier both by land and sea. But the task was not an easy one. For as a report to Caliph "'Uthmān" describes it: "the water supply is scanty, the dates are inferior; a small army would be lost there, and a large army would starve."[3] But the conquering energy of the Arabs recognised no barriers, and they continued to hammer at the frontier-gates in spite of these difficulties and the stubborn nature of the resistance. In the year 39 A.H. (659 A.D.) al-Ḥārith raided this frontier but was killed after some initial success in 'al-Kīkān' in A.H. 42 (A.D. 662). In

who do not appear to have been Brahmans. See *EI*, XII, pp. 71-72. It is, however, pointed out by Dr. Raychaudhuri that the claim to Brahmanhood may have been based upon descent from Nārāyaṇa Deva (possibly to be identified with Viṣṇu, son of the ṛṣi Kaśyapa) (*YC*, II, p. 186). Nārāyaṇa, it is well known, was the father of Naraka according to Purāṇic legends.

[1] See above, fn. 1 on p. 5; *Census Report*, *Rajputana*, 1911, I, 255; *AR*, p. 265, fn. 3. See also *Elliot*, I, pp. 410-11.

[2] *KFB*, Part II, p. 209.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 210. The following verse quoted by Balāḍhurī gives an idea of these difficulties:

"And thou art going to Mukrān
 How far the destination from the starting place!
I have no use for Mukrān,
 Either to fight there or to trade.
I was told about it; I did not go there;
 And I always dislike to hear about it.
Most people there are hungry
 And the rest of them are depraved." P. 212.

the year 44 A.H. (A.D. 664) al-Muhallab is reported to have passed through al-Kīkān and reached the towns of Bannah and al-Ahwār (Lahore) between Multan and Kabul.[1] In the reign of Mu'āwiyah 'Abdullah was killed in a raid on this frontier. In the reign of this very Caliph Sinan ibn Salāmah is reported to have "conquered Mukrān by force." But soon after Rashid ibn 'Amr was killed while raiding the Mīd in this region.[2] Al-Mundhir also died on this frontier, and it was only when Zīyād, the governor of 'Irāq appointed Ibn-al-Ḥarrī al-Bāhillī that he succeeded in conquering Mukrān 'after a fierce and successful campaign.' The episode of the robbery of the Mīds on a ship sent to Ḥajjāj by 'the king of the Island of Rubies' (Ceylon), if true, was probably only a pretext used by Ḥajjāj for securing support from the Caliph for his vigorous forward policy on this frontier, which finally resulted in the conquest of the powerful kingdom of Sind in A. H. 92-94 (A. D. 710-13), but not before Budail ibn Ṭahfah had been killed before the walls of Daibul in an earlier attempt.[3]

With the conquest of Multan in 713 A.D. the whole of Sind was brought under Arab military control, that is to say, the big cities like Multan, Alor, Bahmanābād, Daibul,[4] and other strategic centres were held by Arab garrisons, while the country remained under the rule of Hindu rulers. One such chief was Ḥullīshāh, a son of Dāhir.[5] It appears from the account of

[1] *Ibid*, p. 210; *Elliot*, I, p. 116.

[2] *KFB*, Part II, pp. 211-12.

[3] *Ibid*, Part II, p. 216. For the advances of the Arabs towards W. Sind and the details of its conquest see also *Elliot*, I, pp. 414 ff.

[4] Alor has been generally identified with modern Rohri on the Indus. Bahmanābād was situated not far from modern Hyderabad, while Daibul is generally placed by most scholars near the modern port of Karachi, and others place it near modern Tatta, on the left bank of the main Indus channel.

[5] Probably to be identified with the Jaisīya (Jayasiṁha) of the *Chach-nāma*. See *Elliot*, I, p. 201. If Jaisiya was written like جيسية then there is some chance of its being confused with حليسه According to this work Jaisīya was a 'monk' and retired to Kassa (Cutch) in the dominions of Balharā after the capture of Alor, pp. 200-201. Balādhurī mentions Ṣiṣah as another son of Dāhir ; see *KFB*, Vol. II, p. 226.

Balādhurī that this prince continued to hold considerable power round about Bahmanābād.[1] It seems likely that soon after Muḥammad ibn Qāsim was removed from the governorship of Sind and fell a prey to the vengeful Ṣāliḥ in about 715 A.D.[2] there was a revival of Hindu power in Sind, for we are told by Balādhurī that about this time, when Ḥabīb ibn al-Muhallab was 'appointed to wage the *as-Sind* campaign, the kings of al-Hind came back to their kingdoms and Ḥullīshāh came back to Bahmanābād and took up a position on the Mihrān.' We are further told that 'the people of ar-Rūr (Alor) submitted to him.'[3] Mīr Ma'ṣūm goes so far as to say that two years after the death of Muḥammad ibn Qāsim "the people of India rebelled, and threw off their yoke, and the country from Debalpur to the Salt Sea only remained under the dominions of the Khalīfa."[4] According to Balādhurī, Ḥullīshāh and all the rulers of Sind accepted Islam and Arabic names, in the reign of Caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz who succeeded Sulāymān in 717 A.D.[5] But the Caliphs continued to send governors over Sind,[6] and the degree of authority which they exercised must have varied according to the personality and ability of these officers. There is evidence to show that some of these governors tried to extend their power from their posts in Sind. Ḥajjāj had ordered Muḥammad ibn Qāsim not to rest satisfied with Sind but to penetrate to China, thus emulating the victories of Qutayba in Transoxania, and he is generally credited by al-Bīrūnī, the *Chach-nāma*, and the Persian authorities with

[1] *KFB*, Part II, p. 225.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 224. I prefer the matter-of-fact account of Balādhurī (9th century A.D.) to the romantic story of 'Alī ibn Hamīd al-Kūfī, which appears to be a later fabrication. See *Elliot*, I, 437; also *Caliphate*, pp. 362-63.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 225.

[4] *Elliot*, I, p. 438.

[5] *KFB*, Part II, p. 225.

[6] For the list of governors see the end of this chapter; also Zambaur's *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour L'Histoire de L'Islam*, p. 279.

having penetrated to Kanauj.[1] It is difficult to ascertain how far this is historical, but there are reasons to believe that Junayd, who was Governor of Sind under Caliph Hishām (724-43) not only undertook a vigorous policy for the consolidation of Arab power in Sind but actually made raids on many parts of India. Balādhurī tells us that he defeated and killed Dāhir's son Ḥullīshāh who had apostatized and opposed his advance after a naval battle. He is also reported to have raided Uzain, Bahrī-mad, al-Mālibah, al-Kīraj, Mirmad, al-Mandal, Dahnāj, and Barwaṣ, and conquered al-Bailamān and al-Jurz.[2] It is probably one of these raids which is recorded in the Nausari grant (A.D. 738-39) of the Lāṭa Cālukya prince Pulakeśin Avani Janāśraya. It is recorded in this inscription that Pulakeśin defeated a *Tājika* (Arab) army which had afflicted the kingdoms of Sindhu, Cutch, Saurāṣṭra, Cāvoṭaka, Maurya, and Gurjara, and had apparently advanced on Navasāri, where this prince was ruling at this time.[3] The route of advance of this Arab invasion was through the Baroda Gap, which easily communicates with Sind, through the low-lying plain near the Runn of Cutch.[4] Another such raid appears to be noticed in the Gwalior inscription of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Bhoja I, which tells us that Nāgabhaṭa, the founder

[1] *Elliot*, I, p. 434. *Kitābul-Hind*, of al-Bīrūnī; Trans. by Sachau, Vol. I, p. 21.

[2] *KFB*, Part II, pp. 226-27. Another son of Dāhir, Ṣiṣah was also treacherously killed by Junayd. Many of these places are not yet definitely identified. Jurz is probably the Gurjara State of Western India. Elliot identified Kīrāj with Cutch and Mandal with Okā-Mandal in Gujarat; see *Elliot*, I, pp. 126, fn. 2, 390-91, 441-42. Recently Dr. R. C. Majumdar had identified Mīrmad (Marmad of *Elliot*, I, p. 126) with the Maru-Māra referred to in a Ghatiyala inscription which includes Jaisalmer and parts of Jodhpur State. Mandal, according to him, is probably Mandor, while al-Bailamān probably refers to the circle of states mentioned in another Ghatiyala inscription as Vallamaṇḍala. Al-Malībah is taken by Murgotten as Malabar, by Elliot as Malwa or Malabar, while according to Dr. Majumdar it evidently means "eastern and western Malwa." See JL, 1923, Vol. X, pp. 21-22. Dr. Barnett suggests can Bailamān (بيلمان) be Bhilmāl, (بهيلمال), now Bhinmāl.

[3] *Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress, Oriental Section*, p. 231; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 109; Part II, pp. 187-88 and 810.

[4] *JL*, 1927, Vol. XIV, pp. 13-15.

of the family, who probably ruled in Avanti in about *c*. 725 A.D., defeated the army of a powerful *Mleccha* ruler which had apparently invaded his dominions.[1] According to al-Bīrūnī and a number of Jain writers the famous capital city and port of Valabhī was destroyed as a result of a series of Arab raids.[2] Balāḏhurī mentions the temporary occupation of Sindān (in Cutch) by the Arabs from Sind.[3] But the success of the Arabs appears to have been very limited. Among other reasons which prevented the Arab armies from meeting with the same degree of success, which they met with elsewhere, was probably the steady opposition of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Western Hindusthān, who in the 9th century came to hold the whole of Northern India from the Karnal District in the Punjab to the Vindhyas and from North Bengal to the Kathiawar peninsula.[4] As the dominions of these kings of " Jurz " (Gurjara) touched upon the Arab sphere of influence in Sind and as they had to bear the brunt of the Arab attacks they soon came to be regarded as " unfriendly to the Arabs," while their enemies the Balharās (Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Mānyakheṭa), soon developed a partiality for the Arabs.[5] The roots of this policy of forming alliances with infidels for the purpose of political conquests, as opposed to holy war, must be traced to the first conqueror of Sind, who ceased to interfere with the temples and religious life of the friendly Indians and placed the *budd* of the Hindus in the same status as the "churches of the

[1] *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 102 and 107; see also *IA*, 1911, p. 240.

[2] *KH*, Trans. by Sachau (Trübner), Vol. I, pp. 192-93; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 94-96, also p. 525. The city was probably destroyed as a result of a series of raids extending from *c*. 750 to 829 A.D.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 232. The occupation took place in *c*. 813-33 A.D.

[4] See *EI*, I, p. 186; Vol. IX, p. 1 ff.; *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 151 ; *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 63-64; *JL*, 1923, Vol. X, pp. 55-58; *ASI*, 1925-26, p. 141.

[5] *Silsilatu-l-Tawārīkh* of merchant Sulaymān (237 A.H.=851 A.D.) and *Murūju-l-dhahb*, of al-Mas'ūdī (343 A.H.=956, A.D.). See *Elliot*, I, pp. 4-5, 21 and 23; *JL*, 1923, Vol. X, p. 54 and footnote on the same.

Christians, the synagogues of the Jews and the fire temples of the Magians."[1]

But, as I have said, in spite of these occasional raids and alliances[2] the Arab power did not prosper in Sind. Tamīm, the successor of Junayd, though famous for his generosity, was not apparently fitted to carry on the vigorous policy of his predecessors. Balādhurī tells us that in the time of al-Ḥakam ibn 'Awānah, who came to Sind, not long after Tamīm, 'the people of al-Hind apostatized with the exception of the inhabitants of Qaṣṣah.'......'A place of refuge,' we are told, 'to which the Moslems might flee was not to be found, so he built on the further side of the lake, where it borders on al-Hind, a city which he named al-Maḥfūẓah (the guarded), establishing it as a place of refuge for them, where they should be secure, and making it a capital.'[3] Another city that was built at this time was al-Manṣūrah (the victorious; near modern Hyderabad).[4] Alor was probably the first viceregal seat of the Arab governors of Sind,[5] but in the time of Balādhurī (*circa* 892-93) the governors resided at al-Manṣūrah,[6] in Lower Sind. From Balādhurī's description it seems clear that the cities were not far from each other, both being built on the sides of an unknown lake; and it is therefore likely that other portions of Sind were practically lost to the Arabs. But al-Ḥakam, we are told, "won back from the hands of the enemy all that they had conquered from him. He was killed there later and afterwards the governors

[1] *KFB*, Part II, p. 221; *Caliphate*, p. 363; *PI*, 1913, p. 272. The *budd* should not be taken as always meaning a Buddhist temple for Balādhurī appears to mean by "the *budd* of al-Multan," the famous sun-temple of that city; *ibid*, p. 222.

[2] For other friendly Arab powers see *Silsilatu-l-Tawārīkh*, *Elliot*, I, pp. 4-5. For the evil effects of Junayd's policy see *Caliphate*, p. 401.

[3] *KFB*, II, pp. 228-29; Qaṣṣah is probably Cutch.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 229. See on this point *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 95; also *Elliot*, I, p. 372, note I, p. 412. According to al-Bīrūni al-Manṣūrah is identical with Bahmanura (Bahmanābād). See Sachau, Trans., Vol. I, p. 21.

[5] *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 8.

[6] *KFB*, Part II, p. 229.

kept fighting the enemy and seizing whatever came into their hands, and subduing the neighbourhood whose inhabitants rebelled."[1] This passage graphically describes the state of affairs in Sind during this period. The only other governor who is credited with a vigorous policy and successful invasions is Hishām ibn 'Amr, appointed by the Abbasid Caliph al-Manṣūr (754-775). He is said to have 'conquered what was left unsubdued,' sent a fleet to Nārind, 'conquered Kashmir, obtaining many prisoners and slaves,' and reconquered Multan. He is further stated to have made an attack on 'al-Qundulhar' and cleared a faction of Arabs from Qandābīl.[2] During this period the power of the Caliphs over their governors in Sind appears to have been somewhat disturbed by the rebellions of their own officers and that of the conquered.[3] But a more dangerous thing was the nomination of 'Imrān ibn Mūsa by his father when the latter died as governor in A. H. 221 (A.D. 836).[4] 'Imrān, it is true, carried on a vigorous policy, fighting with the Zuṭṭs of Kīkān and the Mīds of Cutch. But it has very appropriately been remarked that 'when provincial governments in the east begin to become hereditary they are in a fair way to becoming kingdoms.'[5] Moreover the power of the Abbasid Caliphs was also beginning to decline rapidly and dynasties rose all over the empire.[6] They could no longer adequately support their distant viceroys with men and money.[7] The effect of all these was a weakening of Arab control over Sind, which is illustrated by

[1] *Ibid*, p. 229.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 230-31; on the word "Nārind" which has not been properly identified, see *Elliot*, I, p. 444, note 1. He reads the word as 'Barada' and locates it on the coast of Gujarat; 'it stretches along the south-western shore of the peninsula of Gujarat, between the divisions of Halār and 'Sorath,' on 'Qundahar,' see *ibid*, p. 445; it is identified with Kandahār in the peninsula of Kathiawar "one of the objects of our attack in 1809." But some place it in Afghanistan.

[3] *KFB*, Part II, pp. 231, 232; *Elliot* I, pp. 479-80.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 9.

[6] *KFB*, Part II, p. 232.

[7] See *Caliphate*, pp. 508 ff.; *Elliot*, I, pp. 452 ff.

their expulsion from Sindān in Cutch in the reign of the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim (833-42 A.D.).[1] The Caliphs appear to have lost all effective control over Sind from about the year A.H. 257 (870-71 A.D.) when Ya'qūb ibn Layth established on the ruins of the Tahirids an independent dynasty. In that year the helpless Caliph formally conferred upon Ya'qūb the government of Sind, Balkh, and Tukhāristān, in addition to Sijistān and Kirman, with which he had already been invested.[2] The Ṣaffārid dynasty thus founded was soon replaced in about the year 288 A.H. (900-901 A.D.) by the Sāmānids of Transoxania[3] who finally reduced Sijistān to submission in A.H. 300.[4] But there are no facts to prove, nor reasons to believe, that either the Ṣaffārids or the Sāmānids exerted any effective control over so remote a province as Sind. Sind, thus neglected by the imperial government and its successors in the eastern provinces, appears to have been divided among several petty princes who though they transmitted no revenue and rendered no political allegiance to the Caliph, continued to acknowledge his spiritual supremacy, flattering him by occasional presents or gifts.[5]

[1] *Ibid*, p. 233. 'Sindān is probably Abrāsa, in the southern district of Cuchh.' *PI*, 1913, p. 272 and fn. 4 on that page.

[2] *Elliot*, I; Gustav Weil, *Geschichte der Califen*, 1848, Vol. II, pp. 437 ff.; *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 16 ff.; *Caliphate*, pp. 543-44.

[3] *TN*, p. 25.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 34.

[5] *Elliot*, I, pp. 453-54; see also pp. 479 ff, for causes which in the opinion of Elliot accelerated the downfall of the Caliph's dominion in Sind.

Silver and copper coins have been discovered in Sind which from palaeographic and other considerations are supposed to belong to the Arab governors. The following is a complete list of these coins. The numbers on the right refer to those given in the table at the end of this chapter.

	Names.	*Description of the Coins.*	*Remarks.*
1.	'Alī and al-Naṣar	Silver; weight about 8-10 grains.	
2.	'Alī and Muḥammad	"	
3.	'Umar and al-Naṣar	"	
4.	'al-Faraz	"	
5.	'Abd-al-Raḥmān and Naṣar	"	
6.	Naṣar		(6) Probably No. 10 of the Abbasid list.
7.	Abd-al-Raḥmān	"	(7) Probably No. 1 of the Abbasid list.
8.	'Abd-allah	"	(8) May be No. 4 of the Umayyad list.

The history of Sind approximately for the next hundred and fifty years (*circa* 879-1025 A.D.) which extends from the death of Ya'qūb ibn Layth to the conquest of Sind by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, is largely the history of these smaller principalities. But our knowledge about them is very limited. We can only glean some facts from the stray notes of Ibn Khurdādbih (*circa* 300 A.H. =912 A.D.),[1] Mas'ūdī (*circa* 332 A.H.=943 A.D.),[2] Iṣtakhrī (*circa* 340 A.H.=951 A.D.)[3] and Ibn Ḥauqal (*circa* 366 A.H.= 976 A.D.).[4] Mas'ūdī who visited the Indus valley in the year 303-04 A.H. (A.D. 915-16), mainly notices two independent Arab principalities with Multan and Manṣūrah as their capitals. Multan is described by him as 'one of the strongest frontier places of the Mussalmans, around which there are one hundred and twenty thousand towns, and villages.' The king of Multan was a Quraisite, and the children of Usāmah ibn Lawī ibn Ghālib. 'The crown,' we are told, 'has been hereditary in this family since ancient times, from the beginning of Islam.'[5] The last passage probably indicates that Multan came into the possession of this Arab family a

	Names.	*Description of the Coins.*	*Remarks.*
9.	Muḥammad (and) Naṣar	Silver; weight about 8-10 grains	(9) May be No. 10 of the Abbasid list.
10.	Muḥammad		(10) Probably No. 6 of the Umayyad list.
11.	Banū 'Amr		
12.	Aḥmad		
13.	'Amru Nasar	*Copper about 35 grains*	
14.	Manṣūr	,, ,,	(14) Probably last governor of the Umayyads No. 15.
15.	'Abd-ul-Rahmān	,, 33 grains	(15) Probably No. 1 of the Abbasid list.
16.	Muḥammad	,, 44 ,,	(16) Probably No. 6 of the Umayyad list.

See *EIA*, pp. 119-24; *RGD*, pp. 56-64; and consult British Museum Coin Cabinet. I am indebted to Mr. John Allan for kindly showing me the coins in the British Museum.

[1] For the text and translation of his work *Kitāb ul-Masālik Wa'l-Mamālik*, see *JA*, 1865, Vol. VI. Extracts translated in *Elliot*, I, pp. 12-17.

[2] Extract from his *Murūj ul-Dhahb*, trans. in *Elliot*, I, pp. 18-25.

[3] Extract from his *Kitāb ul-Akālīm*, in *Elliot*, I, pp. 26-30.

[4] Extract from his *Ashkāl ul-Bilād* (or *Kitāb al-Masālik Wa'l-Mamālik*), *Elliot*, I, pp. 31-40.

[5] *Elliot*, I, pp. 23 ff.; also p. 454, where Elliot takes "from the beginning of Islam" to mean "probably its introduction into Sind."

considerable time before the visit of Mas'ūdī. An interesting fact noticed by this traveller is about the famous idol of the city 'known by the name of Multan.'[1] 'The inhabitants of Sind and India,' he tells us, 'perform pilgrimages to it from the most distant places; they carry money, precious stones, aloe-wood and all sorts of perfumes there to fulfil their vows. The great part of the revenue of the king of Multan is derived from the rich presents brought to the idol of the pure aloe-wood of Kumār, which is of the finest quality, and one *man* of which is worth 200 dīnārs.' Financial necessity was therefore one of the important reasons why this idol was allowed to flourish in a city which was probably predominantly Moslem.[2] But there was another reason. Mas'ūdī says that 'when the unbelievers march against Multan, and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their idol, and their enemies immediately withdraw.' Al-Mas'ūdī leaves us in no doubt that amongst these unbelieving enemies of Islam the Ba'ūrah (Pratīhāra?) king of Kanauj was the foremost. The kings of the Gurjaras (Jurz) we have already seen were unfriendly to the Arabs even as early as the first quarter of the 8th century A. D.[3] When the merchant Sulaymān visited India in the middle of the 9th century A.D., they were regarded as the greatest foes of the Muḥammadan faith in India.[4] Their power had by the last quarter of the 9th century spread over a large portion of Northern India, including portions of the eastern Punjab.[5] But the policy of hostility to the Arabs handed down by earlier

[1] This idol is apparently referred to as "the *budd* of al-Multan by Balādhurī in connection with the conquest of that city by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim. According to al-Birūnī Muḥammad ibn Qāsim spared the idol but hung a piece of cow's flesh on its neck by way of mockery. See *Kitāb ul-Hind* Trans. by Sachau, Vol. I, p. 116.

[2] See al-Idrīsī in *Elliot*, I, p. 83.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 102 and 107.

[4] *Elliot*, I, p. 4.

[5] See footnote no. 4 on p. 10.

rulers was apparently continued by their successors and at the time of Mas'ūdī, their 'army of the North' waged incessant war 'against the Arab prince of Multan, and with the Musulmans, his subjects on the frontier.'[1] In this struggle, the temple of Multan appears to have played an important part. It is conceivable that but for this advantage the Arab principality of Multan would have fallen a victim to the mighty army of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. In the middle of the 10th century however the Amirs of Multan appear to have secured some success over their enemies, for we are told by Mas'ūdī that a city which was called Ba'ūrah (Pratīhāra?) after the designation of the princes of Kanauj was at his time 'in the territories of Islam,' and 'was one of the dependencies of Multan.' It is difficult to locate this town; but we are told by Mas'ūdī that 'through this town passes one of the (five) rivers which form together the river Mihrān (Indus) in Sind.'[2] The success of the Arabs of Multan was probably due in a large measure to the decline of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire in the first quarter of the 10th century.[3] Al-Iṣtakhrī, who visited India a few years after Mas'ūdī, tells us that 'Multan was a city of about half the size of Manṣūrah.' He also repeats the story of its idol, and the pilgrimages undertaken to it by the people from the most distant parts. But his account contains some interesting details about this temple. According to him the vast sums of money which these pilgrimages brought to the god, were "spent upon the temple and on those who lead there a life of devotion."[4] "The temple of the idol," we are told, "is a strong edifice, situated in the most populous parts of the city, in the market of Multan, between the bazar of the ivory-dealers and the shops

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 23-24.

[2] *Elliot*, I, p. 22; Elliot has apparently fallen into an error by stating that Kanauj was a province of Multan. *Ibid*, p. 454; see also *ante* my fn. no. 2 on p. 4.

[3] *JL*, 1923, Vol. X, pp. 58 ff.

[4] *Elliot*, I, pp. 27-28.

of the copper-smiths. The idol is placed under a cupola in the midst of the building, and the ministers of the idol and those devoted to its service dwell around the cupola. In Multan there are no men either of Hind or Sind who worship idols except those who worship this idol and in this temple. The idol has a human shape and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some believe that the body is made of wood, some deny this; but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide the point. The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold.[1] It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne, its hands resting upon its knee, with the fingers closed, so that only four can be counted." This account differs from that of Mas'ūdī on one important point. According to the latter the offering to the idol formed one of the important sources of revenue of the Arab State of Multan; but according to Iṣtakhrī, they were spent on the temple and its devotees. Iṣtakhrī adds another interesting detail to the story of the utilisation of the idol in wars against the Indians. He tells us that but for this ruse the Indians "would destroy Multan." This statement not only supports our contention about the wars between the Arabs of Multan and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras but also indicates that the Arabs had also by this time lost all their early conquering vigour and enthusiasm, being reduced more or less to a moribund condition. Iṣtakhrī further tells us that "the Mālik is of a tribe of Quraish, and is not subject to the ruler of Manṣūrah but reads the Khuṭba in the name of the Khalīfa." The chief, we are told, lived in a large cantonment outside the city, and never entered Multan except on Fridays, when he went to the city on the back of an elephant, in order to join in the prayers of that day. Ibn Ḥauqal, who

[1] Compare al-Birūnī's account, *KH*, Trans. by Sachau, Vol. I, p. 116.

visited India about the same time, but finished his work in about 976 A. D. confirms most of the statements of Iṣṭakhrī. He also notices the decadent condition of the Arab State of Multan which was only saved from destruction by the Indians by the latter's fear of desecration of the idol of that city. But he adds the interesting information that the sums collected from the offerings of the pilgrims at the shrine were first taken by the Amir of Multan, who then distributed them amongst the servants of the temple. Multan, in his days was strongly fortified. Prices were low, but Manṣūrah was much more fertile and populous. His chronicle makes it clear that the chief of Multan still belonged to the same family which ruled in the time of Mas'ūdī. He owed no allegiance to the chief of Manṣūrah, but still read the Khuṭba in the name of the Khalīfa.

According to Mas'ūdī Manṣūrah was 75 Sindian parasangs (1 parasang=8 miles) from Multan. Towards the north it extended as far as al-Rūr which was included within its boundary. 'The estates and villages dependent on Manṣūrah,' says he, 'amounted to 300,000.[1] The whole country is well cultivated and covered with trees and fields. It is constantly at war with a nation called the Meds, who are a race of Sind, and also with other races on the frontiers of Sind.' [2] Its king was a Quraishite, descended from Ḥabbār ibn al-Aswad. He had eighty war-elephants every one of which was supported by five hundred infantry in battle, and 'opposed thousands of horses.' The 'Meds' with whom the king of Manṣūrah was at war appear to have been the same sea-robbers who infested the ports of Sind and Surāṣṭra in the 8th century and whose depredations were one of the immediate causes of the attack on Dāhir by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim. We know from Balādhurī that soon after his conquest of Sind Muḥammad was compelled to make

[1] This figure is regarded by Elliot as 'ridiculous exaggeration.'—*Elliot*, I, p. 455.

[2] Probably Mas'ūdī is mistaken when he asserts that 'Manṣūra has its name from Manṣūr ibn Jambūr, governor of the 'Ummayids,' *Elliot*, I, p. 24. See *ante*, p. 11 and fn. no. 4 on the same.

peace with these sea-dogs.[1] It is interesting to note that they remained a source of trouble to the Arabs even in the 10th century. In Iṣṭakhrī's time Manṣūrah was about 'a mile long, and a mile broad,' and was 'surrounded by a branch of the Mihrān.' The inhabitants were Musalmans and the dress of the people was like the people of 'Irāq, but the dress of their kings resembled that of the Indian kings in respect of hair and the tunic.' [2] This last point is extremely interesting, showing the tendency of these Arab States to become Indian in character. Al-Rūr, according to this traveller, approached Multan in size. It was protected by two walls and was situated 'on the borders of Manṣūrah.' In the time of Ibn Ḥauqal the limits of Manṣūrah, in the west appear to have touched the borders of Mukrān, for he places the village of Rahūk (or Dahūk) a dependency of Manṣūrah, on the borders of that land.[3] Ibn Ḥauqal further noticed that the Mālik of the country still belonged to the Quraish tribe, claiming descent from Hubād ibn Aswad, doubtless the same family which ruled in the time of Mas'ūdī. This prince still acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Caliph by reading the Khuṭba in his name.

The Arab traveller also agrees with his predecessor in the statement that the city of Manṣūrah was surrounded by a branch of the Indus so that it looked like an island. The inhabitants were Musalmans, and the current coin was stamped at Kandahar, each piece being equivalent to five dirhams. The Tātarī coin was also current, each being in weight equal to a dirham and a third.[4] He confirms Iṣtakhrī by his statement that 'the dress of the sovereigns of the country resembled in the trousers and tunic that worn by the kings of Hind.' But it is significant that in his time the Moslems in certain parts had already

[1] *KFB*, II, p. 223.

[2] *Elliot*, I, p. 27.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 38 and 456. Ibn Ḥauqal appears to use the word *Amir* and *Mālik* in the same signification, fn. 1, on p. 445.

[4] *Elliot*, I, p. 35.

begun to 'wear the same dresses and let their beards grow in the same fashion as the infidels.' This was another step in the formation of an Indian Moslem community as distinct from the conquerors from Arabia.[1]

Besides these two principal states in the Indus Valley, there appears to have been other smaller principalities. On the west, Ibn Ḥauqal, tells us of the city of Qaṣdār (Kuzdār) 'with dependent towns and villages.' The governor was Mu'īn ibn Aḥmad, but the Khuṭba was read in the name of the Khalīfa only, and his place of residence was at the city of Kabākānān (Kīzkānān).[2] Tūrān, not far from this State[3] "was under the authority of a native of Basra, named Abu'l-Qassām tax-gatherer, administrator, judge, and general, who could not distinguish three and ten." Mukrān also formed another principality under 'Īsa ibn Ma'dān, who established his residence in the city of Kīz (Lat. 26°, Long. 63°—approximately).[4]

The above is a bare outline of the political condition of Sind from the time when it became virtually free from effective control by the Caliphs to the advance of the conquering Turks from the North. I have already noticed how the Arabs in Sind, by placing the Hindu temples in the same category as the places of worship of the Jews, Christians and the Persians, helped to establish new lines of Islamic policy.[5] I have also tried to indicate the tendency of the Arabs to adopt gradually Indian dress and customs, which, in course of time led to the formation of an Indian Moslem community as distinct from the early Arab conquerors. This tendency was no doubt hastened by the fact that the early Arab settlers in Sind brought no women with them. The result was, as Elliot has already

[1] *Elliot*, I, p. 39.
[2] *Elliot*, I, pp. 38-39. Kīzkānān (also called Kīkān) is mod. Kelat. See *LEC*, p. 333.
[3] *LEC*, pp. 331-32 ; *Elliot*, I, p. 456.
[4] *Elliot*, p. 456.
[5] *Caliphate*, p. 363 ; *PI*, 1913, p. 272.

observed that there was 'among the descendants of the Scindian colonists, less infusion of the real blood of Arabs than in any other province subjected to their dominion.'[1] Mas'ūdī noticed that the language of Sind was 'different from the rest of India;' but it was not Arabic, for Iṣṭakhrī tells us that the speech of the people of Multan and Manṣūrah was Persian and Sindī. As to the administration of the country, the rule of the Arabs appears to have been throughout more or less of a military character. The land was held by Arab garrisons supported by grants of land. They were probably mainly concentrated in the important cities and were possibly assisted by levies of Sindian troops, but details about this organisation are wanting.[2] The internal administration of the country was necessarily left largely in the hands of the Hindu landlords paying the land tax (*Kharāj*) and the capitation tax (*Jizya*).[3] It is difficult to estimate the annual revenue of the whole of Sind during this period, but in the days of the Caliphs Sind paid to the Imperial exchequer a sum of 11,500,000 dirhams and 150 pounds of aloe wood.[4] There is evidence that commerce flourished. 'Caravans were often passing and repassing between that country (Sind) and Khurāsān, most commonly by the route of Kabul and Bāmiān.'[5] I have already referred to the statement of Muqaddasī about the city of al-Lahūm, in Bāmiān, 'as the trade port of Khurāsān and the treasure-house of Sind.' Mas'ūdī tells us that the caravans of Khurāsān used to assemble at Multan.[6] 'The Arab merchants at this

[1] *Elliot*, I, pp. 463-64.

[2] *Elliot*, I, pp. 461 and 446 ff.

[3] The *Chach-nāma* mentions the *bāj* and the '*Ushari* or '*ashari* amongst other taxes paid by the Sindian cultivator—*Elliot*, I, p. 475. For the rates of land tax and *Jizya* see *ibid*, pp. 474-77. Also *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 902-03.

[4] *Elliot*, I, pp. 460 and 471. Elliot calculates the value of 'one million of dirhams, at five pence halfpenny each,' as 'equivalent to about £23,000.'

[5] *Elliot*, I, p. 467.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 21.

period formed the commercial communication between Sind and the neighbouring countries of India. They brought the produce of China and Ceylon to the seaports of Sind and from there conveyed them by way of Multan to Turkistan and Khurasan.'[1] As to religion, it appears that the tenets of Islam continued to spread. From the very beginning the conquerors adopted a policy of toleration, dictated by political wisdom, and not only did they allow the existing temples to stand, but sometimes, as at Bahmanābād, Brahmans were permitted to rebuild demolished temples. Harsh measures against priests and temples of the Hindus were only taken, as in Daibul, in case of violent resistance to the armies of Islam. Towards the end of our period, we find the Arabs so far removed from their original iconoclastic outlook that they did not hesitate to thrive on the income of idols and utilise them for gaining political ends. The success of Islam in Sind was probably largely due to their policy of moderation.[2] But towards the middle of the 10th century Islam in Sind appears to have been influenced by a wave of Qarmaṭian heresy from Egypt and 'Irāq. It was probably after the period A. H. 326 to A. H. 375 (A. D. 938 to 985), during which they met with ignominious defeats in Egypt and 'Irāq, that they sought new settlements in the East, and taking advantage of the petty local governments, soon spread over the whole of Sind.[3] In the beginning of the 11th century, Maḥmūd of Ghazni found both Multan and Manṣūrah in the occupation of this Isma'īlī sect.[4] Al-Bīrūnī tells us that when the Qarmaṭians occupied Multan, Jalam ibn Shaibān, the usurper broke the idol of *Āditya* to pieces and killed its priests. The temple which was

[1] *PI*, 1913, p. 273 ; Mas'ūdī, Vol. I, p. 207 ; *Elliot*, I, pp. 467-68.

[2] See *MG*, 1927, pp. 81-82, for the possible effects of a policy of plunder and oppression on Hinduism.

[3] *Elliot*, I, p. 459 ; *MG*, p. 23.

[4] For the Qarmaṭians, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 767-772 and the bibliography on p. 772.

built of brick on an elevated place, was converted into a mosque and the old mosque was ordered to be shut "from hatred against anything that had been done under the dynasty of the Caliphs of the house of 'Umayya. When afterwards the blessed prince Maḥmud swept away their rule from those countries, he made again the old mosque the place of the Friday worship."[1]

The Arab conquest of Sind has been described as 'a mere episode in the history of India which affected only a fringe of that vast country.'[2] As a political force or from the point of view of Arab missionary enterprise the Arab conquest of Sind certainly played an inferior part. But trade was active during the period; and with the interchange of commodities there appears to have been also an exchange of ideas. Arab Sind formed a link in a vast empire and the Arabs soon became the carriers of the seed of Indian culture and mediums of exchange of eastern and western thoughts.[3] Astronomy in Arab civilization seems to have come chiefly from India. The study of Mathematics learned from Greece and India, was developed by Arab writers, who in their turn became the teachers of Europe in the 16th century. Al-Bīrūnī tells us that the numeral signs which the Arabs used were 'derived from the finest forms of the Hindu signs.' In this connection Amir Khusrau, the Persian poet (died 1325 A.D.) in one of his *mathnavīs* entitled the *Nuh sipihr* (nine skies) gives us some interesting information. According to him the word *Hindsa* (هندسه) means the mathematical system of the Indian professor *Āsa*. He tells us that the Arab astronomer Abū Ma'shar

[1] *KH*, Trans. by Sachau, pp. 116-17.

[2] *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 10.

[3] See Horten, *Indische Strömungen in der Islamischen Mystik*, Heidelberg (1927-28); Goldziher, *A Buddhismus hatása az Iszlamra*, 1903, reviewed in *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 125-41; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. II, p. 276; Vol. XXVI, p. 31; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 257; Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, 1914, pp. 16 ff. 48, 61, and 149; *Literary History of the Arabs*, by the same, 1907, pp. 4, 341, 361, 389, and 390, ; *KH*, Trans. by Sachau, Vol. I, pp. 124 and 159.

went to Benares and studied this system for ten years, and we are informed that whatever he has written is derived from the Hindus. This Abū Ma'shar is probably to be identified with Abū Ma'shar of Balkh, who died in 885 A.D.[1] In the field of medicine, folklore, and religion also the contact was not less fruitful. Al-Bīrūnī has already noticed the Arab translation of the work of Caraka and the stories of the *Pañca-tantra,* known in his time as the book of Kalīla and Dimna. In religion, in the opinion of competent authorities, the monastic strain and other features in Ṣūfism such as the use of the rosaries, the doctrine of fanā (*Nirvāṇa* ?), and the system of ' stations ' (*maqāmāt*) on the road thereto were borrowed from Buddhism and other schools of Indian thought. Writing on Ṣūfism Prof. Nicholson observes: "It looks as though the legend of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, a prince of Balkh, who one day suddenly cast off his royal robes and became a wandering Ṣūfī, were based on the story of Buddha."

The next period in the history of Sind, which roughly extends from the first quarter of the 11th century down to the 16th century, is the history of the gradual encroachment of the Turks from the North. Though the internal administration of the country probably did not materially differ, being left as heretofore in the hands of petty local Hindu chiefs, the Arab was gradually replaced by the Turk as the dominating power in the Lower Indus Valley. But the details of the history of this period are as obscure as the previous period. We have already referred to the incidents that led to the

[1] See the 3rd *Sipihr,* Fol. 47 *seq.*, India Office MS. No. 1187. The word *hindsa* (هندسه) meaning arithmetic, a cypher, etc., must be distinguished from the Arabic and Persian *handasa* (هندسه) meaning geometry. See *Persian-English Dictionary* by Steingass; *Persian Dictionary Burhan i-Qāṭi'*, and Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Part VIII. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. Mirza of Lucknow University. For the date of Abū Ma'shar, see Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 361. See also on this subject, Cajoris, *History of Mathematics*, 1919, p. 102; al-Bīrūnī's *Āthār al-Baqīya*, Trans. by Sachau, p. 64; *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, Vol. XVIII, 1928, pp. 256-67; XIX, 1928, pp. 29-40.

practical liberation of Sind from the control of the Caliphs.[1] The accession of Sabuk-tigīn to the throne of Ghazni in 977 A.D. led to the foundation of a powerful Turkish kingdom on the Indian frontier which approximately synchronised with the decline of the Sāmānids of Transoxania. The conquests of Sabuk-tigīn and those of his son Maḥmūd soon brought the principalities in Sind within the radius of their campaigns. Quṣdār (al-Quzdār) is mentioned amongst the earliest conquests of Sabuk-tigīn.[2] The conflicts with the *Śāhis* of Afghanistan and Western Punjab and the conquest of Bhera (Bahātih ; *c*. 395=A.D. 1004) which was situated on the left bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range, brought the Yamīnī dynasty to the borders of Multan. The northern boundaries of Multan in those days appears to have touched the Salt Range, for both 'Utbī and Niẓām ud-Dīn tell us that Maḥmūd had to march through the territory of Multan to reach this place.[3] The chief of Multan was far-sighted enough to see the danger to his principality from this Turkish dynasty. According to Firishta when Alp-tigīn (*c*. 963 A.D.) was still the ruler of Ghazni, Saikh Ḥamīd Lodī, the chief of Multan co-operated with the *Śāhi* prince Jayapāla and the Bhattia Rāja[4] (Bijay Ray of Bhera) to oppose his general Sabuk-tigīn in Lamghān.[5] But in the reign of Sabuk-tigīn he is reported to have 'united himself with that prince,' and Sabuk-tigīn, we are told, 'from motives of policy avoided the districts of Shaikh Ḥamīd by every means in his power.'[6] The statement of Firishta, that he owed

[1] See *ante*, pp. 12-13.

[2] *LEC*, p. 331, is not quite right when it refers this conquest to his son Maḥmūd; see *KY*, pp. 32-33.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 322; *TA*, p. 5; *Elliot*, II, pp. 218 and 439-40 ; *TF*, Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I, p. 38.

[4] Briggs writes the name as 'Beejy Ray,' but the original lithographed edition has بجیراؤ which can be read as Bijay Rao (Vijaya Rāya?)

[5] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 9. Firishta seems to hint that Shaikh Ḥamīd Lodī was established in Multan by Jayapāla and Biji (Bijay?) Rai of Bhera.

[6] *Ibid*.

allegiance to Sabuk-tigīn, is more than doubtful. Elliot has already pointed out that the word "tribute" used by Briggs in his translation is not 'authorised.'[1] What appears to be more likely was that Sabuk-tigīn by a shrewd diplomatic move dissolved the combination of the three powers which blocked his progress in the Indus Valley. Jayapāla being thus isolated was easily defeated. But the ruler of Multan soon found out his mistake, and again formed an alliance with the *Śāhis* to stop the progress of Maḥmūd.[2] But it was too late. Abu'l-Fatḥ Dā'ūd, the son of Naṣr, succeeded his grandfather Shaikh Ḥamīd Lodī on the throne of Multan. 'Utbī paints this prince as 'one of malignant craftiness, deceitful treachery, dubious fidelity and detestable inclinations.' According to this authority, 'he set up a claim over the people of the Khutbah (*i.e.*, the chief sovereignty) of Multan, to deal with them according to his will and pleasure, and cast the people into the lubricity of his error, and the ruin of his folly. They signified the case to the Sulṭān, whose reverence for Islam and jealousy for the faith stirred up and excited him, to a sufficient examination of this crime.'[3] According to Niẓām ud-Dīn Dā'ūd belonged to a sect of the Malāḥida. Hence the Sulṭān was incited by his zeal for religion to punish him.[4] According to Firishta, the cause of the attack was the abandonment by Dā'ūd of the 'tenets of the faithful,' and the shaking off of his allegiance to the Yamīnī dynasty.[5] The true cause however was Maḥmūd's ambition, and everything else came as welcome pretexts. As I have said

[1] *Elliot*, II, p. 442; *TF*, Briggs' Trans. Vol. I, p. 40.

[2] *KY*, p. 327; *TA*, p. 6; *TF*, p. 41; Firishta calls Shaikh Ḥamīd an 'Afghan' and "the first ruler of Multan," see *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 9 and 40.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 326-27.

[4] *TA*, p. 6. Malāḥida is a generic term which, though it might include Qarmāṭians, was more generally, at a subsequent period, used to designate the Ismā'īlians. See *Elliot*, II, pp. 441-42. From al-Bīrūnī it is clear that the Qarmāṭians were in possession of Multan; see Sachau's Trans., I, pp. 116-17.

[5] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 40-41.

Dā'ūd tried to stem the advancing tide by renewing his alliance with the *Sāhis*. Ānandapāla, who was appealed to by Dā'ūd, 'detached the greater part of his army to oppose Maḥmūd at Peshawar,' but was defeated and fled to Kashmir, and Multan was besieged by Maḥmūd.[1] After a siege of seven days, Dā'ūd agreed to pay a tribute of 20,000 dirhams, 'engaged to follow the true religion and foreswore his errors'[2] A.H. 396=1005 A.D.). This was the beginning of the end. In 401 A.H. (A.D. 1010) soon after the capture of Ghūr, Maḥmūd again attacked Multan. According to Firishta, the cause of this invasion was the rebellion of Dā'ūd.[3] Multan was conquered, and annexed and Maḥmūd 'put most of the schismatics and heretics who were there to the sword ; he cut off the hands of some, and ordered others to be imprisoned in a fort where they died.' Dā'ūd was taken to Ghazni and died as prisoner in the fort of Ghurak.[4] Soon after this the Sultān attacked Quṣdār which was, as we have seen, one of the earliest conquests of Sabuk-tigīn. The prince of that place, who appears to have ceased to pay tribute was surprised, and compelled to pay 'five hundred packets of a thousand dirhams which was due.' Maḥmūd also seized fifteen yoke of elephants, which that prince had stored up for times and seasons of war and compelled him to 'pay dutiful submission and obedience.'[5] According to some historians, Maḥmūd while returning from his expedition against Somnāth (A. H. 416=1025 A.D.) followed a route through lower Sind in order to avoid the combined resistance of the Hindu chiefs who were blocking his retreat through

[1] *TA*, p. 6; *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 40-41; *KY*, pp. 326-29.

[2] According to 'Utbī the amount of the tribute was ' twenty thousand loads of a thousand direms,' p. 328. *TA*, p. 6; Firishta, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I. pp. 40-41 ; see *Elliot*, II, pp. 248-49 and 442. According to al-'Utbī, Dā'ūd fled from the city and sent his wealth to Sarandīp, and Maḥmūd exacted the tribute from the citizens.

[3] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 50.

[4] *TA*, p. 7

[5] *KY*, pp. 375-77.

Rajputana.[1] Ibn Athīr tells us that during the course of this march he proceeded 'against Manṣūrah, the ruler of which was an apostate Muhammadan. When the news of Maḥmūd's approach reached this chief, he fled into the date-palm forests. Maḥmūd proceeded against him, and surrounding him and his adherents, many of them were slain, many drowned, and but a few escaped.'[2] As this author calls the last prince of Manṣūrah an apostate Muhammadan and as he expressly states that Maḥmūd then placed a Muhammadan prince on his throne, we can safely conclude that the previous ruler was regarded as a heretic, and possibly belonged to the Qarmāṭian sect. Elliot has suggested that this heretical family had usurped the government from the Habbārī dynasty who were ruling at Manṣūrah in the 10th century.[3] If Firishta is to be believed, the ruling dynasty of Multan, which was destroyed by Maḥmūd, was an Afghan family. As he calls Shaikh Ḥamīd Lodī 'the first ruler of Multan' and as he is described as a contemporary of Alp-tigīn (*c.* 963 A.D.), he must be placed sometime after the middle of the 10th century.[4] It appears likely however that Ḥamīd Lodī was preceded by Jalam Ibn Shaibān, who is mentioned by al-Bīrūnī as the Qarmāṭian usurper of Multan.[5] If that was so it was Jalam who put an end to the rule of the Quraishite 'children of a Usāmah' who were ruling in Multan in the period A.H. 332 to 340 (A.D. 943-51).

[1] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 79; *TA*, pp. 15-16; Niẓām ud-Dīn does not refer to the conquest of Manṣūrah.

[2] Extracts from *Kāmil ut-Tawārīkh*, Trans. by *Elliot*, II, p. 249. According to the *Kāmil* Maḥmūd reached Ghazni 'on the 10th Safar 417 H. For Maḥmūd's return from Somnāth *via* Mansūrah, see also *TN*, Vol. I, p. 82.

[3] *Elliot*, I, 459; see *supra*, p. 18 ff.; but there is a possibility that this prince was a Sūmra; see *Elliot*, I, pp. 491-93.

[4] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 40; Ibn Hauqal (*c.* 976) states that the reigning prince of Multan were 'the sons of Samāh' but it is likely that he took this portion of his account from Iṣṭakhrī (*c.* 951 A.D.); see *Elliot*, I, p. 26.

[5] *KH*, Trans. by Sachau, Vol. I, p. 116.

After the conquest of Sind by the Yamīnī dynasty, its history becomes divided into two sections. The history of the northern half, from Multan down to approximately latitude 28°, becomes now finally connected with the history of the great Turkish dynasties of northern India. It remained under the Ghaznavids till 1175 A.D., when Mu'izz ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sām conquered Multan and Uch, and appointed Nāṣir ud-Dīn Qabācha his governor over the conquered territory. After the death of Mu'izz ud-Dīn, Nāṣir ud-Dīn acknowledged the supremacy of Quṭb ud-Dīn Aibak, but on the latter's death he asserted his independence. In the year 1228 A.D. however, Iltutmish defeated him and he was drowned in the Indus near Bhakkar.[1] The history of Lower Sind is somewhat more complicated. From the accounts of Niẓām ud-Dīn and others it appears that Maḥmud of Ghazni's conquest of Manṣūrah was not so thorough as in the case of Multan. An army laden with spoils and suffering from the extreme privations of a desert journey was apparently in no fit condition for any protracted campaign. So it does not appear to be probable that Maḥmūd could take steps for the systematic conquest of the land. Nominally, it continued to be regarded as included within the empire of the Yamīnīs, and later on appears to have been included within the dominions of the princes of Ghūr,[2] and the Sulṭāns of Delhi ; but there are indications to show that not long after the death of Maḥmūd of Ghazni Lower Sind became practically independent under a local dynasty of Rajput origin. These were the Sūmras.

The origin and history of the Sūmras are also shrouded in considerable difficulties. *Ta'rīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī* (c. 1600 A.D.), our earliest authority on the dynasty, says that "after the death of Maḥmūd, the sovereignty passed to his offspring, and the

[1] For the subsequent history of Upper Sind see *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 50 ff.; also pp. 500 ff.

[2] Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī claims to have conquered Daibul and the whole of the territory lying on the sea coast in A.H. 578 (A.D. 1182). *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 452-58. But the hold of the Ghūrī on the province was nominal. See *ibid*, p. 614, fn. 8.

government of Sind devolved upon 'Abd ur-Rashīd Sulṭān Mas'ūd (*c.* 1052 A.D.). This prince gave himself up to the pursuit of pleasure and heeded not the duties of government ; so the people on the distant borders began to reject his authority and threw off the yoke of obedience. At that time the men of Sūmra assembled in the vicinity of Thari (the 'little desert' separating Sind from Kachh) and raised a man named Sūmra to the throne. He had passed a long time as the head of the tribe of Sūmra and he cleared the country of disaffection."[1] Mīr Ma'ṣūmī then gives an account of this dynasty from local tradition, and admits that he never met with any written account of this dynasty. He concludes with the statement : "I have composed this summary. If any one is better acquainted with the subject, he should make additions to this."[2] The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* simply states that the Sūmra (Rajput) line of 36 princes reigned for 500 years.[3] Firishta (*c.* 1611 A.D.) tells us that the Anṣārī tribe was succeeded in the government of Sind by the Sūmra Zamindars, who reigned for 500 years ; but he frankly admits : 'neither the names nor the history of these princes are, I believe, at present extant, since I have failed in my endeavour to procure them.'[4] The *Ta'rīkh-i-Ṭāhirī* (*c.* 1621 A.D.) says that 'from the year of the Hijra 700 (1300 A.D.), until 843 (A.D. 1439), that is to say, for a period of 143 years, the Hindu tribe of Sūmra were the rulers of Sind.'[5] The *Beq-Lār-nāma* (*c.* 1625 A.D.) simply states that the Sūmras succeeded the men of the Tamin tribe, and occupied the seat of government in Sind for 505

[1] Extract Trans. in *Elliot*, I, pp. 215-16 ; on p. 484. Elliot gives the date as 443 A.H = 1051 A.D.

[2] *Elliot*, I, p. 236.

[3] Trans. by Blochmann and Jarrett, Vol. II (1891), pp. 341 and 345.

[4] Trans. by Briggs, Vol. IV, p. 411.

[5] Extract trans. in *Elliot*, I, p. 256. The author remarks in another passage that "they belonged to the Hindu faith, yet that they ate the flesh of the buffaloes, although the eating the flesh of cow is held in abhorrence, according to that religion." *Elliot*, I, p. 266.

years.[1] Muḥammad Yūsuf in his ***Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh*** agrees with Mīr Ma'ṣūm in his account of the Sūmras, but he supplies us in addition with a list of these princes with their reign-periods.[2] This list is also found in the latest Sindian chronicle *Tuḥfat ul-Kirām* (*c.* 1767-68 A. D.) which however adds that the 'Sūmra tribe sprang from the Arabs of Sāmira, who arrived in Sind in the fourth century of the Hijra.'[3]

The extracts quoted above give us some idea of our difficulties. But we can at once reject the suggestion that the Sūmras were Arabs. 'This fictitious genealogy was assumed by them when the majority of the tribe were converted to Islam, and as the name Samāra offered a sufficiently specious resemblance that town was adopted as the probable seat of their origin, though it was not built till after the supposed period of their emigration.'[4] Both Elphinstone and Elliot regard them as Rajput in origin.[5] According to the latter "the Sūmras of the desert are one of the sub-divisions of the Parmāra Rajputs, and frequently combining with their brethren the 'Umars, gave name to a large tract of country, which is even still recognised as Umra-Sūmra, and within which Alor is situated." Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* remarks: "Umars and Sumras are from the Pramar or Puar race, and are now chiefly in the ranks of the faithful, though a few are to be found in Jaisalmir and in the *thal* called after them."[6] These statements are supported by Mīr Ṭāhir, who in the 17th century

[1] *Elliot*, I, pp. 291 and 484.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 485; the date of the accession of Sūmra is placed by this authority in A.H. 445 in the reign of 'Abd ar-Rashīd.

[3] Extract Trans. in *Elliot*, I, pp. 343-45. The author 'Alī Shīr Qāni', observes in an earlier passage 'that historians, observing their first appearance after Al-ī-Tamīn, the last governor of the 'Abbāsids, date the rule of the tribe from that time.' *Elliot*, on p. 485, wrongly puts the tradition of the arrival of the Samara tribe in Sind in the 2nd century A. H.

[4] *Elliot*, I, p. 489.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 488-89.

[6] *AR*, Vol. III, pp. 1281, 1283 and 1299

was familiar with the tradition that the Sūmras were Hindus.[1] As to the probable period of their rise we have to depend upon Mīr Ma'ṣūmī and Muḥammad Yūsuf. It is quite likely, as I have already suggested, that Southern Sind was never thoroughly conquered by the house of Ghazni, and with the first sign of decay in that dynasty, the Sūmras, a local tribe living in the vicinity of Thari, established their supremacy in this region. According to the *Ta'rīkh-i-Ṭāhirī* their territory included Alor in the north and their capital was Muḥammad-Tūr, in the Pargana of Dirak identified by Elliot with Shākapur, a populous village about 10 miles south of Mīrpur on the borders of Tharr.'[2] Another capital of the Sūmras is said to have been Vijeh-kot,[3] five miles to the east of the Puran river, above the Allāh-band. But in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī*, Thatta is often mentioned as the residence of some of the kings of this dynasty.[4] According to all the Sind chronicles, the Sūmra chief who founded the dynasty strengthened his position by marrying the daughter of a powerful local Zamindar named Sa'd. Her son Bhungar appears to have been an active ruler, and died in A. H. 461 (1068 A. D.) after a reign of 15 years. His son Dūdā extended his authority to Naṣrpur, but died in the prime of his manhood in A. H. 485 (1092 A. D.) after a reign of 24 years. His son Singhar was a minor when his father died ; but he grew up to be a vigorous ruler ' and directed his efforts against the country of Kachh, and extended his sway as far as Mānik Bai.'[5] He died without leaving any son after reigning 15 years. The government was for some time carried on by his wife Hamūn, but after a period of internal strife,

[1] *Elliot*, I, p. 256; see also pp. 489, 490-91. Regarding their title of Hamīr in later Sindian tradition, see *ibid*, p. 489; on their heterodoxy see *ante*, p. 30, fn. 5.

[2] *Elliot*, I, pp. 256 and 403-04. The Muhatampur of the *Beg-Lār-Nāma* is the name of the same city.

[3] Also called Wageh-Kot or Vigo-gad; see *Elliot*, I, p. 403.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 218-220.

[5] See *Elliot's* note, *ibid*, on p. 216, fn. 3. The place appears to be unidentified.

Pitthu, a descendant of Dūdā, established himself in the sovereignty. He was succeeded by Khaira, a man of unknown origin, and then came Khafīf,[1] who reigned for 33 years. 'During his government the ryots and all the other people of Sind were relieved from thieves and disturbers of the peace; all were happy and contented.' The Baluchis, Sodhas and Jarejas under their leaders Mihran, Ran Mal and Rām Rāi paid him homage, and we are told that 'in all the country under him from Nasrpur......no one during his reign disobeyed his orders.' It is during this reign that we hear for the first time about the 'thieves of the tribe of Samma,' who were adequately punished for having robbed the Baluchis. He lived 'a long while at Thatta' where he died. He appears to have been succeeded by 'Umar, son of Pitthu, who reigned for 40 years. After his death the people raised his son Dūdā II, to the vacant throne. During this reign the Sammas of Cutch threatened to invade Thatta, but were compelled to submit. The Sodhas also rebelled under Ran Mal, but their chief was killed and they were defeated in an engagement with great slaughter. Ran Mal's son Sāhiba 'obtained forgiveness' of his faults, on the payment of 20,000 as *nazrānā*. He died in Thatta after a reign of 14 years. There are some discrepancies in our authorities about the list of rulers here. According to Mīr Ma'ṣūmī he was succeeded by his son 'Umar, who "took to drinking wine and paying no attention to the country," as a result of which the Sammas, the Sodhas, the Jats and the Baluchis left off obeying his orders and became rebellious. But with the assistance of Mullā Ḥamīd he defeated the Sammas and succeeded in suppressing the rebellions. He then went to Thari, where he died. He was succeeded by his nephew Chanar (Chanīsar), who was soon ousted by 'Umar's son Dūdā III, with the assistance of Sulṭān Maudūd, Shāh of Ghazni.[2] But Muḥammad Yūsuf, followed by 'Alī Shīr

[1] Also called Hafīf; see *ibid*, pp. 216 and 485.

[2] I cannot identify this prince. This Maudūd cannot belong to the Yamīnī dynasty for the prince of that name died in A. H. 441 (A. D. 1049); See *TA*, p. 29.

Qāni', places Pahtu (33 years), Genhra (16 years), Muḥammad Ṭūr (15 years), Genhra II (several years) between Dūdā II and Dūdā III. According to Mīr Ma'ṣum Dūdā III was succeeded by 'a person named Armīl.' He proved to be a 'tyrant and an oppressor' and was killed by Unar of the Samma tribe, who had settled in Sind from Cutch. But according to two other authorities Dūdā III was succeeded by Tai (24 years), Chanīsar (18 years), Bhungar II (15 years), Ḥafīf II (18 years), Dūdā IV (25 years), 'Umar Sūmra (35 years), Bhungar III (10 years). Then the government fell to Hamīr, who was deposed by the tribe of Samma, 'on account of his tyranny.' According to the *Tuḥfat ul-Kirām*, 'Umar Sumra gave his name to the fort of 'Umarkoṭ.[1]

As to the extent of the period over which they ruled our authorities differ. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Ṭāhirī* gives them only 143 years, from 700 to 843 A. H. but Abu'l-Faẓl, Firishta, and Shāh Qāsim Khān (author of *Beg-lār-nāma*) give them a period of 500 or 505 years. 'Alī Shīr Qāni', though he estimates the 'term of their authority' at 550 years, yet places the accession of Sumra, the founder of the dynasty, in about 720 A.H. (1320 A.D.), shortly after the accession of Ghiyāth ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh. According to this source the last prince of the dynasty was Armīl, who was slain by the Sammas in A.H. 752 (1351 A.D.) But he admits that the history of the family is very discordantly narrated, and repeats the statements of Muḥammad Yūsuf, which place the date of the first Sumra prince in 445 A.H. (1053 A.D.). Elliot has shown that the dynasty certainly came to an end in *c.* A.H. 764 because in about that year Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughluq invaded Sind and was opposed by a prince whose title was Jām,[2] a title borne by Sammas only. Ten years previous to this the chief of Thaṭṭa who opposed Muḥammad Tughluq is described by Baranī as

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 345.

[2] Extracts from *TFSS*, Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 322.

belonging to the Sūmra tribe (سومرگان).[1] The statement of this contemporary historian is supported by Firishta, who also describes the opponent of this Tughluq emperor as a Sūmra (سومره) prince.[2] But the question is complicated by the mention of the Jām as the opponent of Muḥammad Tughluq in another passage of Baranī.[3] The *Ta'rīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī* represents this ruler as belonging to the Samma tribe.[4] As all the authorities are agreed that the opponent of Sulṭān Fīrūz was a Jām, the confusion might have been caused by the existence of remnants of the Sūmras, who though ousted probably still lingered for some years near about Thatta. This appears to be supported by the statement of the *Tuḥfat ul-Kirām*, which represents the opponents of Fīrūz as 'Sūmra, Jareja, and Samma' tribes though it mentions the Jām as the ruler of Sind.[5] Anyhow it is certain that the dynasty disappeared during the period *c.* 752 A.H. (1351-52 A.D.) to *c.* 764 A.H. (1361-62 A.D.).[6] If we count back 500 years from this period, it takes us to the middle of the 9th century A.D. Though the round figure is rather suspicious, yet in view of the number of authorities who assign this period to the Sūmras, we may conclude that there is some element of fact in the tradition. It is possible that the beginning of the rise of the dynasty is to be traced to the period of confusion in Sind which followed the rise of the Ṣaffārids in the middle of the 9th century (257 A.H.=870-71 A.D.). There is some likelihood that the prince who was ousted by Maḥmūd of Ghazni may possibly have been a Sūmra prince. In the sacred books of the Druses we find an

[1] See *TFSB*, Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta, 1862, p. 524; also extracts from the same Trans. in *Elliot*, III, pp. 264-65.

[2] Nawal Kishor Ed., Lucknow, 1861, p. 143; also Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 442.

[3] *Elliot*, III, p. 263: "Taghī...the rebel...fled to Thatta, where he found refuge with the Jām."

[4] *Elliot*, Vol. I, pp. 225 ff.

[5] *Elliot*, I, p. 242.

[6] *CHI*, however 'from a consideration of all the circumstances' concludes that the dynasty came to an end in about 1336, *ibid*, p. 500.

epistle addressed in the year 433 A.H. (1032 A.D.) to the 'Unitarians of Multan and Hindustan in general, and to Shaikh ibn Sūmar Rājā Bal in particular.' [1] The Sūmras probably continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of Maḥmūd and his son Ma'sūd, but became virtually free from all control in the reign of 'Abd ur-Rashīd (*c.* 1052 A.D.). After a period of virtual independence they had probably again to bow before Mu'izz ud-Dīn Muḥammad Sām when he conquered Multan and Uchch in 570 A.H. (A.D. 1175) and undertook his disastrous march against Anhilwāra in A.H. 574 (A.D.1178). The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* informs us that Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī conquered Daibul and the coast regions in its neighbourhood in A.H. 578 (A.D. 1182). [2] Nāṣir ud-Dīn Qabācha, who was appointed governor of Upper Sind in 1205 A.D., possibly also held some sort of a loose hegemony over them. After his defeat and death in A.D. 1228, Malik Sinān ud-Dīn Chatīsar, the then Sūmra prince, submitted to Junaydī, the general of Iltutmish, and became a vassal of the Delhi Sulṭān.[3] Chatīsar is probably to be identified with Chanar or Chanīsar of the Sindian chronicle. According to Ḥasan Niẓāmī 'coinage was struck, and the prayers read in the name of Shams ud-Dīn as far as Quṣdār and Makrān.' After this, their power appears to have declined, till they were supplanted by the Sammas. From the name of the contemporary of Iltutmish it is clear that the reigning family of the Sūmras had already accepted Islam. Elliot has shown some grounds for believing that they were probably tainted with Qārmaṭian heresy as early as the 11th century A.D.[4] The period when the princes accepted Islam is

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. I, pp. 491 and 493.

[2] *TA*, p. 36; *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 300; *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 452-53.

[3] Extracts from *Tāj ul-Ma'āthir*, Trans. *Elliot*, II, p. 242; *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 614-15. Chanīsar (چنیسر) may readily be mistaken for Chatīsar (چتیسر), there being only the difference of the additional dot of ث. See Raverty's note, No. 8, on p. 614. Chanar or Chanīsar is the 14th in *Muntakhab-ul-Twārīkh* and *Tuḥfatul Kirām* list, see *Elliot*, I, pp. 485 and 344. Raverty makes him the 11th on the list.

[4] See *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 491.

uncertain, but Tod had noticed that with a few exceptions, the whole tribe had entered into 'the rank of the faithful.' [1] As to the position occupied by the Sūmras, we should remember that though their authority spread over the whole of the territory now known as Sind, yet there is evidence to show that there were other tribal principalities in this region. With the decline of their power these tribes soon transferred their allegiance to the Muhammadan governors of Multan. The *Chach-nāma* gives us the following list of 'seven Rānās of Sind tributary to Multan in the days of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Qabācha' [2]: (1) Rānā Buhnar Sa'ta *Rāthor*, of Dabra, in the district of Durbela; (2) Rānā Sanīr, son of Dhamāj, of the tribe of Kureja *Samma*, residing in Tūng, lying in the district of Rūpāh; (3) Jaisar, son of Jajjī Māchhi Solankī, of Māniktara; (4) Wakīa, son of Pannūn Channūn, who was established in the valley of Sīwī; (5) Channūn, son of Dīta, of the tribe of Channa, resident of Bhāg-nai; (6) Jīya, son of Wariāh, of Jham, or Hemakoṭ; (7) Jasodhan Ākra, of Mīnnagar district of Bambārwa.

We have seen that the dominating power in Lower Sind, the Sūmras were displaced by the Sammas in the middle of the 14th century. It is possible that they established their power by taking advantage of the confusion which prevailed all over India during the later years of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. But the history of the Sammas is as obscure as that of the Sūmras. Mīr Ma'ṣūmī, our chief authority on their history, frankly states that he met with no written account of the tribe and had composed his 'summary' entirely from local hearsay. He records the tradition that the tribe was formerly settled in Cutch, whence a portion of it migrated and settled in Sind and formed alliances with

[1] *AR*, Vol. III, p. 1299. See also *Ta'rīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, *Elliot*, I, p. 270.

[2] Extract Trans. in *Elliot*, I, p. 340; note that the contemporary of Shams ud-Dīn Iltutmish is called *wālī* of Diwal, indicating perhaps the decadent state of his power, which possibly included only the coast districts at that time.

the people of the country.[1] Mīr Ṭāhir tells us that 'the labouring classes and land-holders of the Sammas' held the Hindu faith, but their heterodoxy is proved by the fact that they 'never drank wine without partaking of a young buffalo-calf.'[2] He also states that the Sammas were oppressed by the Sūmras and compelled to take shelter in Cutch, which they captured from the Chāwaras.[3] After the defeat and disposal of the Sūmras by Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn of Delhi, the Sammas again gradually spread over Sind.[4] 'Alī Shīr Qānī' observes, that the Sammas were the owners of land throughout Sind, as far as Gujarat, including also the greater part of Rajputana, and they formed the majority of the population of Sind. He refers to the following tradition, concerning the origin of the Sammas. "Sām was the son of 'Umar, son of Hishām, son of Abū Lahib ; according to others he was the son of 'Umar, son of 'Akerma, son of Abū Jahl. The title of Jām renders it probable that he was descended from Jāmshīd."[5] Tod has described the Sammas as a great branch of the Yadu race, who were descended from Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa. The sons of Sāmba, in his opinion, made his name the patronymic in Seistan and the Lower Indus Valley, and opposed Alexander in the 4th century B.C. under their chief Sambos. Commenting on their alleged origin from Jamshīd he says, that the Sammas in Sind, after accepting Islam, were eager to adopt a pedigree which might give them importance in the eyes of their conquerors. "Sām was therefore transformed to Jām, and the Persian king, Jāmshīd, was adopted as the patriarch of the Sammas, in lieu of the legitimate Sāmba."[6] That the Sammas were settled in Sind is attested by the

[1] *Elliot*, I, pp. 223 and 236.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 266 ; for a similar custom of the Sūmras see above p. 30, fn. 5.

[3] Probably the same as the *Cāvaḍās*, *Cāvoṭaka* or *Cāpotkaṭa* of Gujarat History. See *infra*, my chapter on the Caulukyas of Anahilapāṭana.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 267-72.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 337 and 339.

[6] *AR*, Vol. II, pp. 1219, fn. 3. Elliot agrees with this view. See *Elliot*, I, pp. 496-97 ; but he doubts the etymology of the derivation of *Jām* from *Samma*, see *ibid*, p. 495.

Chach-nāma, which tells us that they came out with trumpets and shawms to proffer their allegiance to Muhammad Qāsim, when the latter was on the banks of the Lower Indus valley.[1] Elliot considers "Sāmba, the governor of Debal, on the part of Chach" to be a representative of the tribe at an earlier period. 'They were either Buddhists or Hindus and were received into favour' by the early Arab conquerors in consideration of their prompt and early submission.[2] Whatever may be the real origin of the Sammas, it is clear from the above discussion that they formed one of the indigenous tribes who were settled in the Lower Indus valley, Western Rajputana and Cutch, long before the advent of Islam. The connection of Jām, the title of their rulers with Jāmshīd is certainly fictitious. The title is even now found in Rajput ruling houses in Kathiawar peninsula.[3] The State of Navanagar whose Rajput chief bears this title, is not far removed from Cutch, a place closely connected with the Sammas. The Jareja tribe, to which its chief and the Rao of Cutch still belong, is regarded by competent authorities as a branch of the Sammas.[4] According to Elliot they became 'proselytes to Islam some time after 793 A.H. (1391 A.D.).' But this must have happened some time earlier, for Shams-i-Sirāj, while describing the campaign of Fīrūz Tughluq (764-766 A.H.) against the Jām of Sind refers to "the combatants on both sides as Musalmans." [5]

The first capital of the Sammas appears to have been a town called Sāmūī (also called Sāi, Samūiya or Samma-nagar), the ruins of which have been 'traced near Thatta.' [6] According to Mīr Ṭāhir, 'Tatta' was founded later 'on a lucky day settled

[1] *Elliot*, I, p. 496.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *IGI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 419 ff.
[4] *Elliot*, I, p. 495.
[5] *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 332.
[6] *Ibid*, pp. 272-3 and 401-02.

by Brahmans and astrologers.' [1] Later Muhammadan chroniclers regularly represent the Jāms as chiefs of Thatta.[2]

The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* gives us a list of 16 Samma princes with a reign period of 163 years. But for the details of the history of this tribe we have to depend mainly on *Ta'rīkh-i-Mā'ṣūmī*. The author of this work has given us not only a list of 18 Samma princes with a reign period of about 171 years but has also supplied us with some details of the history of each reign. His account, however, requires careful examination, and unless verified cannot be always accepted as sober history. The list of princes given by Abu'l Faẓl is as follows :[3]—

			Years.	Months.	Days.
(1)	Jām Unar........................	reigned,	3	6	
(2)	,, Jūnā, his brother......	,,	4	0	
(3)	,, Banhatiayah............	,,	15		
(4)	,, Tamāchi, his brother	,,	13	and some months.	
(5)	,, Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn............	,,	11	and some months.	
(6)	,, Niẓām ud-Dīn, his son	,,	2	and a fraction.	
(7)	Jām 'Alī Shīr Tamāchi	,,	6	and some months.	
(8)	,, Karan, son of Tamāchi	,,	0	0	1½
(9)	Fatḥ Khān, son of Sikandar	,,	11	and some months.	
(10)	Tughluq, his brother	,,	28	0	0
(11)	Mubārak, the Chamberlain	,,	0	0	3
(12)	Sikandar, b. Fatḥ Khān	,,	1	6	0
(13)	Sanjar, commonly called Rādhan	,,	8	and some months.	
(14)	Jām Niẓām ud-Dīn, known as Jām Nandā	,,	60	and some months.	
(15)	Jām Fīrūz, his son. (Also ruled a second time after 16.)				
(16)	Jām Ṣalāḥ ud-Din, a relation of Fīrūz.				

[1] *Ibid*, p. 273.
[2] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 341.
[3] *AAK*, Vol. II, pp. 342-43.

The list of princes found in *Ta'rīkh-i-Ṭāhirī* is as follows :[1]

			Years.
(1)	Jām	Unar, son of Bābiniya	3½
(2)	,,	Jūnā, ,, ,, ,, ...	13
(3)	,,	Tamāchi.	
(4)	,,	Malik Khair ud-Dīn (son of 3).	
(5)	,,	Bābiniya (son of 4)	15
(6)	,,	Tamāchi (brother of 4)	13
(7)	,,	Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn	11 and some months.
(8)	,,	Niẓām ud-Dīn (son of 7).	
(9)	,,	'Alī Shīr	7
(10)	,,	Karan (son of Tamāchi)	Only some days.
(11)	,,	Fatḥ Khān (nephew of 10)	15
(12)	,,	Tughluq (brother of 15)	28
(13)	,,	Sikandar (son of 12) ... ... (Usurpation of power by the Chamberlain Mubārak for 3 days during the reign of 13).	1½
(14)	,,	Rai Dan, ascended in the year 858 A.H. (1454 A.D.)	8
(15)	,,	Sanjar	8
(16)	,,	Niẓām ud-Dīn also called Nanda. Succeeded (15) in A. H. 866 (A. D. 1461)	48
(17)	,,	Fīrūz (son of 16).	
(18)	,,	Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn.	

It will be observed from a comparison of the two lists that though there are important differences, yet there is a substantial measure of agreement in them. Both the lists agree that Jām Unar was the founder of the line. According to Mīr Ma'ṣūm he killed the last Sūmra prince Armīl,[2] and conquered Siwistān after defeating and killing Malik Ratan, who is described as " the representative of the Turk." But he retired to Thari on being

[1] *Elliot*, I, pp. 224-36.

[2] Such is also the view of Mīr Ṭāhir, but he also gives a tradition which is mentioned by Muḥammad Yūsuf according to which the last king was Hammīr, see *supra*, p. 34.

threatened by Malik Fīrūz and 'Alī Shāh, who were near Bhakkar with the royal Turkish army, and died there after a reign of 3½ years. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to identify this Turkish king but it is not unlikely that he was some earlier representative of the Slave kings of Delhi. The next prince, Jūnā, is also found in both the lists. He is said to have laid waste the villages and towns up to Bhakkar which he conquered. For some time he reigned supreme in Sind; but we are told that at length Sulṭān 'Alā ud-Dīn sent his brother Ulugh Khān to Multan to check him. The Jām however died before the beginning of operations against him, after a reign of 13 years. If this Sulṭān 'Alā ud-Dīn is the Khaljī prince of that name who ascended the throne in 696 A.H. (1296 A.D.), then we must conclude that the Sammas, who appear in the list of Rānās of Sind as early as the time of Nāṣir ud-Dīn Qabācha (died in 1228 A.D.), must have established an independent power long before their overthrow of the Sūmras in the middle of the 14th century. In that case both the tribes must have ruled simultaneously for some time before one ousted the other, a phenomenon by no means unique in Indian history.[1] But unfortunately we cannot dogmatise, because we are not sure of the accuracy of the chronological arrangement of our source. Our doubts find support from the fact that Shams-i-Sirāj, the contemporary historian of the period, describes a brother of Rāi Unar as the contemporary of Fīrūz Tughluq. If this brother is identified with Jām Jūnā of Abu'l Faẓl, then the whole chronological scheme of *Ta'rīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī* crumbles to the ground. But unfortunately Shams-i-Sirāj does not mention the name of this Jām, and it may not be impossible that the prince to whom he refers was another brother of Rāi Unar. According to Mīr Ma'ṣūm the next prince, Tamāchī (Tamāji) was carried with his family to Delhi as captive by 'Alā ud-Dīn, and had children there. These children, he tells

[1] See *supra*, pp. 34-35.

us, were brought by the tribe to Tharī, and kept prisoners, while it took the business of government into its own hands. After the lapse of some time, and the death of Jām Tamāchī his son Malik Khair ud-Dīn returned to Sind from Delhi and assumed the government. During his rule Sulṭān Maḥmūd (Tughluq) invaded Sind, but could not do anything effective, as he "died in the neighbourhood of Bhakkar"[1] (A. H. 752). Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, who succeeded him, was harassed by this Jām for some stages when the former started for Delhi.[2] The period thus described appears to have been one of considerable confusion, and it is curious that these two princes (Nos. 3 and 4 of *Ta'rīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*) are omitted by Ab'ul Faẓl. It should be also noted that Mīr Ṭāhir does not mention the reign periods of these two rulers. It was probably during this period that Shihāb-ud-Dīn, king of Kashmir (1359-1378), invaded Sind and defeated its Jām on the banks of the Indus.[3] The next prince, called Bābiniya by Mīr Ma'ṣūm, is perhaps to be identified with Banhatiyah, the third prince on Abu'l Faẓl's list. According to Mīr Ma'ṣūm this prince was ruling in Sind when Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh invaded that country. This statement is supported by Shams-i-Sirāj, the contemporary historian of the period. He tells us that 'at this time the Jām, brother of Rāī Unar and Bābiniya, his brother's son, were masters of Thatta.' This Jām who probably came to the throne after the period of turmoil referred to above appears from *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* to have been completely overshadowed by Bābiniya ; that is probably the reason why he has been omitted by Abu'l Faẓl and Mīr Ma'ṣūm. It is to be observed, however, that Shams-i-Sirāj differs from *Ta'rīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī* in making Bābiniya "the brother's son" of this Jām.

[1] According to Baranī the Sulṭān died in 752 A.H. on the banks of the Indus, at 14 *Kos* from Thatta.

[2] See *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, *Elliot*, III, p. 266 ; unfortunately neither Baranī, nor Shams-i-Sirāj gives us the name of this Jām.

[3] *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 278 and 501.

For his campaign in Sind, Fīrūz Shāh had to muster an army of '90,000 cavalry and 480 elephants.' The strength of the Jām can be gauged by the fact that his troops amounted to about '20,000 cavalry and 400,000 infantry.'[1] The war dragged on for two years and a half and occasioned considerable sufferings to the Sulṭān. According to Abu'l-Faẓl, Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh on three different occasions led an army from Delhi against 'Banhatia.'[2] But in the end the Jām and Bābiniya surrendered and accompanied the royal troops to Delhi; while "the son of the Jām, and Tamāchī brother of Bābiniya were placed over Thatta, and titles were conferred upon them. They paid four *lacs* of *tankas* in cash, by way of marking their allegiance, and agreed to pay several *lacs* of *tankas* in money and goods yearly."[3] The Jām and Bābiniya lived at Delhi for some time in their dwelling known as the 'palace of Thatta,' and each used to receive an annual allowance of two *lacs* of *tankas* in cash from the royal treasury. Shams-i-Sirāj further tells us that "after some years Tamāchī, the brother of Bābiniya, rebelled at Thatta, and the Sulṭān sent the Jām there to repress the outbreak. On his arrival the Jām sent Tamāchī to Delhi where Bābiniya remained in attendance on the Sulṭān. On the accession of Sulṭān Tughluq Shāh (1388 A.D.) he was presented with an umbrella, and was sent to Thatta, but died on the road."[4] According to *Ta'rīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī* Bābiniya after remaining for some time at Delhi 'became the object of royal favour...and was reinstated in the government of Sind,' while his brother Tamāchī, a man of 'ease and enjoyment,' died of the plague after a reign of 13 years. Firishta appears to support Mīr Ṭāhir, for he also says that the Jām Bany after passing some time in Delhi was taken

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 321 and 323.
[2] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 345.
[3] *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 336 ff.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 338.

into favour by Firuz, who sent him back to restore his government.[1] Jām Bany is most probably the same as Bābiniya of the other chronicles, but Firishta introduces an element of confusion by stating that he was the son of Jām Afra, a person unknown to other works.

With the collapse of the Delhi empire after the death of Fīrūz Tughluq (1388 A.D.), the Jāms of Sind must have become practically independent. For their subsequent history we have to depend almost entirely on Mīr Ma'ṣum and Abu'l Faẓl. According to the former, Jām Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn succeeded Tamāchī. He was a vigorous ruler, and is said to have undertaken a number of expeditions for the chastisement of refractory subjects. One of these was directed against Cutch. He reigned for 11 years and some months. He was succeeded by his son Jām Niẓām ud-Dīn. He 'left the affairs of his kingdom in the hands of the officials,' and gave himself up to pleasure. The result was disorder and rebellion in all parts of the dominion, and he died in the midst of this confusion, after a reign of 'two years and a fraction.' The nobles then raised 'Alī Shīr, to the vacant throne. He was wise and brave, and soon brought Sind 'in due state of order' but he too soon developed a fondness for pleasure and was assassinated while enjoying a boating excursion on a moonlit night. He reigned 7 years. The next ruler, Jām Karan, is represented by Abu'l Faẓl as the son of 'Alī Shīr; but Mīr Ma'ṣūm represents him to be one of the murderers of 'Alī Shīr, and the son of Jām Tamāchī, probably the sixth ruler on his table. The new ruler was cut to pieces by a faction of the displeased nobles after a reign of one day and a half. The throne was then occupied by Fatḥ Khān, son of Sikandar and probably grandson of the same Tamāchī, one of the prime movers in the last plot. He was 'very attentive and watchful over all affairs of State,' and was celebrated for his courage and generosity. He is described as a contemporary

[1] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 455. So also Abu'l Faẓl, see *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 345.

of Tīmūr (1398 A.D.).[1] His reign period is variously given as 15 and 11 years and some months. He was succeeded by his brother Jām Tughluq. He appointed his brothers governors of Siwistān and Bhakkar, and spent most of his time in 'hunting and exercise.' He reigned for 28 years, and was succeeded by his youthful son Jām Sikandar. Rebellions appear to have broken out in all parts of the kingdom during his short reign of one year and a half, and for a time a person named Mubārak, who had been Chamberlain of Jām Tughluq, seized the throne and held it for three days. The next ruler, according to Abu'l Faẓl, was 'Sanjar, commonly called Rādhan,' who reigned for about 8 years. But Mīr Ma'ṣūm gives Jām Rāi Dan and Jām Sanjar as the names of the next two rulers, each of whom, according to him ruled for 8 years. It is likely that these two names have been united by Abu'l Faẓl into one name, but the sameness of the reign period of the two rulers and the miraculous details about the accession of Sanjar in Mīr Ma'ṣūm's-list are suspicious. According to *Ta'rīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī*, Jām Rāi Dan ascended the throne in 858 A. H. (1454 A.D.)[2] and was poisoned by one of his attendants named Sanjar. Rāi Dan appears to have been no relative of the previous ruler, and seized the royal power with the assistance of his own retainers after the death of Sikandar. Sanjar is described as 'a handsome man,' who became king mainly through the prayers of a friendly Derwīsh. During his rule Sind was prosperous, and he appears to have taken steps to suppress bribery and increase the pay of his judicial and other public servants. He was succeeded by Jām Niẓām ud-Dīn, also called Nanda. He is said to have reigned for 48 or 60 years. According to Mīr Ṭāhir he ascended the throne in 866 A.H. (1461 A.D.) and proved to be a very pure and virtuous ruler. During his rule the 'Musulman discipline' spread widely in Sind, and all the feudal princes of the land are described as belonging to this

[1] *Elliot*, I, p. 230.
[2] *Ibid.*

faith. Nanda is said to have been a contemporary of Sulṭān Ḥasan Lanāgh of Multan (A.D. 1456-1502).[1] Mīr Ṭāhir tells us that soon after his death 'all affairs of Sind fell into disorder.' Jām Fīrūz, the son of Nanda, 'was of tender age,' when he succeeded his father, and trouble soon ensued when the young man developed a fondness for pleasures. A rival for the throne appeared in the person of Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn, a relative of Fīrūz, and occupied Thatta for a period of 8 months. Jām Fīruz however recovered his power and ruled for some time till 916 A.H. (1581 A.D.), when Shāh Bēg Arghūn began to make encroachments on Sind. In 1521 the latter, being driven from Kandahar by Bābur, invaded and conquered Sind. Fīrūz fled to Gujarat[2] (1522-23 A.D.). The Arghūn dynasty was thus established and Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, the son of Shāh Bēg Arghūn, was reigning in Sind when Humāyūn took refuge in the land in 1541 A.D. Shāh Ḥusain suffered from ill health, and on his death the royal power passed on to Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Īsa Tarkhān, 'a member of the elder branch of the Arghūn clan,' in 1556 A.D. Mīrzā Jānī Bēg Tarkhān, his great-grandson, was ruling in Sind when Akbar invaded it in 1591 and soon after annexed it to his empire.[3]

DYNASTIC TABLE OF SIND.

Circa 7th Century A.D. to the 16th Century A.D.

(Dates approximate.)

I. Rāī Dynasty (c. 450 to 643 A.D.).
Rāī Dīwāji.
Rāī Sihras.
Rāī Sāhasī.
Rāī Sihras, II.
Rāī Sāhasī, II (c. 643 A.D.).

[1] *Elliot*, I, p. 233 ; *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 503-04.

[2] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 345.

[3] For the history of the Arghūns and Tarkhāns, see extracts from *Tarkhān-nāma* (also called *Arghūn-nāma*) of Saiyid Jamāl (1654-55), Trans. in *Elliot*, I, pp. 300 ff.; also *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 501 ff.

II. Brahmin Dynasty of Chach (c. 643 to 724 A.D.).

Chach (c. 643-671) — Chandar (c. 671-679 A.D.)

Chach → Dāhir (c.679-712 A.D.).

Dāhir → Hullishāh (Jaisiya ?) (712 to c. 724 A.D.) — Ṣiṣah (killed c. 724 A.D)

III. Arab Governors of Sind (c. 680 to 870 A.D.).

(a) *Governors of the Umayyads*:

(1) Ibn al-Harrī, c. 61 A.H. (680 A.D.) ; Conqueror of Mukrān.
(2) Mujā'a i. Si'r at-Tamimī.
(3) Sa'īd i. Aslam i. Ḍarā', c. 75 A.H. (694 A.D.). First Governor of Mukrān.
(4) 'Ubaid Ullāh i. Abī Bakr, c. 79 A.H. (698 A.D.)
(5) 'Abd ur-Raḥmān i. Muḥammad, c. 81 A.H. (700 A.D.)
(6) Muḥammad i. al-Qāsim, c. 89-97 A.H. (707-715 A.D.). Conqueror of Sind.
(7) Yazīd i. Abī Kabshah, 97 A.H. (715 A.D.)
(8) Habīb i. al-Muhallab, c. 97 A.H. (715 A.D.)
(9) 'Amr i. Muslim al-Bāhilī, c. 99 A.H. (717 A.D.)
(10) Junayd i. Abd ur-Raḥmān, c. 107 A.H. (725 A.D.)
(11) Tamīm i. Zaid al 'Utbī, c. 107 A.H. (726 A.D.)
(12) Al-Ḥākim i. 'Awāna al-Kilābī.
(13) 'Amr i. Muḥammad i. al-Qāsim. Founder of Manṣūrah.
(14) Sulaymān i. Hishām.
(15) Al-Manṣūr i. Jumhūr, 132 A.H. (749 A.D.)

(b) *Governors of the Abbasids*:

(1) 'Abd ur-Raḥmān i. Muslim, 134 A.H. (751 A.D.)
(2) Al-Musayyib i. Zuhair, ,,
(3) Mūsa i-Ka'b, 134 to 141 A.H. (751-758 A.D.)
(4) 'Uyayna i. Mūsa, 141-142 A.H. (758-759 A.D.)
(5) Abū Ja'far 'Umar i. Ḥafṣ, 142 A.H. (759 A.D.)
(6) Hishām i. 'Amr al-Taghlabī, 151 A.H. (768 A.D.)
(7) Ma'bad i. al-Khalīl, 157 A.H. (773 A.D.)

(8) Busṭām i. 'Amr, 159 A.H. (775 A.D.)
(9) Rūḥ i. Hātim, 160 A.H. (776 A.D.)
(10) Naṣr i. Muḥammad, 161 A.H. (777 A.D.)
(11) 'Abd ul-Malik i. Shihāb, 161 A.H. (777 A.D.)
(12) Ishāq i. Sulaymān, 174 A.H. (790 A.D.)
(13) Dā'ūd i. Dā'ūd, 184 A.H. (800 A.D.)
(14) Hājib i. Ṣāliḥ, 211 A.H. (826 A.D.)
(15) Ghassān i. 'Abbād, 213 A.H. (828 A.D.)
(16) 'Amrān i. Mūsa, 217 A.H. (832 A.D.)
(17) Haydar i. Kā'ūs, 223 A.H. (837 A.D.)
(18) Ya'qūb i. Layth, 257 A.H. (870 A.D.) Died in 879 A.D.

Independent Dynasties in Sind.

(*a*) *Dynasties of Multan* :

(1) Arab Quraishite Dynasty—The Ghālibis.
(Known dates 332 to 366 A. H.=942-976 A.D.).

(2) Qarmāṭian Dynasty founded by Jalan ibn Shaibān.

(3) Afghān Lōdī Dynasty :

Shaikh Hamīd Lōdī (*c.* 963 A.D.)
|
Nāṣir
|
Abū'l Fatḥ Dā'ūd (*c.* 1005-1010 A.D.).

(b) *Dynasties of Manṣūrah* :

(1) Arab Quraishite Habbārī Dynasty (c. 912-976 A.D.)

(2) Qarmāṭians and Sūmras (c. 1025 to c. 1362 A.D.):

Sūmra = d. of Zamīndār S'ad
|
Bhungar (c. 1053 to 1068 A.D.)
|
Dūdā (c. 1068 to 1092 A.D.)

Singhar (1092-1107 A.D.) = Hamūn[1]

daughter [1]Tārī

[1] Pitthu
⋮
[1]Khaira

Khafīf (or Hafīf) (33 years)

'Umar (40 years)
|
θ......Dūdā II (14 years) (according to *Ta'rīkh i-Ma'ṣūmī*)

'Umar
|
Dūdā III
⋮
Armīl (killed by Samma Unar)

×
|
Chanar (or Chanīsar)

(According to *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* and *Tuḥfātul-Kirām*)

θ......Dūdā II
⋮
Pahtu (33 years)
⋮
Genhra (16 years)
⋮
Muḥammad Tūr (15 years)
⋮
Genhra II (several years)
⋮
Dūdā III (14 years)
⋮
Tāi (24 years)
⋮
Chanīsar (18 years; c. 1228 A.D.)
⋮

[1] Mentioned only by Mīr Ma'ṣūm.

N.B.—Uncertain relationship is indicated by vertical dots and son by a vertical line.

Bhungar II (15 years)
Khafīf (or Hafīf) II (18 years)
Dūdā IV (25 years)
'Umar Sūmra (35 years)
Bhungar III (10 years)
Hamīr (last prince deposed by Unar Samma)

(c) *Sammas (c. 1290 to 1521 A.D.)* :

Bābiniya

Jām Unar (3½ years)

Jām Jūnā (13 years; c. 1296 A.D.).

[1] Jām Tamāchī (*Tamāji ?*)

[1] Jām Khair ud-Dīn (c. 1352 A.D.)

Jām Bābiniya (or Banhatiya)
(15 years ; c. 1362 A.D.)

Jām Tamāchi II
(13 years)

? [2] Jām Karan

Sikandar
?

Jām Fatḥ Khān
(15 years, 1398 A.D.)

Jām Tughluq
(28 years)

Jām Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn
(11 or 15 years)

Jām Niẓām ud-Dīn
(about 2 years)

[2] Jām 'Alī Shīr (Tamāchi)
(7 years)

Jām Sikandar (1½ years)

(Usurpation of Chamberlain Mubārak)
(3 days)

Jām Rāi Dan (acc. A. H. 858=A.D. 1454)
(8 years)

Jām Sanjar (8 years)

Jām Niẓām ud-Dīn, known as Nanda (48 or 60 years)
(acc. A. H. 866=1461 A.D.)

Fīrūz Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn

[1] Not found in *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*.
[2] According to Abu'l Faẓl Karan was the son of 'Alī Shīr Tamāchi.
N.B.—Uncertain relationship is indicated by vertical dots and son by a vertical line.

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31. *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* of Abu'l-Faẓl. Trans. by Blochmann and Jarret, Vol. II, 1891.

32. *History of Mediaeval India*, by Vaidya, 1921, Vol. I, pp. 161-189 ; Vol. II, pp. 162-66.

33. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, Chapters, I, II, III, IV, XIX, and *bibliography* on these chapters; also *chronology* on p. 701.

34. *Tāj ul-Ma'āthir* of Ḥasan Niẓāmī. Extracts Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 204 ff.

35. *Kāmil ut-Tawārīkh* of Ibn Athīr, Extracts Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 249.

36. *Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn*, by Habīb.

37. *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour L'Histoire de L'islam*, by Zambaur.

38. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* of Muḥammad Yūsuf. Extract Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 485.

39. '*Coins of the Arabs in Sind*,' by Edward Thomas in his "Records of the Gupta Dynasty," London, 1876, pp. 56-64.

40. '*Brahmanabād Coins*' in Prinsep's "Essays on Indian Antiquities." Edited by E. Thomas, London, 1858, pp. 119-24.

41. *Fragments Arabes et Persians*, by M. Reinaud, Paris, 1845, pp. 182-217.

42. *Notes on War in Ancient India* by Hemchandra Ray, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, 1927, Vol. XIV.

CHAPTER II

ŚĀHIS OF AFGHANISTAN AND THE PUNJAB

The title "King of Kings" is Iranic in origin. Scholars have traced it to the epithet *'Khshāyathiya Khshāyathiānām,'* occurring in the opening lines of the Behistum inscription of the Achaemenian Emperor Darius I (521-485 B.C.).[1] Under the Greek form, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, it definitely appears on the coin legends of the Arsacid king Mithradates II (*c*. 123-88 B.C.).[2] This Greek legend together with its Indian forms *rajatiraja, rajaraja, and rajadiraja,* appears on the coins of the Indo-Scythian[3] and early Kuṣān kings. The Persian form ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ in Greek characters is first found in India on the coins of Kaniṣka and his successors.[4] A portion of this legend, ÞΑΟ, is also found on some of the copper coins of Kaniṣka.[5] These titles appear to have been the special designation of these Turkish rulers of the Punjab, Afghanistan and the Oxus valley, long after the fall of their empire in the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.[6] In the fourth century, Hariṣeṇa in his Allahabad *praśasti* of the Gupta emperor Samudra Gupta (*c*. 335-375 A.D.) undoubtedly refers to these rulers by the phrase *'Daivaputra-ṣāhi-ṣāhānuṣāhi.'*[7] The coins issued by these later Kuṣāns between *c*. 300 to 450 A.D. also bear the legen d ÞΑΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ.[8]

[1] *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 567; *SC*, Bombay, 1924, p. 286.

[2] Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of Greek Coins, Parthia*, 1903, pp. 24 ff. The Sasanids, who succeeded the Arsacids, took the title *Malkān Malkā*; the form *Shāhānshā* appears on their coins from the last quarter of the 5th century A.D. See Paruck, *SC*, pp. 286-88 and 294-95.

[3] According to the Jaina legend, the *Kālakācārya kathānaka*, the *sāmantas* of the Śakas were styled *Sāhi* and their emperors *Sāhāṇusāhi*. See *ZDMG*, 1880, p. 262; *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 167-68; Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd Ed., p. 274.

[4] Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I, 1914, pp. 187 ff.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 188.

[6] *NC*, Third Series, Vol. XIII, 1893, p. 177.

[7] *GI*, p 8.

[8] *NC*. Third Series, Vol. XIII, 1893, pp. 167 ff.

The history of these later *Śāhi* rulers is extremely obscure. It is generally assumed that after the death of Vāsudeva, the Indian empire of the Kuṣāns fell into decay. But the *Wei-lio* "informs us that during the period of the three kingdoms (A.D. 221-277) Ki-pin, Ta-hia, Kao-fu and T'ien-ču were all subject to the Great Yüe-či."[1] Chavannes concluded from this that in the middle of the 3rd century "the power of the Kushān kings was at its climax." The portion of India indicated by the word 'T'ien-ču' is however uncertain. But there is evidence to show that their power continued in the North-western part of India, Afghanistan, and the Oxus valley up to the 4th century A.D. In the 3rd and 4th centuries the influence of the Sasanids of Persia on these Kuṣān princes is illustrated by the latter's imitation on their coins of the former's head-dress.[2] One of the Sasanian kings, Hormazd II (A.D. 301-10), married a daughter of one of these Kuṣān kings, and on some of his gold coins assumed the title *Kuṣān Malkān Malkā*.[3] E. Thomas supposed from this that the Kuṣān prince of the Kabul valley might have been conquered by the Sasanian king. In the opinion of Cunningham the legend "must refer to the Kushān alliance," which was made by the Kuṣān prince 'by giving a daughter and ceding the province of Balkh to the north of Hindukush.'[4] In *c.* 358-60 one of these Kuṣān princes, named Grumbates, appears to have helped Shāpur II (310-79 A.D.) against the Romans in the siege of Amida. This prince is described as the king of the Chionitæ, "of middle age and wrinkled limbs, but of a grand spirit and already distinguished for many victories."[5] It is difficult to estimate the exact relationship between the

[1] Cordier and Chavannes, *T'oung pao*, Série II, Vol. VI, Leide 1905, pp. 538-39.

[2] *NC*, Third Series, Vol. XIII, 1893, pp. 168-69.

[3] *SC*, pp. 89, 281-83; on some copper coins appear only *Kuṣān Malkā*. For this marriage, see also Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 278; De Sacy. *Mirkhond*, p. 304.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 169-71; Cunningham takes Chionitæ to be 'the Kushāns or Tokhāri.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 171-72.

Sasanids and the later Kuṣāns ; but if there is any truth in the tradition generally accepted by oriental historians that Ardashīr I (212-241 A.D.) conquered Balkh, Khurāsān and Kābul and advanced as far as Sirhind beyond the Sutlej, then the title *Kuṣān Malkān Malkā* or *Kuṣān Malkā* may indicate their position as vassals of the Persian empire.[1] That the relationship was sufficiently intimate is proved by the discovery of Sasanid coins in Afghanistan and the Punjab and the imitation of Kuṣān coin-type by the Sasanids. A coin of Ardashīr I was discovered as far east as the Jhelum District, while the Śiva and his bull and the Indian altar appear on the coins of Hormazd II.[2] The mere discovery of coins of contiguous states in each other's territory has not necessarily any political significance, but it is to be noted that in this case the Kuṣān coin appears to have been "counter-struck with Sasanian device."[3] Rapson attributes certain "coins of Sasanian type and fabric bearing inscriptions in Nāgarī, Sasanian Pahlavi and an alphabet hitherto unread which is probably a development of the modified form of the Greek alphabet, used by the Scytho-Sasanians" to some Sasanian dynasty or dynasties which ruled in the Indus valley.[4] Under the circumstances it is probably not unlikely that the later Kuṣāns for a time came under the power of the Sasanids. A contributory cause of their loss of power may have been the gradual advance of the Gupta power towards the Indus valley. In the 4th century A.D. Samudra Gupta claimed ' acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) Garuḍa tokens (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories and soliciting

[1] *SC*, pp. 71, 79-81; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Ed. by Bury (Methuen & Co.), Vol. I, p. 204. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 17-18; *TF*, Trans. Briggs, Vol. I, p. lxxiv; V. Smith, *EHI*, 1924, p. 289, fn. 3.

[2] *JASB*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, Part I, p. 5 and fig. VIII on Plate I ; *SC*, p. 90; Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins of the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I, p. 213.

[3] *JRAS*, 1920, pp. 221 ff.; *SC*, pp. 79-80.

[4] *Indian Coins*, Strassburg, p. 30; *SC*, pp. 98 and 270-71.

commands' from the *Ṣāhi-Ṣāhanuṣāhis* of Afghanistan and the Punjab.[1]

During the 4th and 5th centuries another important development appears to have occurred in the fortunes of the *Śāhis*. Spectht has shown from the Chinese annals that during the reign of the Wei-dynasty (386-556 A.D.) there was a division in the power of the Yueh-chis. In that period Ki-to-lo, a prince of the Great Yueh-chi clan, separated himself from the main body and established the kingdom of Little Yueh-chi in the territories south of the Hindukush with Fo-lu-sha (Peshawar) as his capital. The Great Yueh-chi clan however continued to rule in the region north of the Hindukush. In the opinion of Alfred von Gutschmid, the separation of this new branch from the old Indo-Scythian ruling dynasty occurred in about the year 430 A.D.[2] The causes of this revolution are probably largely to be found in the continued domination of the Balkh and the Oxus valley by the Sasanids. But there was another important reason. In the 4th century A.D. there was again one of those mysterious movements of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia which had brought the Yueh-chi hordes to the Oxus and the borders of India in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. Though it is perhaps not permissible to assume that "the Hūns and the Hūnas are the same as the Hiung-nu of the Chinese"[3] who first caused the dislocation of the Yueh-chi in the middle of the 2nd century B.C., yet there is no doubt that they belonged to the same stock of warlike nomads. A branch of these settled in Transoxania, and troubled the Sasanids from *c.* 420 to 557 A.D. In the struggles with these tribes Fīrūz I (459-484 A.D.) appears to have lost his life after a terrible battle in 484 A.D.[4] It was probably soon after this disaster that a section of

[1] *GI*, p. 8.

[2] *Śāhis von Kābul*, p. 196; *Études sur l'Asie Centrale*, Paris, 1890, pp. 12 ff.; *Geschichte Irans*, Tübingen, 1888, pp. 168 ff.

[3] See article on the *Huns* by Sir Charles Elliott, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910) Vol. XIII, p. 932; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 82 ff.

[4] *SC*, p. 101.

them pushed through the Hindukush into Afghanistan and India, exactly as the Yueh-chi had done before them about five centuries ago. For a time from their headquarters at Bāmiyān and Herat they appear to have ruled over a wide dominion which extended from the borders of Persia and Khotan to Central India. The capital of this Hun dominion was visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Song-Yun, ambassador of the Wei dynasty, who records that the Ye-tha (Epthalites) received tribute from the forty neighbouring countries.[1] Kan-t'o-lo (Gandhāra) which was also visited by Song-Yun (A.D. 520) was devastated by these Epthalites, who had set up a representative (*tch'e-k'in*=Turkish *tégin*) of theirs to rule over the country.[2] During this period the *Śāhi* princes who ruled in the South of the Hindukush must have bent before the storm and rendered homage to their Hun overlords. But fortunately the Hunic empire did not last long. It seems to have disappeared as a result of a series of defeats inflicted on them by the Western Turks (T'u-chüeh), the Sasanid king Khusrau I, surnamed Anōshirvān (531-79 A.D.), and the Indian kings Yaśodharman and Bālāditya in about the middle of the 6th century A.D.[3] It is possible that after the downfall of the Huns, the Sasanids again established their power over the borders of India. According to Ṭabarī and Mīrkhond, Khusrau I, in his later years sent expeditions to India by sea and obtained territory from an Indian king. Gibbon includes Kābul and Zābulistān in the empire of Khusrau.[4] But if this was so it must have been for a comparatively short period, for soon afterwards, the Sasanid power itself began to decline, and a new body of nomadic tribes, usually designated as 'Turks' (Chinese T'u-chüeh) spread over the Oxus valley from the

[1] *BEFEO*, 1903, pp. 404 ff.; *BR*, Vol. I, pp. xc ff.; *GI*, pp. 158-61, 161-64; *EI*, Vol. I, p. 238; *EHI*, p. 335.

[2] *BEFEO*, 1903, pp. 416-17; *BR*, I, pp. xcix-c.

[3] *SC*, p. 105; *GI*, pp. 146-47; *BR*, I, pp. 168 ff.; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, p. 58.

[4] *SC*, pp. 105-06; *Decline and Fall*, Vol. IV, p. 384; Nöldeke, *Tabarī*, pp. 211-18; De Sacy *Mirkhond*, p. 372.

borders of China.[1] Khusrau I had already formed a matrimonial alliance with them and was materially aided by them in his campaigns against the Epthalites, while Bahrām VI (590-91 A.D.) and Bistām (592-96 A.D.) both sought refuge and met with death amongst them.[2] The Turks thus displaced the Epthalites and occupied their position in Transoxania. In 620-28 A.D. they assisted Heraclius in his campaigns against Persia.[3] When Yuan Chwang started on his Indian pilgrimage in 630 A.D. he found the whole region, roughly from Turfan to Merv and Lake Issykkul to the Hindukush, under the control of the *Khagan* (Khan) of the western branch of this Turkish horde. Their capital city was "the town of the Su-yeh river" which "may be the present Constantinovosk, or perhaps Belasagun,[4] the capital of the Karakhitai, on the river Chu."[5] Yuan Chwang describes the countries and princes south of the Hindukush, and the Punjab. From Balkh, he passed through several small principalities, and after crossing the 'Snowy Mountains' (Hindukush), Bāmiyān and the Black Ridge (Kōh Bābā or Siyāh Kōh), arrived in the kingdom of Kia-pi-shi (Kāpiśa). This kingdom appears to have been a powerful one. It was 4,000 li in circuit, and was bounded on the north by the 'Snowy Mountains.' The king, who was selected from the *Kṣatriya* caste, was a clever and shrewd man and had brought under his control some ten kingdoms. The capital of this prince was probably situated not far from the "affluence of the Kabul river flowing through the Ghorband valley." Toward the east his authority extended over Lan-po (Lamghān or mod. Laghman), Na-kie-lo-ho

[1] Edouard Chavannes, *Les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St. Pétersbourg, 1903, pp. 226 ff.; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, pp. 58 ff. Sir Charles Elliot on Turks, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910), Vol. XXVII, p. 470. See also Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. IV, p. 349.

[2] *SC*, pp. 108, 112 and 113; Chavannes, *Les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, p. 226.

[3] Chavannes, *Les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, pp. 252 ff.

[4] Prof. F. W. Thomas suggests the spelling 'Balgasun.' But see *BR*, I, p. 26, fn. 81.

[5] *BR*, I, p. 26, fn. 81; see also *ibid*, pp. 24 ff.; II, pp. 286 ff.; *Life*, pp. 41 ff.; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910), Vol. XXVII, p. 471; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, pp. 58-59.

(Nagarahāra = mod. Jalalabad district), and Kan-t'o-lo (Gandhāra = mod. Peshawar, Charsadda and Und). On the borders of Ta-ch'a-shi-lo (Takṣaśilā = mod. Rawalpindi district) it touched the boundaries of the kingdom of Kashmir, which under the vigorous rule of the Kārkoṭa Durlabhavardhana (*c.* 631-33 A.D.) had extended its power up to the Salt Range (Sāng-ho-po-lo = Simhapura). In the south, the Kia-pi-shi kingdom included Fa-la-na (Varana = banks of river Gomal and Bannu district). It is also likely that it included Tsu-ku-cha (Tsaukūṭa? = Arachosia)[1] with its capital at Ho-si-na (Ghazna), for we find the king of Kia-pi-shi apparently accompanying Yuan Chwang on his homeward journey from the town of U-to-kia-han-ch'a (Uṭakhāṇḍa = Und), *via* Lan-po, Fa-la-na, O-po-kin, Tsau-ku-cha, Fo-li-shi to the frontiers of Kāpiśa.[2]

But where are the *Śāhis*, who, as we have seen had founded an independent power south of the Hindukush in about the year 430 A.D.? Did they gradually disappear in the clash and turmoil of the invasions of the armies of the Sasanids, the Epthalites, and the Turks? It has been presumed by scholars that the kingdom of Kia-pi-shi described above is the rump of the once mighty Kuṣān empire.[3] This presumption is of course not invalidated by the description of the king as a *Kṣatriya*. By this the pilgrim probably meant nothing more than that the king belonged to the Brahmanical faith.[4] But even if he was right in his description of the caste of the prince it presents no insuperable difficulties. The history of the gradual assimilation of the Yueh-chi hordes in the fold of Hinduism is well-known. Early in their history

[1] *BR*, Vol. II, p. 283 ff.; *YC* (II, pp. 264 ff.) spells the name as *Tsao-ku-t'a* and restores the word as *Jāguḍa*. This seems more reasonable.

[2] *Life*, pp. 54-72, 192-95; *BR*, Vol. I, pp. 49-68, 190-164: Vol. II, pp. 283-84; *YC*, Vol. I, pp. 115-30, 178-285; Vol. II, pp. 264-66.

[3] *Śāhis von Kābul*, p. 197.

[4] Yuan Chwang's description of castes of the Indian princes is not always reliable; see *supra*, p. 5, fn. 5.

the Śiva appears on the coin-legends of Kadphises[1] and the progress of the movement is illustrated by the acceptance of the Indian name Vāsudeva by one of the successors of Kaniṣka. There is no reason to believe that this process of assimilation did not continue amongst the successors of the Great Kuṣāns; and it is quite likely that some of their chiefs even claimed Kṣatriya rank.[2] This assumption that the kingdom of Kia-pi-shi belonged to the Little Yueh-chi rulers seems to be supported by the *Kitāb ul-Hind* of al-Bīrūnī. He gives us the following account of the kings of Kābul :

"The Hindus had kings residing in Kābul, Turks were said to be of Tibetan origin. The first of them, Barhatakīn, came into the country and entered a cave in Kābul...............; he brought these countries under his sway and ruled them under the title of a *Shāhia of Kābul*. The rule remained among his descendants for generations, the number of which is said to be about sixty. Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for information they are at a loss, and not knowing what to say, invariably take to tale-telling......I have been told that the pedigree of this royal family, written on silk, exists in the fortress *Nagarkot*,[3] and I much desired to make myself acquainted with it, but the thing was impossible for various reasons. One of this series of kings was Kanik, the same who is said to have built the *vihāra* (Buddhistic monastery) of Purushāvar. It is called after him *Kanik-caitya*.................. The last king of this race was *Lagatūrmān*, and his Vazīr was Kallār, a Brahman. The latter

[1] Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Plate II.

[2] Though it is not proved that all the Rajput tribes were of foreign origin, yet that some of them are of foreign origin is proved by the acceptance of the Hūṇas for instance in the recognised list of Rajput tribes.

[3] Identified with the modern *Kot Kangra*, the chief place of the Kangra district in the Punjab. See Stein, Eng. Trans. of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 204, footnote on verses 143-44; Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. X, pp. 155 ff.

had been fortunate, in so far as he had found by accident hidden treasures, which gave him much influence and power. In consequence the last of this Tibetan house, after it had held the royal power for so long a period let it by degree slip from his hands. Besides Lagatūrmān had bad manners and a worse behaviour, on account of which people complained of him greatly to the Vazīr. Now the Vazīr put him in chains and imprisoned him for correction, but then he himself found ruling sweet, his riches enabled him to carry out his plans, and so he occupied the royal throne." [1]

All lovers of Indian History will regret that al-Bīrūnī could not acquaint himself with the pedigree of the family preserved at Nagarkot. For the account he supplies us, being necessarily based on defective historical information of the Hindus, which he so rightly condemns, assumes at places a rather fictitious character.[2] But that the kings mentioned by him really belonged to the Kuṣān group is rendered probable by the proposed identification of the Kanik of al-Bīrūnī with the great Kaniṣka, on the ground of the common tradition of their building a *vihāra* at Peshawar.[3] It is, however, by no means certain that the number of kings who ruled in Kābul from the foundation of the dynasty of Barhatakīn down to its extinction in the reign of Lagatūrmān was sixty, nor can we definitely state that they all belonged to one dynasty. But it appears to be clear that the whole period was covered by the rule of the Hinduised Yueh-chi rulers, and Stein is probably right when he suggests that the error of al-Bīrūnī in mentioning a continuous reign of sixty generations must be ascribed to the "continued use of the title *Śāhi*, a title applied by al-Bīrūnī even to the last dynasty conquered by Mahmūd of Ghazna." [4]

[1] Eng. Trans. by Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 10-13.

[2] *E.g.*, the extraordinary circumstances which led to the rise to power of Barhatakin which I have omitted, *ibid*, p. 10.

[3] Reinaud, *Mémoire Géographique, etc., sur l'Inde*, pp. 76 ff.; *Śāhis von Kābul*, p. 196.

[4] *Śāhis von Kābul*, p. 197.

Al-Bīrūnī tells us nothing about the internal history of these rulers of Kia-pi-shi, who held the Kabul valley for at least two hundred years. For this we must turn to the annals of the Arabs, whose conquering armies had shattered the Sasanids and were threatening Khurāsān and Sijistān in the middle of the 7th century A.D.[1] I have already referred to the destruction of the Epthalite power on the Oxus by the Turks in the middle of the sixth century A.D. Taking advantage of the waning power of the Sasanids, the Turks had spread their influence south of that river and even beyond the Hindukush.[2] But "the establishment of the T'ang dynasty in 618 A.D. marked the beginning of a new and glorious epoch in the history of the Chinese relations with the 'western regions.'" Aided by the internal feuds of the Turks, they succeeded in destroying the power of the Northern Turks in 630 A.D. and that of Western Turks in 658-59 A.D. and soon extended their suzerainty across Turkistan and the Oxus valley to the territories south of the Hindukush.[3] Thus in relation to the *Śāhis*, the Chinese and the Arabs occupied the same position in the middle of the seventh century A.D. which the Sasanids and the Turks occupied in the middle of the sixth. But the terrible defeat of the Chinese imperial forces in 670 A.D. and the brilliant campaigns of Quṭayba (705-15 A.D.) initiated an irresistible movement of the Arabs towards Central Asia, which soon made them supreme in Transoxania. In A. H. 256 (A.D. 870) Ya'qūb ibn Layth al-Ṣaffār had already brought the flag of Islam into the Kabul valley.[4]

The steps which gradually brought Islam into the Kābul valley, are recorded in the Arab annals, and incidentally throw

[1] *KFB*, Part II, p. 141.

[2] Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, p. 58.

[3] Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, pp. 5, 58-59. There was a revival of the power of he Northern Turks under the *Khagan*, called *Mo-cho* in the Chinese annals (691-716 A.D.); see *ibid*, p. 62.

[4] *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, *Fasciculus* A, 1924, p. 55; see also H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, 1923, pp. 15 ff.

some light on the history of the Hindu dynasties that ruled from the Zarah Lake to the Indus river. In the year A.H. 30 (A.D. 650), the Arab general 'Abd Ullāh ibn 'Āmir, when he set out for Khurāsān, despatched ar-Rabī' ibn-Ziyād to Sijistān.[1] Ar-Rabī' reached the Hindamand (Helmund) and appeared before Zaranj, the capital of the country. The people of the city "opposed him fiercely" and "a number of Moslems were wounded," but in the end they were defeated and driven back into the city with slaughter. Ar-Rabī' struck terror into the heart of the *Satrap*, who submitted and allowed the Arab general to enter the city.[2] Balādhurī, to whom we are indebted for this account does not tell us the name of the overlord of this *Satrap*. But it seems from his subsequent account that he was probably an officer of the line of Indian princes who ruled in the Kābul and Helmund valleys and were variously known to the Arabs as Rutbīl, Rantbīl, or Zunbīl.[3] After two and a half years Ibn 'Āmir next appointed 'Abd ar-Raḥman ibn Samurah as governor of Sijistān. This new officer compelled the *Satrap* to pay him 2,000,000 dirhams, and made himself the "master over everything between Zaranj and Kishsh[4] of the land of al-Hind, and over that part of the region of the road of ar-Rukhkhaj which is between it and the province of ad-Dāwar."[5] In his description of this campaign

[1] "Sistān, which the earlier Arabs called Sijistān, from the Persian Sagastān, is the lowland lying round, and to the eastward of the Zarah lake, which more specially includes the deltas of Helmund and other rivers which drain into this inland sea." The capital was Zaranj, on Lake Zarah; see *LEC*, pp. 334 ff. Dr. Barnett suggests:

Saka-stāna (land of Śakas)
|
Sagastān
| |
Sajastān or Sijistān (in Arab.) — Saistān (Pers.)
|
Mod. Sīstān (سيستان)

[2] *KFB*, Part II, pp. 141-43.

[3] For this word see *infra*, p. 71, fn. no. 1.

[4] *Yāqūt*, Vol. IV, p. 277; Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 488.

[5] *KFB*, Part I, p. 143. For the places see *Yāqūt*, Vol. II, p. 541. Meynard, *op. cit.*, p. 221; *LEC*, p. 345.

Balādhuri tells us a story which curiously reminds us of the idol-breaking incident in the temple of Somnath. We are told that when "he got as far as the provinces of ad-Dāwar, he surrounded the enemy in the mountain of az-Zūr.[1] They soon surrendered to him. The numbers of Moslems with him was 8,000 and each man received 4,000 dirhams. Ibn-Samurah went into the temple of the Zūr, an idol of gold with two rubies for eyes, and cut off a hand and took out the rubies. Then he said to the *Satrap*, 'keep the gold and gems. I only wanted to show you that it had no power to harm or help.'"[2] Ibn Samurah next "obtained control over Bust and Zābul.[3] He did not want to take prisoners from Zābul, saying that 'Uthmān had made a compact (*walth*) with them. Wakī' says that he made an agreement (*'aqd*) with them, which is inferior to covenant (*'ahd*)."[4] Ibn-Samurah was succeeded by Umair ibn Aḥmar. The people of Zaranj expelled him and closed the town. But in the reign of 'Alī, Rib'i ibn al-Kas "established order in the country." In the reign of Mu'āwiyah, Ibn Samurah again became governor of Sijistān. He was faced with a formidable task, for we are told that the people of Sijistān had apostatized, and the people of Zābulistān and Kābul had broken their treaties. By a series of campaigns he is said to have captured Kābul, in spite of the vigorous resistance of the '*polytheists*,' defeated the inhabitants of Zābulistān, and captured Bust and Rukhkhaj. Balādhurī says that this officer "took with him to al-Baṣrah slaves captured at Kābul, and they

[1] *LEC*, pp. 345-46. [2] *KFB*, Part II, p. 144.

[3] *LEC*, pp. 344 and 349. By *Zābul* or *Zābulistān* the Arabs meant " the whole of the great mountainous district of the upper waters of the Helmund and the Kandahār rivers." It was " a term of vague application but one which more particularly denoted the country round Ghaznah. On the other hand Kābulistān, was the Kābul country, more to the north on the frontier of Bāmiyān. Already in the 3rd century (9th century A.D.) Ya'qūbī describes Kābul as much frequented by merchants. He says that the chief city was known as Jurwas, while Iṣṭakhrī in the next century gives the name as Ṭābān. Kābul, however, appears also to have been the name in common use, more especially for the district."

[4] *KFB*, Part II, p. 144.

built him a mosque in his castle after the Kābul style of building." He died in A.H. 50 (A.D. 670) but before his death he was succeeded by ar-Rabī' ibn Ziyād. During his administration Kābul and Zābulistān again revolted. We are told that the "*Kābul Shāh* assembled a force to oppose the Moslems and drove out all of them that were in Kābul. And Ratbīl came and gained control of Zābulistān and ar-Rukhkhaj as far as Bust. Ar-Rabī' ibn Ziyād led out his men and attacked Ratbīl at Bust and put him to flight, and pursued him until he reached ar-Rukhkhaj. After attacking him in ar-Rukhkhaj, he continued to advance, and subdued the city of ad-Dāwar." He was succeeded in the government of Sijistān by 'Ubayd Ullāh ibn Abi Bakrah. He continued the campaign for some time and reached Razān. But "Ratbīl sent to him asking for *peace for his own country and the land of Kābul* in return for 1,200,000 dirhams.'' This sum was reduced to 1,000,000 dirhams and the peace was confirmed by Ziyād, the governor of Baṣra. In about 61 A.H. (A.D. 680) "the people of Kābul treacherously broke the compact and imprisoned Abū 'Ubaydah ibn Ziyād." The governor of Sijistān, Yazīd ibn Ziyād, proceeded against them in Junzah, but he and many of those with him were killed and the rest put to flight. Among those who were martyred were Zayd ibn 'Abd Ullāh and Ṣilah ibn Ashtam Abu'ṣ-Ṣabhā. After this defeat the Arabs "ransomed Abu-'Ubayda for 500,000 dirhams." The cities of Sijistān, being "aided and abetted" by Ratbīl, became for a time at least free from the control of the representatives of the Caliph. Balādhurī informs us that "when 'Abd ul-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Ullāh ibn 'Āmir arrived as *Wāli* over Sijistān in the time of az-Zubair (c.A.H. 64=683 A.D.), he was compelled to stop in the city of Zāranj because Ratbīl was at war with him." But soon after "abu-'Afrā' 'Umair al-Māzini killed Ratbīl and *the polytheists were put to rout*." But the war did not end with the death of this prince. In about A.H. 73 (A.D. 692) 'Abd Ullāh was appointed to rule over Sijistān. "He made war on

Ratbīl (the successor as king to the former Ratbīl, who had been killed). He stood in awe of the Moslems," and when 'Abd Ullāh arrived at Bust, he offered to make peace for a sum of 1,000,000 dirhams, but the treaty fell through, for the Arab general wanted his tent to be filled with gold. Fighting was therefore resumed. "Ratbīl did not oppose his advance into the land until he had penetrated deep into it, when he seized the mountain paths and passes against him, asking the Moslems to cease hostilities and offering to refrain from despoiling them. This was refused, and Ratbīl said, 'Well, then take 300,000 dirhams for a treaty, and put it in writing for me, agreeing not to raid our land while you are *Wāli*, nor to burn nor lay waste.'" 'Abd Ullāh did this, and when the Caliph 'Abd ul-Malik (685-705 A.D.) learned of it, he dismissed him. Later, when al-Ḥajjāj (*c.* 694-713 A.D.) was governor of 'Irāq, 'Ubayd Ullāh ibn Abi Bakrah was sent to Sijistān. He carried on the war against Ratbīl, and advancing by way of ar-Rukhkhaj encamped "in the neighbourhood of Kābul, stopping at a mountain path. The enemy blocked it against him and Ratbīl joined them. So 'Ubayd Ullāh made peace with them on condition that they should give him 500,000 dirhams and he should send him three of his sons Nahar, al-Ḥajjāj and Abu Bakrah as hostages, and he should make a treaty with them that he shall not fight as long as he was governor."[1] This humiliating peace caused serious disaffection in the Arab camp, for it was felt that the action would seriously weaken Islam on this frontier. As a result of this, hostilities were again commenced. Shuraiḥ, who was mainly instrumental in the rejection of the peace "made a charge but was killed. The army fought their way along the

[1] *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, Text, Ed. by M. J. de Goeje, Brill, 1866, p. 399. I am indebted to Dr. Mirza of the University of Lucknow for the translation of this passage which differs from Murgotten's translation in one or two points. It is not very clear whose sons were given as hostages but as Ratbīl's father was a polytheist and there is no evidence that his son had accepted Islam and as the name of one of the hostages is the same as that of the father of 'Ubaid Ullah, I am disposed to consider them to be the sons of the Arab *Wāli*. If this was so it would appear that the hostages were given by the Arabs to Ratbīl.

desert of Bust. Many of them perished of thirst and hunger, and Ubayd Ullāh died of grief for what he had brought upon his men and the fate that had overtaken them." Soon after this disastrous Arab expedition "Ḥajjāj made peace with Ratbīl agreeing not to make war upon him for seven years (others say nine years), on condition that he pays thereafter every year 900,000 dirhams in kind." This peace was respected by Ḥajjāj with scrupulous care, and he dismissed an officer who was disposed to deal "harshly with Ratbīl in regard to the goods which he paid." In the reign of Caliph Walīd (705-715 A.D.) an attempt was made to exact the "tribute from Ratbīl in coined money." In 710 A.D. Qutayba, the governor of Khurāsān, undertook a campaign against this "formidable foe" who had made Sijistān "an ill-omened frontier."[1] The expedition was abortive, and the Arabs were compelled to continue accepting 'payment in kind.' In the reign of Caliph Sulaymān (715-17 A.D.) Ratbīl ceased to pay any tribute at all. Balādhurī informs us that "thereafter he did not pay any tribute to any of the *'āmils* of the Umaiyads or of Abu-Muslim over Sijistān." It was not till the reign of the Abbasid Caliph al Manṣūr (754-75 A.D.) that active steps were again taken against this prince. Ma'n ibn Zā'idah on his appointment as governor over Sijistān, wrote "to Ratbīl to bring tribute for which al-Ḥajjāj had stipulated." On the receipt of this letter Ratbīl is said to have sent some "camels, Turkish tents, and slaves, reckoning each at double its value." This aroused the anger of the Arab general, and war was resumed; but when Ma'n came to ar-Rukhkhaj "he found that Ratbīl had withdrawn from that place and had gone to Zābulistān to spend the summer there." Ar-Rukhkhaj, we are told, fell to the Arabs, and Ma'n secured some 30,000 slaves; but his success does not appear to have been of any substantial character. Balādhurī tells us that "Sijistān was never completely subjugated,"

[1] Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, p. 41.

though "the *'āmils* of al-Mahdī (775-85 A.D.) and ar-Rashīd (786-80 A.D.) continued to collect tribute from Ratbīl as well as they could, and kept appointing their agents to rule over the regions to which Islam had reached." The same authority tells us that when al-Ma'mūn, son of ar-Rashīd, was in Khurāsān (*c.* 808-818 A.D.), "double tribute was paid to him, and he subdued Kābul, whose king professed Islam, and promised obedience."[1] That these expeditions of Ma'mūn had no lasting effect is proved by the fact that Ratbīl was still ruling in Kābul in *c.* 253 A.H. (A.D. 867) when the sons of Darhim, Naṣr and Ṣāliḥ, fled to him after the conquest of Sijistān by Ya'qūb ibn Layth.[2] Ya'qūb captured Herat in the same year, and in A H. 256 (A.D. 870), turning against Ratbīl, marched to Kābul and conquered it.[3] But the Ṣaffārids were soon displaced by the Persian Samanids; and the latter, as we shall see further on, do not appear to have made any vigorous effort to extend their authority in the Kābul valley.

The above is a meagre account of the struggles of the Arabs for about two hundred years (*c.* 650-860 A.D.) with the Indian princes of the Helmund and the Kābul valleys. Though Balādhurī once refers to a *Kābul-Shāh*,[4] yet he makes it quite clear that the line of princes designated by him as Ratbīl held sovereign power over the whole region indicated above. We find these princes sometimes not only preventing the Arabs from advancing beyond Zaranj, but also successfully negotiating alliances with the representatives of the Caliph "for his own country and the land of Kābul." It is thus likely that the *Satrap* on the Helmund as well as the *Kābul-Shāh* were subordinate to this powerful line of princes.[5] That they were Hindus seems to

[1] This account of Arab advance towards the Kābul valley is mainly taken from Balādhurī. *KFB*, Part II, pp. 139-55.

[2] *TN*, 1881, Vol. I, p. 22, fn. 5.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 22; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Fasciculus A, 1924, p. 55; also *Jāmi' ul-Hikāyat*, in *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 172.

[4] *KFB*, Part II, p. 147.

[5] Gibb, *Chinese Records of the Arabs in Central Asia* in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution*, Vol. II, 1921-23, pp. 613-22.

be hinted at by the description of the image of Zūr and the epithet 'polytheists' applied to them and their soldiers. But it is uncertain what the word Ratbīl actually means. There is no doubt that it was a *title* and not a personal name, for it is assumed by successive princes from father to son. Scholars are agreed that the word is not Arabic, and may possibly be Turkish.[1] In that case the identification of this line of princes with the descendants of the *Śāhis* who ruled south of the Hindukush from about the middle of the fifth century onwards is probable. Whether these princes are further to be identified with the princes of Kia-pi-shi, noticed by Yuan Chwang must remain in the present state of our knowledge uncertain. But the fact that the Ratbīls are found ruling in the Kābul valley in the middle of the 9th century A.D., the period which, according to al-Bīrūnī and Kalhaṇa,[2] saw the extinction of the *Turki Śāhis*, seems to favour such an identification. In that case we can explain why the kings of Kia-pi-shi, who formerly lived in Und [3] gradually shifted their sphere of activity further to the west and south. The rise of the Kārkoṭas in Kashmir, who conquered Ta-ch'a-shi-lo (Takṣaśilā) from them effectively blocked their advance towards the east while the lofty Hindukush range was a barrier in the north and the north-west. Thus it was only in the south and the south-west, along the valley of the Helmund that they could extend their power; and it is interesting to note that it was here, and not across the Hindukush, that the Arabs first came into conflict with them. The position of the *Śāhis*, during this period, threatened as they were by powerful enemies from the north and the south, was

[1] On this word see J. Marquart, *Erānśahr, Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, Neue Folge, Band III, No. 2, pp. 248 ff. Review of the same by Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, 1902, Band LVI, p. 432; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 1928, pp. 216 ff.; De Goeje in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1902, Vol. XVI, pp. 192-95.

[2] See *infra*, pp. 72 and 75-76.

[3] *Life*, p. 192.

The ruler of Gūrjara gave up to him humbly the *Ṭakka*-land preserving (hereby) his own country as (if he had saved) his own body (at the sacrifice) of a finger.

He caused the sovereign power, which the superior king *Bhoja* had seized, to be given up to the scion of the *Thakkiya* family, who had become his servant in the office of Chamberlain.

Alakhāna's support, the illustrious Lalliya Śāhi—who, (placed) between the rulers of the *Darads*, and *Turuṣkas* as between a lion and a boar, resembled *Āryāvarta* (as it lies) between the *Himālaya* and *Vindhya* (mountains), in whose town of *Udabhāṇḍa* (other) kings found safety, just as the mountains in the ocean, when threatened by the danger of having their wings cut (by Indra); whose mighty glory (outshone) the kings in the north, just as the sun-disc (outshines) the stars in heaven,—he was not received into service by (Śaṅkaravarman), who desired to remove him from his sovereign position."[1]

In describing the achievements of Prabhākaradeva, the minister of Gopālavarman (*c.* 902-04 A.D.) and the paramour of the queen-mother Sugandhā, Kalhaṇa further adds :

" As superintendent of treasury (*Kośādhyakṣa*), he plundered the riches of the amorous (queen) and vanquished the *Śāhi* kingdom at *Udabhāṇḍapura*.

He bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious *Śāhi* upon *Toramāṇa*, *Lalliya's* son, and gave him the new name *Kamaluka*."[2]

The first thing that strikes us in the verses quoted above is the testimony of the historian of Kashmir to the strength of the illustrious *Śāhi* princes.[3] Their dominions were placed between the *Darads* and the *Turuṣkas*. The seat of the Darads appears to have extended 'from Citral and Yasin, across the Indus regions of Gilgit, Cilas, and Bunji to the Kisanganga valley in

[1] Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, pp. 205-06; verses 149-55 of Book V.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 217, V. 232-33.

[3] See also *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 68-69; VIII, 3230.

the immediate north of Kashmir.'[1] The *Turuṣkas* in the south were undoubtedly the Muhammadans, who were waging unceasing war against the Indian rulers of Afghanistan and Sīstān for more than two centuries. In spite of the vigorous resistance of the *Śāhis*, the Arabs, we have seen, had advanced step by step till Kābul itself fell in 870 A.D. Against this irresistible pressure, the *Śāhis* were gradually driven towards the Indian frontier, and again transferred their capital to *Udabhāṇḍapura*, the old capital of Kia-pi-shi. Already in the time of Kamalū the *Hindu Śāhis* were known as Rāis of Hindustan.[2]

The next point that is interesting, is the relationship of the *Śāhis* with other Indian States. I have already referred to the wise policy of the *Kārkōṭa* king Lalitāditya who appears to have cultivated a policy of friendship with the *Śāhis*. The verses of Kalhaṇa quoted above seem to indicate that there was also an alliance between the Gurjara king Alakhāna and these princes. Alakhāna appears to have ruled over ' the upper portion of the flat Doab between the Jhelum and Chenab rivers, south of Dārvābhisāra, and probably also a part of the Punjab plain further east.'[3] What relations this prince had with the *adhirāja* Bhoja are uncertain. But if the latter is to be identified with the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra emperor Bhoja, as seems not improbable,[4] then it is not unlikely that the two Gūrjara kings[5] were on terms of friendship with each other. Their hostility to a common enemy, namely the Utpalas might have brought them together. This fact taken together with the well-known hostility of the

[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Eng. Trans. by Stein, Vol. I, p. 47, footnote on Vs. 312-16 of Book I; Vol. II, p. 431; Drew, *Jummoo*, pp. 393 ff.

[2] *Life*, p. 192; see *Jāmi' 'ul-Hikāyāt*, Elliot, II, p. 172.

[3] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 99.

[4] *JASB*, 1922, N.S., Vol. XVIII, p. 268; *JL*, 1923, Vol. X, pp. 53-54; Stein's note on V. 151 of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 206. *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 225; Vol. X, p. 101.

[5] The epithets *Gūrjara-bhūbhuja* and *Gūrjar-ādhipa* probably indicate that Alakhāna was a 'Gūrjara' king ruling over the Punjab settlement of the 'Gūrjaras.'

Gurjara and *Śāhi* kings towards the Arabs, may indicate some sort of ***entente cordiale*** between these powers for joint action against their common enemies. By reversing the policy of friendship towards the *Śāhis*, Śaṅkaravarman only made the task of the defence of the Indian frontier against Islam all the more difficult. But Kalhaṇa makes it quite clear that this Utpala prince could not make much headway against the *Śāhis*. His statement that the illustrious Lalliya Śāhi, "whose mighty glory outshone the kings of the north," was not received into service by Śaṅkaravarman because the latter desired to remove him from his sovereign position, is only a politic way of saying that his efforts were fruitless. His violent death in the hills of Urasā (modern Hazara district), not very far from the *Śāhi* capital, may not be entirely unconnected with the hidden hand of the *Śāhis*.

The next question that confronts us is the identification of Lalliya. There is no prince of this name on the list of al-Bīrūnī. He was a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman (883-902 A.D.), and was apparently dead in A.D. 902-04, when Gopālavarman was king of Kashmir. His son Kamalū, as we shall see further on, was a contemporary of 'Amr ibn Laith (*c.* 879-900 A.D.). As al-Bīrūnī's account is confirmed whenever we can check it, it is unlikely that he would omit the name of such an important prince as Lalliya. Cunningham first suggested that Kallār of al-Bīrūnī is identical with Lalliya of Kalhaṇa.[1] Stein has pointed out that Kalhaṇa's description of Lalliya Śāhi's great power and repute, agrees singularly with what al-Bīrūnī has to tell us of the 'energetic founder of the *Hindu Shāhiya* dynasty.'[2] 'The proposed identification of Kallār with Lalliya finds further support in the convincing conjecture by which Prof. Ch. Seybold, in his remarks on the *Indica* of al-Bīrūnī, has explained the apparent difference of the

ASR, Vol. V, p. 83.
Rājataraṅgiṇī, Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. II, p. 336.

"supposition seems to be defeated by the fact of our finding Sāmanta coins with elephants also upon them." [1] It is likely that Sāmanta became so celebrated that his type was imitated by later rulers.[2]

According to al-Birūnī the next king was Kamalū, presumably the same ruler, who is referred to in the *Jawāmi' ul-Ḥikāyāt* of Muḥammad 'Aufī (*c.* 1212. A.D.) as Kamalū Rāy of Hindustan, the contemporary and opponent of the Ṣaffārid ruler 'Amr ibn Layth (*c.* 879-900 A.D.).[3] This synchronism helps us also to identify him with Toramāṇa, Lalliya's son, who according to Kalhaṇa was given the dominions of the rebellious *Śāhi* (Sāmand) and upon whom was conferred the new name *Kamaluka* by the minister of the Utpala king Gopālavarman (*c.* A.D. 902-04).[4] This invalidates Elliot's suggestion that Kamalū's reign commenced in 890 A.D.[5] Both Kalhaṇa and the Muhammadan writers are silent about the relationship of Toramāṇa-Kamalū with his predecessor. Mr. E. Thomas proposed to identify this prince with the *Khvadavayaka* or *Khedavayaka* of the coins from the similarity of the metal and style of latter's coinage with the other issues of the *Śāhis*. His attempt to justify his thesis by "mutations, blots, or intermixture of letters" was rightly rejected by Elliot as too fantastic.[6]

The next ruler, according to al-Bīrūnī, was Bhīm, no doubt the same ruler who is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as the maternal grandfather of Diddā, the queen of the Kashmirian king Kṣema-

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 422; *JRAS*, 1848, Vol. IX, pp. 182-83 and 275.

[2] *JRAS*, 1848, Vol. IX, pp. 181-82, 275. *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 561-62, 584 "Coinage bearing his (Hermaeus) name and his types was issued by his conquerors until a much later date, in the same way and for the same reasons that the East India Company continued for many years to strike rupees bearing the name of the Mughal Emperor, Shāh 'Alam." Rapson.

[3] *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 172. This date for Kamalū involves a correction by a few years of the date of Gopālavarman (902-04 A.D.) as given by Kalhaṇa.

[4] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V. 232-33. The dates given here are taken from Stein and are to be regarded as only approximate.

[5] *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 424.

[6] *JRAS*, 1848, Vol. IX, p. 180; *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 423; *CMI*, p. 64.

gupta (*c.* 950-58 A.D.).[1] Diddā was the daughter of king Simharāja, the lord of Lohara (modern valley of Lohᵃrin or *Loran* immediately to the south of Pīr Pantsal range, in the hill State of Punch)[2] and other strongholds, who had apparently married a daughter of Bhīma *Śāhi* of Udabhāṇḍapura. The influence and power enjoyed by the *Śāhis* in Kashmir during this period is illustrated by the fact that already during Kṣemagupta's life-time Bhīma built a richly endowed temple of Viṣṇu called Bhīmakeśava in the adoptive country of his grand-daughter the remains of which have been traced by Stein in a Muhammadan Zirāt at Bumᵃzu[3] near Mārtāṇḍa. Certain silver coins with the legend *Śrī-Bhīmadeva*, which are mainly found in Kābulistān, have been referred by numismatists to this ruler.[4] From the facts detailed above it is certain that the birth of Bhīma cannot be pushed back beyond 920 A.D.[5] He was certainly ruling in 950-58, but we do not know when he was succeeded by the next ruler, Jaypāl, who is well-known from Muslim chronicles as the opponent of the Yamīnī kings of Ghazni. Kalhaṇa is silent about this ruler, though he mentions the defeat of an otherwise unknown *Śāhi* prince named Thakkana in the reign of Abhimanyu (958-72 A.D.) the son of Diddā. Yaśodhara the Commander-in-chief, we are told, 'out of spite' rapidly invaded his country "which is difficult of access on account of its streams and mountains' and capturing the *Śāhi* prince 'by force' compelled him to 'pay tribute and homage.'[6] The fact that Thakkana does not occur in the list of al-Bīrūnī lends some strength to the suspicion that his list contains the names of only

Rājataraṅgiṇī, VI, 176-78; VII, 1081.

Stein's Eng. Trans. of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, pp. 293 ff.

Rājataraṅgiṇī, Eng. Trans., Vol. I, pp. 104-05; pp. 249-50, footnote on V. 177-78.

CMI, pp. 64-65.

Śāhis von Kābul, p. 201. If we take it that Diddā was 15 when she was married to Kṣemagupta (950-58 A.D.) and that she was born when her mother, the daughter of Bhīma was 15, then the birth of Diddā's mother falls in *c.* 920 A.D.

6 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI, 230-36.

important rulers and is by no means to be taken as successive.[1] That Jayapāla is not the son of Bhīma appears to be indicated by Firishta, who gives Ishtpāl[2] (Iṣṭapāla?) as the name of Jayapāla's father; but we need not agree with Elliot that the "introduction of the term 'Pāl'" should indicate a change of dynasty. The same phenomenon appears in the history of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj, though there was no dynastic change.[3]

I have already briefly referred to the gradual advance of the Arabs on this frontier. The Ṣaffārid ruler Ya'qūb is said to have captured Kābul in 870 A.D., while his brother 'Amr, the next ruler, claims to have defeated Kamalū, the *Śāhi* king. The Samanids of Transoxania, who succeeded them, do not appear to have made any systematic efforts to extend their power in the Kābul valley. In *c.* 322 A.H. (933 A.D.), when the power of the Samanids was already on the decline, we find a person named Abu Bakr-i-Lawīk ruling as *Wālī* of Zābulistān at Ghazni.[4] As the word *Wālī* signifies a chief or a sovereign, it is likely that he held almost an independent power.[5] In *c.* 933 A.D. this ruler was driven out of Ghazni by Alp-tigīn, a Turkish slave of the Samanīd Amīr Manṣūr, who founded an independent power and repulsed all the efforts of his former masters to dislodge him.[6] The establishment of this Turkish principality at once led to a renewal of the vigorous forward policy of the early Arabs, which further drove the *Śāhis* towards the Punjab and ultimately led to their extinction in the first quarter of the 11th century A.D. Of their once extensive dominions on the Kābul and Helmund

[1] *Elliot*, Vol, II, p. 424.

[2] Briggs is wrong when he gives this name in his translation as *Hutpal*. The name is clearly Pاشتپال; see lithographed Lucknow Ed. (1864), Vol. I, p. 19; Bombay Ed. (1831), Vol. I, p. 32; *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 425, fn. 3.

[3] See *JL*, Vol. X, p. 75.

[4] *TN*, Vol. I, p. 71.

[5] *Ibid*, footnote 5 on p. 71.

[6] *Ibid*, footnote 4 on p. 48.

rivers, Lamghān now alone remained. According to Firishta, the dominions of Jayapāla 'extended in length from Sirhind to Lamghān and in breadth from the kingdom of Kashmir to Multan.'[1] We are further told that 'he resided in the fort of Bhatinda (بهتنده in Patiala State) for the convenience of taking steps for opposing the Mahommedan,' who troubled him by their repeated invasions.[2] Thus pushed by an irresistible pressure, the *Śāhis*, like many others in Indian History, were compelled to take shelter in the Punjab. Fortunately for them the power of the kings of Kashmir, the Amirs of Multan, and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj was on the decline during this period. And this no doubt helped them in re-creating their kingdom in the land of the five rivers. Thanks to these favourable circumstances they had again become so powerful that Minhāj ud-Dīn calls Jayapāla the 'greatest of the Raes of Hind.'[3] Strategic reasons had also compelled them to transfer their capital from their ancient seat at Udabhāṇḍapur, the Waihand of al-Bīrūnī[4] (mod. Und, near Attock on the Indus), to a city beyond the Sutlej. From the frequent reference to Jayapāla as Rājā of Lahore in Firishta, it appears that that city marked an earlier stage in the migration of the capital from Ohind to Bhatinda.[5]

Firishta informs us that during the lifetime of Alp-tigīn (*c*. 933-963 A.D.), his general Sabuk-tigīn had already commenced predatory excursions in the provinces of Lamghān and Multan. In my chapter on Sind I have indicated how these invasions led to the organisation of an alliance between the *Śāhis* and the Amirs of Multan.[6] Before the accession of

[1] *TF*, Brigg's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 15.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *TN*, Vol. I, p. 82.

[4] Sachau's Eng. Trans. of *KH*, Vol. I, pp. 206, 259, 317.

[5] *TF*, Brigg's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, pp. 9, 17, 52, 54, etc. *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, number 37, 1928. p. 9, refers to Bhera on the Jhelum as a still earlier capital but I cannot find the original reference to this statement; Elliot also makes this statement, Vol. II, p. 426.

[6] See *supra*, p. 25.

Sabuk-tigīn (*c.* 977 A.D.), he aided Pīrey in 973 A.D. to defeat "a body of infidels who had advanced out of Hind for the purpose of seizing Ghaznin."[1] This was probably one of the first fruits of the alliance referred to above. When Sabuk-tigīn became king he succeeded through diplomacy in detaching Shaikh Ḥamīd Lodī from the side of the *Śāhis.*[2] Then, "girding up his loins for a war of religion he endeavoured to desolate the territories of Rājā Jaypāl.... ....the ruler of Hindustan."[3] These attacks appear to have been utterly unprovoked by any acts of hostility on Jayapāla's part, and resulted in the conquest of "many castles and strongholds," which no doubt "augmented the boundaries of his kingdom. But when Jaypāl, king of Hindustan, observed these things and saw the line of his frontier continually diminishing, and immeasurable fractures and losses every moment caused in his States, that grievance rendered him disturbed and inconsolable......He saw no remedy, except in beginning to act, and to take up arms. He assembled, therefore, all his princes, feudatories, nobles, and allies and with a great army approached the Musalmān territory. When Nasir-ud-Dīn perceived this he marched from Ghazni against Jaypāl. They came together upon the frontiers of each state. Each army mutually attacked the other, fought and resisted in every way, until the face of the earth was stained red with the blood of the slain, and the lions and warriors of both armies and nations were worn out and reduced to despair. Then...........(Prince Maḥmūd) remarked that all skill and intelligence was unequal to the subjugation of this fort, and that all human power fell short against it."[4] In this crisis a snowstorm came as a godsend

[1] *TN*, Vol. I, p. 73, fn. 7.

[2] *TF*, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, pp. 9-10.

[3] *TA*, Eng. Trans. by B. Dey, p. 3.

[4] Probably the Indians were fighting from a fortified position. *KY* (c. 1020 A.D.), Eng. Trans. from the Persian version by James Reynolds, London, pp. 33-36. I shall mainly depend upon this contemporary authority; other sources will be indicated whenever referred to.

to the Muhammadans. The atmosphere suddenly changed and "from the sharpness of the extreme cold, drew over itself a grey mist, so that patience could no longer endure such sufferings, and they were near unto the fate of death." The Indian army, which was mainly recruited from the plains, naturally suffered most,[1] and negotiations for peace were opened by Jayapāla. In the course of these parleys the *Śāhi* monarch is said to have sent the following characteristic message to Sabuk-tigīn.

"You have heard and know the nobleness of Indians, how that, in seasons of extremity, they fear not death or destruction. They run the edge of the sword over those who wrong them, when there is no means of escaping the blade. In affairs of honour and renown we would place ourselves upon the fire like roast meat, and upon the dagger like the sunrays."[2]

Sabuk-tigīn was convinced of the truth of Jayapāla's statement, and consented to the terms offered. According to 'Utbī these were: "by way of ransom 1,000 packets of 1,000 *dīnārs* sterling, and five stables full of elephants,"[3] and cession of "some cities of Hindustan and some fortresses within the heart of his kingdom" and the supply of hostages "until the terms of the treaty should be carried into effect......when the territories and fortresses should be restored." We are told by this writer and all subsequent authorities that when Jayapāla "had gone a few stages and was in safety, and was secure in the midst of his kingdom,[4] his base and evil nature led him to infringe the treaty. He entered upon measures contrary thereto, and as certain persons were with him, by way of doing him honour and for the purpose of taking possession of the fortresses and territories ceded by the agreement,

[1] *TA*, p. 3.

[2] *KY*, p. 37.

[3] According to Niẓām-ud-Dīn and Firishṭa the number of elephants was fifty.

[4] According to *TF*, Brigg's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 17, Jayapāla refused payment on reaching Lahore on the advice of his Brahman advisers.

he threw them into prison, by way of reprisal for some of his comrades and company, who were detained at the Amīr's court as a measure of retaliation." Niẓām-ud-Dīn clearly states that Jayapāla "imprisoned the agents of Amīr Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, in retaliation for the imprisonment of the men whom he had left as hostages."[1] The Muslim historians, as usual, throw all the blame on Jayapāla; but it is not unlikely that this was a mere pretext for renewing hostilities on both sides. Situated as they were, there could be no lasting peace between these two states, and we are told that after this, Sabuk-tigīn "proceeded to the country of the infidel traitor, and wheresoever he came he plundered and sacked the country until it was annihilated. He dug up and burnt down all its buildings and killed these deceivers and infidels, carrying away their children and cattle as booty. He made the territory of *Lamghān*, which had been the most populous and flourishing of all that country, entirely stript and bare. He mastered several other territories, and, destroying their temples, their sacred buildings, and their churches built mosques in their stead, making the light of Islam visible." On this Jayapāla "invoked help, and despatched letters seeking succour, to the various provinces of India imploring aid." Niẓām-ud-Dīn does not mention the names of the *Rājās* of Hindustan, but Firishta particularly mentions the names of the princes of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalinjar and Kanauj who assisted Jayapāla with men and money.[2] All the authorities however are agreed that the army of Jayapāla mainly consisted of 100,000 cavalry. To this Niẓām-ud-Dīn adds "many elephants" and Firishta, "an innumerable host of foot." Evidently Jayapāla

[1] *TA*, p. 3.

[2] *TA*, p., 3. *TF*, Brigg's Eng. Trans., p. 18. V. Smith has suggested that the date of this battle was 990, or possibly 991 A.D. He also suggests that the Rājā of Kalinjar was Dhaṅga Candel but he was not sure about the identity of the others. He says "until the date of accession of Rājyapāla (*c*. 990-1019 A. D.) is settled, it is impossible to settle whether he or his father (Vijayapāla, *c*. 955-90 A.D.) was the ally of Jaipāl at the time referred to." *JRAS*, 1909, Part I, pp. 275-76.

was making a supreme effort to crush his foe. Starting from his kingdom he marched "towards the capital of Islam" (Ghazni). 'Utbī does not tell us the place of the battle, but according to Niẓām-ud-Dīn and Firishta "the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Lamghān." The Hindu army appeared to their enemies "like the boundless ocean and in numbers like the ants and locusts of the wilderness." But though the forces of Islam were fewer in number, the superior generalship of their leader compensated for this. Sabuk-tigīn divided his soldiers into squadrons of 500 men each, which were directed to attack successively one particular point of the Hindu line, so that it might continually have to encounter fresh troops. The Hindus being worse mounted than the cavalry of Sabuk-tigīn, were unable to withstand them, and, wearied out by the manœuvre just mentioned began to give way. Sabuk-tigīn, perceiving their disorder, made a general assault ; "the Hindus were everywhere defeated, and fled and were pursued, with great slaughter to the banks of the Nīlab."[1] This was the last invasion of Ghazni by Jayapāla and 'Utbī informs us that "from this time the Hindus drew in their tails and sought no more to invade the land." As a result of this war Jayapāla practically lost all territory to the west of the Indus, including Lamghān, and Peshawar. The latter place was put in charge of an official of Ghazni with a force of 10,000 horse.[2] The possession of the strategic outpost at Peshawar placed the remaining territories of Jayapāla at the mercy of the Yamīnīs, and they were not long in taking advantage of their position. Sabuk-tigīn died in 997 A.D. After a short interval his son Maḥmūd succeeded him and at once renewed hostilities against the *Śāhis*. In 1000 A.D., apparently without any provocation on Jaya-

[1] نیلاب Indus, *KY*, pp. 40-42 ; *TA*, pp. 3-4 ; *TF*, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, pp. 18-19 ; *TN*, Vol. I, p. 74.

[2] 'Utbī only says, "*this territory* was entirely annexed to the lands of Islam," while Niẓam-ud-Dīn says, "the Lamghān country came into the possession of Amīr Naṣir-ud-Dīn." It is only Firishta who adds Peshawar. None of the authorities gives the dates of these wars of Sabuk-tigin. See *NA*, pp. 320-21.

pāla's part, Maḥmūd appears to have invaded the districts west of the Indus capturing "many forts and provinces."[1] But this was only a *reconnaissance en force*, a mere prelude to a more ambitious attempt, which took place in 1001 A.D. In that year with a well equipped body of 10,000 picked cavalry he came into Peshawar.[2] The object of the Sulṭān was plunder and loot, and it affords us an interesting insight into the mentality of the Muslim chroniclers when they express surprise at the intelligence that Jayapāla intended to resist this wanton attack on his independence. The following quotation from 'Utbī is an illustration :—

"But this vile infidel advanced in opposition to the standards of the Sulṭān with 8,000 cavalry, 30,000 infantry, and 300 elephants. The earth groaned under the pain of their boots. And when the distance between the two armies was but small, the infidel began to delay the commencement of the battle and the onset, in order that the rear of the troops and those men of the army who were coming up behind the others should arrive. The Sulṭān perceived this stratagem and hastened forward, and wrested the power of choice from his hand."[3]

The last portion of this passage appears to indicate that Jayapāla was taken by surprise and had to hasten to meet the

[1] This is the statement of Firishta, see *op. cit.*, p. 36; but *TA*, p. 5, has "seized a few forts and returned."

[2] Mr. Dey, the translator of *TA*, p. 5, fn. 1, doubts whether this is the modern city of that name, as "the latter city was generally called Bagram up to the time of Bābar and Akbar." But it should be noted that both 'Utbī and Niẓām-ud-Dīn give the name of the city as *Parshāwar* (پرشاور), which approaches the ancient form *Puruṣapura*, the *Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo*, of Yuan Chwang, which is identified by scholars with modern Peshawar. Mr. Dey again seems to have fallen into a blunder by translating the text of Niẓām-ud-Dīn about this war. According to his translation Maḥmūd "attacked Pārshāvar" but the text (see p. 8) is :—باده هزار سوار بر پرشاور در آمد which indicates that "he came to Peshawar" which was already in the possession of Sabuk-tigīn in 977 A.D. 'Utbī says about this invasion that Maḥmūd "set forward into the territory over against Parshāwar, in the midst of the land of Hindustan." *TY*, p. 280. This seems to support our interpretation of Niẓām-ud-Dīn.

[3] *TY*, p. 281.

enemy before his mobilization was complete. The battle that took place was well contested. Niẓām-ud-Dīn tells us that "the two armies fought with each other and showed much gallantry," while Firishta refers to the struggle as obstinate. But in the end victory fell to Maḥmūd. According to 'Utbī: "at the time of mid-day nearly 5,000 carcasses of the infidels cut in half by the sword lay upon the field of battle, as food for dogs and as a gift for wolves and fifty elephants were cut down by the strôke of arrows and of swords. Moreover, they seized Jayapāla with all his family and children and kindred, and a considerable number of his intimate officers, in the snaring rope of violence and brought them as prisoners before the Sulṭān." [1]

According to all the authorities this battle took place on the 8th of Muharram, 392 A.H. (*c.* 1001 A.D.). Amongst the booty obtained by the Sulṭān Muslim chroniclers give much prominence to the necklaces (*mālā*) worn by Jayapāla and his chiefs. According to Niẓām-ud-Dīn and Firishta, the *mālā* worn by the *Śāhi* prince was valued by experts 'at 180,000 *dīnārs*,' [2] while 'Utbī gives the value of all the 'precious stones,' 'glittering pearls and valuable rubies' at 200,000 *dīnārs* of 'red gold.'

After this victory, Maḥmūd pressed his advantage by a forward push, and commanding the army "to fly forth into the province of Hindustan," went to Bhatinda, "the place of residence of Jaypāl and reduced it after a siege." [3] According to 'Utbī Maḥmūd then made "friendship with him (Jayapāla) and took his son as a hostage *for the confirmation of his promise*, and dismissed him to his own country." Niẓām-ud-Dīn is silent on the point, but Firishta says that the prisoners were released "on payment of a large ransom, and on their

[1] *KY*, pp. 281-282.

[2] Valuing the *dīnār* at 9*s*., Briggs has calculated that this sum would make £81,000. See his Eng. Trans., p. 38 fn.

[3] *TA*, p. 5; *TF*, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 38.

stipulating for *an annual tribute*.[1]" According to both 'Utbī and Firishta, Jayapāla after being released resigned the crown to his son. He "shaved his head, and threw himself into fire and went into the lowest pits of hell." But they differ as to the reasons which led him to this decision. 'Utbī says: "Now in mid-India it had been a long time established as a rule that if any king fell as a prisoner into the hands of the Muslims, he should no longer hold his kingdom and that no more allegiance should effectually appertain to him." But Firishta says: "It is said that, in those days, a custom prevailed among the Hindus that whatever *rājā* was twice overpowered by strangers became disqualified to reign."[2] As Jayapāla was defeated more than twice, I think the tradition contained in the *Kitāb-i-Yamīnī* is more reliable.

Jayapāla was succeeded by his son Ānandapāla in about 1001-02 A.D. At this time the extent of the territories of the *Śāhis* in the south reached the borders of the Amirate of Multan and included the principality of Bhera (Bahātīh, Bhātiāh) situated on the west bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range. Taking advantage of the misfortunes of Jayapāla, its feudatory *rājā* Bijay Rāy appears to have "refused to pay his proportion of tribute to Ānandapāla."[3] Maḥmūd made this a pretext to invade the *Śāhi* dominions again in 1004 A.D. Firishta says that Maḥmūd undertook this invasion because "the tribute from Hindustan has not been paid." It is not unlikely that Ānandapāla represented to the Sultān that he was unable to pay anything so long as

[1] *KY*, p. 283; *TF*, p. 38. According to the *TN*, Vol. I, p. 82, Jayapāla was kept as prisoner at Man-Yazid, in Khurāsān. The sum of his ransom is fixed by the same authority at 80 dirhams, but, as Raverty points out, this is probably a mistake for 80,000. See *ibid*, footnote 7.

[2] ***KY***, p. 283; *TF*, p. 38.

[3] *TF*, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 39; Briggs writes the name of the ruler of Bhera as 'Beejy Ray.' But in the lithographed text it is بجیراو and so it can be read as 'Bijay Rāy,' *i.e.*, Vijaya-rāya.

he was not paid by the *rājā* of Bhera. But what appears to be more probable is that next to Peshawar Maḥmūd wanted another stronghold on the plains of the Punjab, to serve as a base for his ambitious programme of plunder and temple spoliation. Bhera was such a place. In the picturesque language of 'Utbī: "this city had a wall whose height could be reached only by eagles. Its sentinel, if he wished, might hold converse with the stars, and its watchman, if he desired, might give kisses upon the lip of the planet Venus."[1] From its safe retreat therefore he could deal easy blows against the Muhammadan principalities of the lower Indus valley, and what was more important, crush the *Śāhis*, whose territory blocked his advance into the rich countries of the trans-Gangetic plain. The *rājā* of Bhera "relying on his lofty hill and drunk in the pride of his numerous followers, came out of the city and trusting in the might of his heroes and the majesty of his fortune, stood the engagement." For three days successively the battle raged fiercely outside the walls of the city, until the Indians were driven into the fortress, which was besieged. Bijay Rāy escaped from the fort with a few followers but being pursued "drew his piercing *khanjar*, and falling, resigned his fearless life, and impure soul.........amidst the ranks of hell." Maḥmūd thereupon "spread the carpet of the Muhammadan religion and law, and drew the people of those provinces into the bond of Islam, and arranged the construction of mosques and pulpits."[2]

Soon after the conquest of Bhera, Maḥmūd turned his attention to Multan, whose rulers had most unwisely dissolved their alliance with the *Śāhis* and stood aside while the fortunes of Jayapāla and his son were being laid low by the cruel blows of the unscrupulous Turk. Its ruler Dā'ūd now realised when

[1] *KY*, p. 322.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 324-25. The stubborn nature of this fight and the heroic character of the *rājā* are fully borne out by Firishta, who says that the Muslims suffered so much that they "were on the point of abandoning the enterprise," and "were frequently repulsed with slaughter.". *TF*, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, pp. 39-40.

it was too late that "if a barrier was not expeditiously raised against this roaring torrent" it would soon overwhelm the states of India whether they be Hindu or Muslim. In 1005 A.D. when Maḥmūd's intention came to his knowledge, he appealed to Ānandapāla to come to his assistance, and Firishta informs us that the latter "true to his alliance," responded to the call.[1] According to 'Utbī, Maḥmūd after crossing the Indus sent to Ānandapāla "a person to request of him that he would permit a passage through the midst of his kingdom that the army of Islam might pass. He, however, placed the hand of repulse upon the face of the Sulṭān's request, and took the road to stubbornness and obstinacy."[2] The struggle that ensued was thus caused by the perfectly legitimate objections of Ānandapāla to the use of his territory as a base of operations against a friendly and peaceful power. Maḥmūd at once extended "the hand of plunder, levelling, destruction and burning into his villages and cities." Ānandapāla was defeated and driven from "one strait into another and from one path to another" until he was expelled to the province of Kashmir. According to Firishta, Ānandapāla was defeated near Peshawar and pursued as far as the town of Sodra (Wazirabad, 50 miles north of Lahore) on the left bank of the Chenab.[3] It seems likely that it was during this campaign that Sukhapāla, one of the sons of the *Śāhi* king, was taken prisoner in Peshawar by Abu 'Alī Simjuri, one of the generals of Maḥmūd. Sukhapāla appears to have accepted Islam under the name of Nawāsa Shāh, and when Maḥmūd hastened from Multan to meet the Turkish Ilak Khān, he "placed the management of the affairs of Hindustan" in the hands of this prince.[4] The crossing of the Oxus by a fresh body

[1] *TF*, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, pp. 40-41.

[2] *KY*, pp. 327-28.

[3] *TF*, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 41.

[4] The name is نواسه شاه. Reynolds gives it wrongly as "Nawastah Shāh or (Zab Sais)." See the Arabic text of *Kitāb-i-Yamīnī* given on the margin of *Ta'rīkh ul-Kāmil*, Bulak, Cairo, 1874, Vol. XI, p. 158. *KY*, p. 388; *TF*, Vol. I, p. 41; *TA*, p. 6.

of the Turks under Ilak Khān was only one of the acts of the drama which was being played in the North of Hindukush, at least from the beginning of historic times. Before the act was over the Yamīnīs of Ghazna, like the *Śāhis* before them, were driven into the valleys of the Punjab rivers. The struggle was even then extremely fierce. This war though in no way directly connected with the history of the *Śāhis*, yet affords us interesting evidence of their nobility, and if we may be permitted to say so, lack of opportunism which is the basis of all successful statesmanship. Al-Bīrūnī tells us that when Maḥmūd was thus fighting a life-and-death struggle with Ilak Khān and "imploring the Almighty to strengthen his right hand and forgive his errors," Ānandapāla sent the following letter to the Sulṭān of Ghazni :—

"I have learned that the Turks have rebelled against you and are spreading in Khurāsān. If you wish, I shall come to you with 5,000 horsemen, 10,000 foot soldiers and 100 elephants, or if you wish, I shall send you my son with double the number. In acting thus, I do not speculate on the impression which this will make on you. I have been conquered by you, I do not wish that another man should conquer you."[1]

Al-Bīrūnī informs us that this epistle was sent to Maḥmūd when the relations between them "were already strained to the utmost." "The same prince," says he, "cherished the bitterest hatred against the Muhammadans from the time when his son was made a prisoner."[2] Though all will share al-Bīrūnī's admiration for the "noble bearing and sentiment" of the prince, historians will nevertheless deplore that by his inaction Ānandapāla lost the only chance of crushing his foe whose unscrupulous ambition unchecked by any moral considerations was soon to bring about the extinction of his line. His short-sighted policy was again responsible for the defeat of his

[1] Sachau's Eng. Trans., Vol. II, pp. 13-14.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 14.

son Sukhapāla, who had returned to the Hindu fold and had thrown off his allegiance to Maḥmūd. This prince took full advantage of the pre-occupations of Maḥmūd in Khurāsān and expelled all the officers of the Sulṭān from India; but unaided, he was no match for Maḥmūd, who soon after his great victory over Ilak Khān " marched with a great expedition towards India." Sukhapāla was defeated, taken prisoner, and after being compelled to pay 400,000 dirhams was imprisoned for the rest of his life.[1] The nemesis of his faulty policy came in 1008 A.D. when Maḥmūd, disregarding all his noble sentiments, invaded his territories under the pretext of an unfriendly act when Maḥmūd attacked Multan in 1005 A.D. According to Firishta, " Ānandapāl, hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides inviting the assistance of other princes of Hindustan, who now considered the expulsion of the Mahommedans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly the *rājās* of Ujain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanauj, Delhi, and Ajmer entered into confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced towards Punjab with the greatest army that had yet taken the field[2]......The Hindu women on this occasion sold their jewels, and melted down their golden ornaments (which they sent from distant parts), to furnish resources for the war; and the Gukkurs and other warlike tribes joining the army, surrounded the Mahommedans, who were obliged to entrench their camp."[3]

It is surprising however that the contemporary historian 'Utbī gives not the slightest hint about this confederacy. He simply states that " Ānandapāl came to confront him (Maḥmūd) with a numerous army." Niẓām ud-Dīn is also silent on the point. Under the circumstances it is perhaps reasonable to doubt the accuracy of this historian of the 17th century. In

[1] *KY*, pp. 338-39; *TA*, p. 6; *TF*, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 45.

[2] Mr. V. Smith has accepted this statement as historical and has suggested that the Kanauj prince was Rājyapāla, the Kalinjar prince Gaṇḍa, and the Gwalior chief Kacchwāha Kirtirāja. The Delhi and Ajmer chiefs according to him belonged to the Tomara and Cauhān tribes; see *JRAS*, 1909, Vol. I, p. 277.

[3] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 46.

later times Maḥmūd was regarded as a champion of Islam, and it is not impossible that Firishta has exaggerated the amount of opposition which faced Maḥmūd. At any rate there is no evidence outside Firishta that this common danger galvanized the Indian states of Northern India into common action. According to 'Utbī the battle took place on the banks of the Wāhind (Und; Indus). Firishta says that the two armies "arrived in sight of each other on a plain on the confines of the province of Peshawar."[1] The same authority says that the two armies "remained encamped forty days without coming into action," and "the troops of the idolaters daily increased in number." The following account of the battle is taken from *Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta*: "Maḥmūd......ordered 6,000 archers to the front to endeavour to provoke the enemy to attack his entrenchments. The archers were opposed by Gukkurs, who, in spite of the king's efforts and presence, repulsed his light troops and followed them so closely that no less than 30,000 Gukkurs with their heads and feet bare, and armed with various weapons, penetrated into the Muhammadan lines, where a dreadful carnage ensued, and in a few minutes 5,000 Muhammadans were slain. The enemy were at length checked, and being cut off as fast as they advanced, the attacks became fainter and fainter, till on a sudden, the elephant, upon which the prince who commanded the Hindus rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naphtha balls, and the flights of arrows, turned and fled. This circumstance produced a panic amongst the Hindus, who seeing themselves deserted by their general, gave way and fled also."[2] In the pursuit 20,000 Hindus are said to have been killed, but it is surprising that after such a victory the spoil that fell to the Sulṭān was only 30 elephants. This is also confirmed by Niẓām ud-Dīn; but 'Utbī gives the number as 60. The serious nature

[1] *Ibid*; p. 340. In Reynold's translation the name of the River is Wāmund while in Elliot it is Wāhind (Vol. II, p. 33). Reynold appears to have mistaken "ه" for a "م" *TF*, Brigg's Trans. Vol. I, p. 46.

[2] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 46-47.

and obstinate character of the contest is however confirmed by the following extract from the last historian: "And from the time that the falcon of morning took his flight from the nest of the horizon, until the crow of darkness, closed her wing, the fire of battle burnt, and the pieces of men's bodies, hacked by the sword coloured the earth as if by anemones. And it had nearly happened that the army (of the Sulṭān) were wounded (worsted), and that the infidels had obtained the high hand. However...the Sulṭān with his own guards made a charge, under which the feet of the infidels were unable to stand."[1] After this victory Maḥmūd raided and plundered the rich temple of Nagarkot[2] (A. H. 400=1009 A.D.) Soon after Maḥmūd again renewed his depredations on the *Śāhi* dominions, and virtually put an end to their independent power. 'Utbī informs us that "when the king of Hind witnessed the marks of the wound of the Sulṭān's standard in the nearest and most distant part of his kingdom, and ascertained his weakness in resisting the army of Islam, he sent the chiefs of his kindred and the flower of his guards on an embassy to offer submission to the Sulṭān, and humbled himself, and bound himself to tribute and fidelity, and appointed 60 yokes of elephants to be sent by him as a service to his beloved fortune, and assigned a payment to be mutually arranged, which should be sent yearly by the nobles of that province, and the people of that district to his treasury. And that by way of acting as viceroy, he should keep 2,000 men at his court, and that at all recurring days, and returning months and years he should express fidelity to these conditions, and that the successors and the sons of every one, who should occupy royalty and obtain command in India should proceed upon this decree and

[1] *KY*, p. 340.

[2] Referred to as fort of Bhīm; probably the Epic hero of that name and not any *Śāhi* prince. The value of the booty obtained here as calculated by Briggs was 400 lb. of gold ingots, 4,000 lb. of silver bullion, 40 lb. weight of pearls and precious stones and about £313,333 in specie; see his Trans., Vol. I, p. 48, fn.; see also *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 425.

should obey and follow this law."[1] The historian naively remarks: "thus the road for caravans and merchants between the districts of Khurāsān and Hind became open." But more important still, India beyond the Sutlej became open to the rapacity of the Ghaznavid masquerading under the guise of religious zeal. In 1011-12, Maḥmūd, disregarding the protests of Ānandapāla, plundered and desecrated the rich temple of of Jagarsom (*Cakrasvāmin*) at Thanesar.[2] "The soldiers ravaged and pillaged whatever they could lay their hands upon, broke the idols and carried Jagarsom to Ghaznīn." According to Firishta, Ānandapāla was not only forced to make arrangements for the safe passage of Maḥmud's army but "conducted himself with so much policy and hospitality towards Maḥmud, that he returned peaceably to Ghazni." But he nevertheless records that Maḥmud did not penetrate further east from Thanesar from "apprehension of Ānandapāla, Raja of Lahore." It was urged by his officers that it would be impossible to keep possession of the conquests in the Ganges-Jumna valley unless the *Sāhis* were completely destroyed.[3] So in 1013-14 A.D., without any provocation on their part Maḥmud again marched against them.

But in the meantime Ānandapāla had died, leaving his son Trilocanapāla to succeed him on the throne.[4] According to al-Bīrūnī he 'was the very opposite of his father,' who, as

[1] *KY*, pp. 361-62.

[2] *TF*, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, pp. 51-53. Firishta preserves a copy of the letter containing the request of Ānandapāla to spare the temple, see *ibid*, pp. 51-52.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 52.

[4] According to al-Bīrūnī the next prince was Trilocanapāla. He is supported by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, VII, 38 ff., which refers to a *Śāhi* prince of this name, who was a contemporary of Saṁgrāmarāja (1003-28). The fights of this prince with Hammīra which led to the extinction of the *Śāhis* are clearly referred to by the Kashmirian chronicler, and are in agreement with what is known of the *Śāhi* ruler from Muslim historians. Under the circumstances the *Naro-Jaypāl* of *TA* (see p. 8, and fn. 2) and *Jaypāl* of *TF* (Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 54) appear to be wrong. The difficulty of the Muslim writers in understanding and spelling this name is shown by al-Bīrūnī's rendering. '*Taro-janpāl*,' which however is the nearest rendering of Trilocanapāla; see also *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 426-427, where he wrongly takes *Jaypāl* to be the correct name.

we have seen, "cherished the bitterest hatred" against the Musalmans. By this al-Bīrūnī probably means that Trilocanapāla was not so inimically disposed towards Maḥmud. But this did not save him from the fury of the Ghaznavids, who were now bent on the complete destruction of his dynasty. Both Niẓām ud-Dīn and Firishta tell us that Maḥmūd first marched against "the fort of Nandanah which is situated among the Bālnāth hills" (Salt range).[1] Finding himself unable to meet the Sultān alone with any hope of success, Trilocanapāla "left tried warriors for the protection of the fort" and retired into the valley of Kashmir. The fort surrendered after a siege, and Maḥmud then followed the *Śāhi* prince who had in the meantime taken up with his son Nidar Bhīm a position "which was narrow, precipitous and inaccessible." In this supreme crisis of the fortunes of the *Śāhis*, Trilocanapāla appears to have appealed for help to the Kashmirian king, Saṁgrāmarāja (1003-1028 A.D.).[2] As a result of this appeal Tuṅga, the prime minister of Kashmir, who had already married Bimbā a *Śāhi* princess to his son, was sent with a large army to the assistance of Trilocanapāla. Kalhaṇa has preserved the following interesting record of this expedition and the subsequent conflict with the *Hammīra*.[3]

[1] See *Babur-nāma*, Eng. Trans. by A. S. Beveridge, 1921, Vol. II, p. 452; Bābur places the Bālnāth hills 5 marches from Sind-water (Indus). *AGI*, pp. 189-90; *IGI*, Vol. XXI, p. 412 ff.; XXIII, p. 360. It is probable that Nandanah was in the Jhelum district, *Castes and Tribes of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province*, Vol. I, p. 289. But see *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 17 fn., where its situation is given as '30° 43′ N. and 73° 17′E.'

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 47. Kalhaṇa unfortunately does not give the date of this appeal, and the discrepancies in the chronology of the Muslim chroniclers make it difficult to fix the date with certainty but Stein's suggestion that it was 1013 A.D. appears to be reasonable. See his Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 107, and notes on verses 47-69 of Book VII. Also his *Śāhis von Kabul*, p. 202.

[3] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 48-63, 103. The identity of *Hammīra* with Maḥmūd was recognised by Reinaud. Thomas had shown that it is derived from the Arabic title *Amīr ul-mu'minīn*, which appears on the coins of the Ghaznavids. See Stein's footnote on verses 47-60 of Book VII, in his Eng. Trans. Also *infra*, chapter on the *Candrātreyas* (Candellas).

"When he, together with his son, had been hospitably received by the *Śāhi*, who had gone to meet him, and had been in the land for five or six days, the *Śāhi* noticed that they gave no thought to night watches, the posting of scouts, to military exercises, and other (preparations) proper for an attack, and spoke thus to *Tuṅga*, who was intoxicated (with self-confidence).

Until you have become acquainted with the *Turuṣka* warfare you should post yourself on the scarp of this hill, (keeping) idle against your desire.

This good counsel of *Trilocana(pāla)* he in his pride did not accept, but remained, together with his troops, eagerly looking out for battle.

Thence he crossed with rather a small force to the other bank of the *Tauṣī*, and defeated a corps which Hammīr had sent on reconnaissance.

Though he was filled thereupon with pride, the *Śāhi* experienced in war, repeated again and again the same advice he had given before.

Blinded by his desire for battle, he did not accept the *Śāhi's* counsel. Advice is no use to those whose destruction is near.

In the morning then came in fury and full of battle array, the leader of the *Turuṣka* army himself, skilled in stratagem.

Thereupon the army of *Tuṅga* dispersed immediately. The *Śāhi* force, however, was seen for (some) time moving about in battle.

Even when the *Śāhi* army was gone, Jayasiṁha rushed about fighting, also *Śrīvardhana* and *Vibhramārka*, the *Ḍāmara*, of *Saṁgrāma's* family.

These three valiant men, fighting on the terrible field of battle, which resounded with the (tramp of) horses, preserved the honour of their country from being lost.

Who would describe the greatness of Trilocanapāla whom numberless enemies even could not defeat in battle?

Trilocanapāla, causing floods of blood to pour forth in battle, resembled Śiva (*trilocana*) when sending forth the fire which burns the world at the end of the Kalpa.

After fighting crores of armour-clad soldiers in the battle this (prince) who was experienced in affairs, came forth singly from among the foes pressing (around him).

When *Trilocana(pāla)* had gone afar, the whole country was overshadowed by hosts of fierce Caṇḍālas which (resembled clouds of) locusts."[1]

In the passage quoted above Kalhaṇa vividly describes the great personal bravery of Trilocanapāla. The battle took place on the banks of the river *Tauṣī*, which is probably the *Tohī* of Prunts (*Parṇotsa*=mod. Punch) flowing into the Vitastā above the town of Jhelum.[2] Stein has shown that "through the valley of the Prunts Tohī leads the most convenient route toward Lohara (Lohᵃrin). From there again, a route much used in old times, leading over the Tosᵃmaidān Pass opens access to Kashmīr. It is actually by this route that we find two years later Maḥmūd attempting the invasion of Kashmīr."[3] Trilocanapāla appears to have strongly entrenched himself on this mountainous route, and apparently advised Tuṅga to do the same, "keeping (himself) idle." The account of 'Utbī shows that Maḥmūd could not gain any decisive advantage over the *Śāhi* so long as he remained "entrenched behind stones." It was only when the Indians "descended from their narrow passes into the open plain" that the Gaznavids "picked them up like a bird picking up grains with a sharp beak."[4] Thus the statement of Kalhaṇa, that the battle was lost owing to the overbearing assurance and carelessness of Tuṅga who refused to occupy a safe defensive position assigned to him by the experienced *Śāhi*, appears to be borne out by the Muslim chronicler.

[1] Eng. Trans. by Stein, Vol. I, pp. 272-73.

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Stein's Eng. Trans., p. 107; also his notes on VII, 4-69 on p. 271.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *KY*, p. 390.

The account of Kalhaṇa that after Trilocanapāla left the field the Caṇḍālas (Turks?) "overspread the land like locusts" is also supported by Muslim historians. Niẓām ud-Dīn tells us that after dislodging the *Śāhi*, Maḥmūd entered the valley of Kashmir, and "carried away much booty in the shape of prisoners of war, and gold, and after converting many infidels to Islam, and laying the foundations to Islam, went back to Ghaznīn."[1] Kalhaṇa tells us that even after this defeat Trilocanapāla did not cease to make heroic efforts to recover his kingdom and that "the *Hammīra* did not breathe freely, thinking of the superhuman powers of the illustrious Trilocanapāla."[2] We are told that in his subsequent contests with the Turuṣkas the *Śāhi* king mainly relied on his force of elephants, but Kalhaṇa makes it clear that his efforts bore little fruit. He plainly regards the defeat, described above as the final stroke that brought about the downfall of the once mighty dynasty.[3] According to al-Bīrūnī, Trilocanapāla was killed in A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021) no doubt in one of these struggles against the Yamīnīs.[4]

Kalhaṇa describes the defeat of Trilocanapāla as only an incident in the rapid decline of 'the royal glory of the *Śāhis*.' In his time (*c.* 1150 A.D.) the very name of the *Śāhi* kingdom had nearly vanished, and one asked oneself whether "with its kings, ministers, and its court, it ever was or was not."[5] But he also bears ample evidence to the profound impression that was produced on the minds of all contemporaries by their destruction. The following statement of al-Bīrūnī not only corroborates the Indian historian, but also shows how powerfully even the Muslims, the worst enemies of the *Śāhi's* were impressed by their greatness."[6]

TA, p. 8.
Rājataraṅgiṇī, VII, 64-65.
Ibid, VII, 66-69; see also Stein's Eng. Trans. of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 107.
KH, Eng. Trans. by Sachau, Vol. II, p. 13.
Rājataraṅgiṇī, VII, pp. 66-69.
KH, Trans. by Sachau, Vol. II, p. 13.

"The *Hindu Shāhiya* dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing."

The *Śāhis* though destroyed as a reigning power in the Punjab, appear to have lingered for some years in the hilly districts south of *Lohara* (Lohkot of the Muslim chroniclers),[1] under the leadership of Bhīmapāla.[2] Some of Maḥmūd's later invasions in this direction may have had the destruction of this last remnant of the *Śāhis* as one of their objectives. According to al-Bīrūnī, Bhīmapāla was killed in A.D. 1026.[3] The *Śāhi* princes then took shelter in the Kashmirian court and took a prominent part in the history of the Loharas (1003-1128 A.D.). Kalhaṇa mentions "Rudrapāla and other *Śāhi* princes" (*Śāhiputrāḥ*) who were most dear to king Ananta (1028-63 A.D.) and "exhausted

[1] See note E. by Stein in Vol. II, pp. 293 ff. of his Eng. Trans. of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[2] Muslim chroniclers mention Rāi-Jaypāl of Kanauj and his son prince Bhīmapāla, and Elliot has identified them with the princes of the *Śāhi* family known to them as Taro-Janpāl, Naro-Jaypāl or Jaypāl (II) and his son Nidar Bhīm. Elliot remarks that "Like as the reigning family was driven from Kabul to Bhera, and from Bhera to Lahore, so it seems now to have been driven from Lahore to Kanauj." But apart from the unlikelihood of the *Śāhi* dominions extending so far east, we have to take into account the last princes of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty of Kanauj. The Jhūsi copperplate of Trilocanapāla clearly shows that the princes of Kanauj during this period were Rājyapāla and Trilocanapāla; and it is likely that the Muslim chroniclers confused the former name with Rāi-Jaypāl of the *Śāhis* with which they were familiar. It is also significant that the last battle which destroyed the independence of the *Śāhis* should have been fought in the north of the Jhelum district, which is far removed from Kanauj. The Jhūsi plate only says that Trilocanapāla was the successor of Rājyapāla; that does not exclude the possibility of the latter having another son named Bhīmapāla, It should also be noted that Kalhaṇa, who shows such wide knowledge of the *Śāhis* during this period, does not mention the *Śāhi*, Bhīmapāla, and it is not impossible that al-Bīrūnī in describing him as a *Śāhi* prince may have fallen into an error. In any case Nidar Bhīm (Bhīmapāla), son of Trilocanapāla, must be differentiated from Bhīmapāla, son (?) of Rājyapāla. See *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 34; *JRAS*, 1909, Part I, pp. 276-81; *EHI*, 1924, p. 398, fn. 1; *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 45, 47-49, 461-62. For further discussion about the relationship between Rājyapāla, and Bhīmapāla, see *infra*, chapter on the *Gurjara-Pratīhāras*.

[3] *KH*, Trans. by Sachau, Vol. II, p. 13.

the kingdom's revenues by the large salaries they drew." [1] One of these, "Diddāpāla, though he drew daily 80,000 (dīnnāras) from the king, could yet not sleep in peace at night." Another, Anaṅgapāla "(that) Vetāla, who was the king's favourite, was ever planning the breaking up of the golden statues of gods. Rudrapāla protected those, who robbed (others) of their property and lives, and was a safe refuge for thieves, Caṇḍālas and the like. *Kāyasthas*, who were Rudrapāla's intimates, oppressed the people," while through his companionship, "the king was led into evil habits, just as Suyodhana, through that of Karṇa." [2]

The quotations cited above distinctly show that the *Śāhis* during this reign wielded great power at the Lohara court; but they had at the same time degenerated from the noble ideals of their ancestors. But that they were still brave soldiers is illustrated by the repulse of the invasion of the Darads by Rudrapāla who, we are told, cut off the head of the Darad lord and re-established his "awe-inspiring splendour." [3] Rudrapāla however soon died of the "*lūtā* disease and other *Śāhi* princes too found an early death." [4] Their deaths for a time caused the *Śāhis* to lose their power.[5] But there was again a revival of their influence in the reign of Kalaśa (1063-89 A.D.). Kalhaṇa speaks of "four arrogant *rājaputras* from the *Śāhi* family, Bijja, Pittharāja, Pāja, and another" as his favourites. They are said to have induced the king "to take to a way (of living) which is followed by the wicked." [6] Some of the queens of king Harṣa (1089-1101) including his chief queen Vasantalekhā are described as *Śāhi* by birth and are said to have burned themselves on a pavilion of the palace, when the doomed king was attacked,

1. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 145.
2. *Ibid*, VII, 146-53.
3. *Ibid*, VII, 174-76.
4. *Ibid*, VII, 177-78.
5. Kalhaṇa calls these chiefs *Śāhi-putras* and *Śāhi-tanayas*, *ibid.*
6. *Ibid*, VII, 272-74.

at Śrīnagara, by the rebellious Dāmaras.[1] Thus it is evident that the *Śāhis* remained a factor in Kashmirian court life long after their extinction as an independent political power. Their influence, as we have seen, was not always beneficial; but they were always noted for their bravery and military capacity. It is interesting to note that even after their complete extinction in Kashmir a halo and a charm continued to surround the name *Śāhi*. Kṣatriya families outside that country still continued to trace their descent to these princes. Kalhaṇa while describing the reign of Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-49) remarks: "To this day the appellation *Śāhi* throws its lustre on a numberless host of Kṣattriyas abroad, who trace their origin to that (royal) family."[2]

[1] *Ibid*, VII, 956, 1550, 1571, 1579. Was the Dard ruler Vidyādhara *Śāhi*, the contemporary of Harṣa (*c.* 1089-1101), connected with these *Śāhis*? Note also the *Śāhi* king of Kīra mentioned in the Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga Candella (*c.* 954-1002 A.D.), *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 123ff.

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* VIII, 3230.

APPENDIX

Coins of the Śāhis

(The following coins are usually referred to the princes of this dynasty.)

No.	Museum.	Metal and Weight.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Remarks.
1.	British Museum	Copper, about 40 grains.	*Śrī-Kamaladeva*	A *haṁsa*	Probably belongs to Kamalū or Kamaluka.
2.	,,	,, about 30 grains.	*Śrī-Sāmanta-deva.*	Bull and horseman.	Probably belongs to Sāmand or Sāmanta.
3.	,,	Silver, about 55 grains.	,,	,,	,,
4.	,,	,, about 45 grains.	*Śrī-Bhīmadeva*	,,	Probably belongs to Bhīma.
5.	,,	Copper about 40 grains.	*Śrī-Veṅkadeva*	Elephant and lion.	Not identified.
6.	,,	Silver, about 45 grains.	*Śrī-Khamara-yaka.*	Bull and horseman.	,,
7.	,,	,,	*Śrī-Aṣaṭapāla-deva.*	,,	,,
8.	,,	Silver, about 55 grains.	*Śrī-Spalapati-deva.*	,,	,,

Through the courtesy and assistance of Mr. Allan I could examine all these coins in the coin cabinet of the British Museum. Specimens of the same type of coins belonging to numbers, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 8, are preserved in the Indian Museum and the Asiatic Society of Bengal and have been noticed in the *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, by Vincent A. Smith, pp. 246-49. Smith notices the variant readings of the legend of some of these coins. Thus the name which Mr. Allan reads as *Veṅka* has been also read as *Vakka*, *Varka*,

Verka, and *Vaṅka*, *Khamarayaka* as *Khadavayaka*. *Khudavayaka* and *Khudūvayaka* and *Aṣaṭapāla* as Aśatapāla. I could not find the single copper coin of the Lion-and-peacock type in the British Museum which according to Bayley had the legend *Śrī-Kamara* or *Kamra*. But probably this is the same as No. 1.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

(Dates approximate)

I. THE TURKI ŚĀHIS.

Last King Lagatūrmān (*c*. 850 A.D.).

II. THE HINDU ŚĀHIS.

Kallār—Lalliya (*c*. 850-870 A.D.).
⋮
Sāmand—Sāmanta
(*c*. 870-900 A.D.)

Toramāṇa—Kamaluka (Kamalū)
(900-940 A.D.)
⋮
Bhīma(pāla I?)
(*c*. 940-65)
⋮
Iṣṭapāla
|
Jayapāla (*c*. 965-1001 A.D.)
|
Ānandapāla
(*c*. 1001-1013 A.D.)
|
Trilocanapāla (*c*. 1018-1021 A.D.) — **Sukhapāla** (Nawāsah Shāh)
|
Nidar Bhīm (Bhīmapāla II?)
(*c*. 1021-1026 A.D.).

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CHAPTER III

Dynastic History of Kashmir

The present State of Kashmir ' covers an area of 80,900 square miles, extending from 32°17′ to 36°58′ N. and from 73°26′ to 80°30′ E.' Its northern frontier almost touches the upper waters of the Ab-i-Panja. In the south it faces the Punjab districts of Jhelum, Gujrat, Sialkot and Gurdaspur. West to east it extends from the river Yarkhun to the Lingzi Thang Plains. Of this extensive area ancient *Kāśmīra* formed but a small portion. The political and geographical application of the term was ' restricted to the great basin of the Vitastā (Jhelum) and the side valleys drained by its tributaries above the Bārāmūla defile.' It was surrounded on all sides by a ring of high mountains, which can be conveniently divided into three main ranges. One of these, known as the Pīr Pantsāl Range, formed the southern and south-western boundary of Kashmir. It extends from the Bānᵃhāl Pass to the valley of the Vitastā. In Kalhaṇa's time it was inhabited by the Khaśas, the modern Khakkas, and was divided into a number of semi-independent hill states. In the south-east of this range was situated the principality of Kāṣṭhavāṭa (mod. Kishtwar), whose chiefs had practically independent power.[1] Between this state and Kangra, the ancient Trigarta, lay the hill state of Campā (mod. Chamba) whose chiefs frequently intermarried with the Lohara kings of Kashmir.[2] To the west of Campā was situated the small independent state of Vallāpura (mod. Ballāvar).[3] The ' whole

1 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VIII, 590.

2 *Ibid*, VII, 218, 588, 1512 ; and Stein's note on VII, 218, in his Eng. Trans., Vol. I ; VIII, 538, 1083, 1443, 1531.

3 *Ibid*, VII, 220, 270, 588 ; VIII, 539, 542, 622, etc.

tract of the lower and middle hills between the Candrabhāgā and the Vitastā' was known in ancient times as Dārvābhisāra.[1] Generally this region was split up into a number of smaller hill states, the most considerable of which was Rājapurī (mod. Rajauri).[2] On the north-west of Rājapurī was situated the principality of Lohara, which included the valley now known as Lohᵃrin. To the west, in the lower valley of the Tauṣī (mod. Tohī) and perhaps extending up to the left banks of the Vitastā, this state was adjoined by the principality of Parṇotsa (mod. Punch).[3] For the facility of communication between the Puṇjab and these hill states and the Kashmir valley nature had provided a number of passes through the Pīr Pantsāl Range. Of these, we have already mentioned the easternmost one, the Bāṅᵃhāl Pass, the Bāṇaśālā of Kalhaṇa [4] which 'owing to its small elevation (9,000 ft.) must have always been a convenient route of communication towards the upper Chenab Valley and the eastern of the Punjab Hill States.' The castle of Bāṇaśālā, which guarded this route, was in the hands of a Khaśa chief in the 12th century. 'About 8 miles straight to the west of the lake Kōnsᵃr Nāg the range is again crossed by a pass over 14,000 ft. high,' which under the name Siddha-patha (mod. Sidau or Būdil) is mentioned by Kalhaṇa.[5] 'It lies on a route which in an almost straight line connects Srinagar with Akhnur and Sialkot in the Punjab plain. About five miles due north of the (lake) Nandan Sar' we again reach a pass now known as Pīr Pantsāl (11,400 ft.), probably the Pañcāladhārā of Kṣemendra.[6] 'The route which crosses it, has from early days to the present time been the most frequented line of communication from Kashmir to the

[1] *Ibid*, I, 180; IV, 712; V, 141, 209; VII, 1282; VIII, 1531.

[2] *Ibid*, VI, 286, 348-49, 351; VII, 105, 267, 533, 539, 541, 546, etc.

[3] *Ibid*, IV, 184, also Stein's footnote on this in his Eng. Trans., VI, 201, 209; VII, 1300; VIII, 633 914, 917, etc.

[4] *Ibid*, VIII, 1665-66.

[5] VIII, 557.

Samayamātṛkā, II, 90ff.; Stein's Eng. Trans., *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, pp. 395-97.

central part of the Punjab.' The next considerable depression, which was also an ancient line of communication, was the Tōṣ*maidān Pass, which connected Srinagar with the Western Punjab, *via* Lohara. During the reign of the Lohara kings (*c.* 1003-1154 A.D.) this route acquired special importance in the history of Kashmir. Beyond this, in the north-west, the Pīr Pantsāl Range gradually descends into the Vitastā valley which was one of the great gates of Kashmir, connecting it with Uraśā (mod. Hazara), Gandhāra (mod. Rawalpindi district), and the regions to the west. It was through this route that Yuan Chwang and Ou-K'ong came to Kashmir. As the route ended in Kashmir at Varāhamūla[1] (mod. Bārāmūla) it is convenient to designate it after the name of that town. The kings of Kashmir appear to have held Vitastā valley as far as Bolyāsaka[2] (mod. Buliasa) as an outlying frontier district. Beyond this, up to the borders of Uraśā, the valley was known as Dvārāvatī (mod. Dvārbiḍi).[3] North of Dvārāvatī in the lower valley of the Kṛṣṇā (mod. Kishen Ganga), lay the semi-independent Khaśa principality of Karṇāha (mod. Karnāv).[4] Between Dvārāvatī and Karṇāha, the Kājnāg Range accompanies the Vitastā for about eighty miles down to Muzaffarabad. 'The mountains which enclose the Kashmir valley in the north-west and north, may be looked upon as one great range.' It 'joins on to the Kājnāg Peak north-west of Bārāmūla and then continues in the direction of south to north towards the Upper Kishen Ganga. The watershed of this portion forms the western boundary of Kashmir towards Karṇāha.' One important route that crossed this range near modern Sardi started from 'the ancient districts of Śamāla (mod. Hamal) and Uttara (mod. Uttar) and was guarded by the castle of Śirahśila.[5] From Sardi, this range

[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 1309; VIII, 451-52, 1229.
[2] *Ibid*, V, 225.
[3] *Ibid*, V, 214 and Stein's note in his Eng. Trans. on this verse and V. 225.
[4] *Ibid*, VIII, 2525; also known as Karṇādha, see VIII, 2485.
[5] *Ibid*, VIII, 2492; Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. II, pp. 340-44.

continues in a slightly south-easterly direction for about a 100 miles. The upper course of the Kṛṣṇā in this region was inhabited by the Dards, and was known as the Daraddeśa.[1] A route starting from the north of Mahāpadma (Wular Lake) crossed this northern range at Gurais on the Kishen Ganga, which is probably to be identified with Daratpurī,[2] the chief town of the Dards. From Gurais it leads to Astor and the Balti territory on the Indus. This route was guarded by the ancient fort of Dugdhaghāta (mod. Dudᵃkhut) which was often a bone of contention between Kashmirians and Dards.[3] To the east of Dugdhaghāta the summit of the range gradually culminates in the Haramukuṭa (mod. Haramuk) peaks, round which cluster some of the holiest of Kashmirian *tīrthas*. Eastward from Haramukuṭa, the range which we have been following so far, meets near the head of the Sind valley, 'the great chain of snowy mountains which stretches from Mount Nangā Parvat in a south-easterly direction to the Nunkum Peaks in Sūru. A few miles south of this junction we arrive at a gap in the mountains,' which is generally known by its Ladākhi name of Zōjī-La. This pass lay on a very important route connecting the Kashmir valley with China and Tibet *via* Ladākh. The Tibetan inhabitants beyond this pass were known as the Bhauṭṭas; and Kalhaṇa probably refers to this route by his *Bhuṭṭarāṣṭrādhvan*.[4] Through this route came the invaders in the 14th century who put an end to the Hindu rule in the valley.[5] The Laharakoṭṭa mentioned by Jonarāja 'probably represents the old watch station of this route.'[6] From near

[1] *Ibid*, I, 312, and note on the verse in Stein's Eng. Trans.; *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 435; also, V, 152; VII, 119; VIII, 2538, etc.

[2] *Ibid*, VII, 912, also known as Daratpura, VII, 915; VIII, 1153.

[3] *Ibid*, VII, 1171; VIII, 2468, 2715.

[4] *Ibid*, VIII, 2887; Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. II, p. 408. Dr. Barnett suggests that Bhoṭa or Bhauṭṭa or the like are the usual forms into which is Sanskritised the Tib. *bod*, meaning 'Tibetan.'

[5] Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, v. 142 ff.

[6] *Ibid*, V, 165 ff., Stein's note No. 21 on p. 408 of his Eng. Trans. of Kalhana's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II. *Jonarāja*, V. 199.

this pass a range of mountains, forming the eastern boundary of Kashmir 'runs almost due south until it reaches the head waters of the Vitastā. It then turns to the north-west and at the Bānᵃhāl pass joins on to the Pīr Pantsāl Range.' Towards the Chenab this range is pierced by two passes, *viz.*, the Margan and the Parbal Pass, the latter of which 'forms the usual route towards Kāṣṭhavāṭa.' [1]

The above is a brief outline of the boundaries and the political frontiers of ancient *Kāśmīra*. The valley thus surrounded by nature's barriers was divided into two great divisions, *viz.*, *Kramarājya* and *Maḍavarājya*. The capital, Śrīnagara, which has not changed its position since the days of Yuan Chwang, stood just at the junction of these two divisions.[2] The valley was thickly populated, and according to tradition contained 66,063 villages.[3]

For the history of this secluded valley we have practically no inscriptions either on metal or stone. But fortunately it possesses a number of chronicles which attempt to give a connected history of the land, from the earliest times down to its conquest by Akbar in 1586 A.D. The most important of these is, of course the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, who finished his work in *c.* 1150 A.D. Kalhaṇa's work was continued by Jonarāja, who briefly traces the downfall of Hindu rule in the Valley in 1339 A.D. and gives an account of the early Muslim rulers till 1420 A.D.[4] For the earliest portion of Kashmirian history Kalhaṇa has summarised a number of earlier chronicles, which are more or less of a mythical character. But we can guess from these somewhat confused accounts that the Valley must have passed in succession under the rule of the Mauryas, the

[1] For this account of the ancient geography and political topography of Kashmir I am indebted to Stein's admirable *Memoir*, in the 2nd vol. of his Eng. Trans. of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, pp. 347-490.

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Eng. Trans. by Stein, Vol. II, pp. 439 ff.

[3] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, of Jonarāja (Bombay Ed.), V. 153; Stein's Eng. Trans. of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, pp. 438-39.

[4] The chronicles of Śrīvara and Prājyabhaṭṭa carry on the account till 1586.

great Kuṣāṇas, and the Hūṇas. Fortunately for us, Kalhaṇa's account gradually approaches a historical character from about the 7th century A.D., when, thanks to the visit of Yuan Chwang (631-33 A.D.) and a number of notices in the Chinese annals, we can check the statements of the Kashmiri historian. The accession of the Kārkoṭa Durlabhavardhana in the first quarter of the 7th century marks an era in the history of the country.[1] For the first time the Valley came under the administration of a strong line of rulers, whose ambitious and powerful arms soon brought it into conflict with the princes on the Oxus, the Indus and the Ganges. By *c.* 631 A.D. Kashmir had already absorbed the hill states of Parṇotsa and Rājapurī. In the west it had conquered Uraśā, and had come into conflict with the *Śāhis,* from whom it took Takṣaśilā (mod. Rawalpindi district) and extended its power as far as Siṁhapura (Salt Range) in the Punjab. It was probably due to this pressure that the *Śāhis* were compelled to remove their capital from Udabhāṇḍa (Und) on the Indus.[2] In the first half of the 8th century Kashmir became one of the strongest powers in Asia. Though many of the details of Lalitāditya's *digvijaya* are shrouded in myth and mystery, the story of his conquest of Kanauj in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab, Tukhāristān in the upper Oxus valley, and Daraddeśa in the upper Kishen Ganga appears to be based on historical data.[3] He also maintained diplomatic relations with the Chinese emperor Hiuen-tsung (A.D. 713-755), and waged successful war against the Bhauṭṭas (Tibetans). It was also during this period that Kashmir first came into conflict with the Arabs. Balādhurī informs us that in the reign of the 'Abbasid

[1] Durlabhavardhana claimed descent from Nāga Karkoṭaka. According to the Epic and Pauranic tradition the Kārkoṭaka Nāgas were in the Deccan. The Haihaya king Arjuna, son of Kṛtavīrya is said to have captured Māhiṣmatī from these Nāgas. Does the claim of Durlabha indicate that he was a southerner? See Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, London, 1922, p. 266 and fn. 1; also *Mahābhārata*, VIII, 44, 2066; III, 66, 2671; VIII, 34, 1483; *Harivaṁśa*, 168, 9502; *Padmapurāṇa*, VI, 242, 2.

[2] *BR*, Vol. I, pp. 136-47; *Life*, p. 192.

[3] Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 131-264; Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, 88-92.

Caliph al-Manṣūr his governor of Sind, Ḥishām ibn 'Amr at-Taghlibi (*c.* 768-72 A.D.), 'conquered Kashmīr, obtaining many prisoners and slaves.'[1] By 'Kashmīr' Balāḏhurī probably meant that portion of the Punjab, north of Multan, which came into the possession of the Kārkoṭas at this time. In the second half of the 8th century, Kashmir was ruled by another powerful prince of this line named Jayāpīḍa. The details of his unceasing campaign and marvellous escapes from adversaries, as given by Kalhaṇa, have more the appearance of romance and fancy than history;[2] but behind this fantastic colouring there appears to have been a historical figure who made desperate efforts to maintain for the Kārkoṭas the prominent position won for them by the victories of Durlabhavardhana and Lalitāditya. Whatever may have been the success attained by Jayāpīḍa, it is certain that during the inglorious reign of his successor the power of Kashmir gradually declined, till, as we shall see further on, it was again restricted to its original limits, the Vitastā basin, east of Bārāmūla.[3]

After another century and a half (*c.* 700-855 A.D.) the Kārkoṭas were overthrown by the Utpalas. "With the accession of Avantivarman (A.D. 855-6 to 883)," the first king of the dynasty, "we reach that period of Kashmir history for which Kalhaṇa's work presents us with a truly historical record. The use of contemporary accounts from the commencement of the Fifth Book onward becomes evident, not only from the generally sober and mattter-of-fact character of the narrative, but also from the details henceforth furnished regarding many petty events, the memory of which could not have maintained itself in popular tradition, and from the use of exact dates. The fact can scarcely be accidental that Avantivarman, the first king, the

[1] *KFB*, Part II, pp. 230-31. I have already discussed the possible effect of these raids on the foreign policy of Kashmir, in my chapter on the *Śāhis*, see *supra*, pp. 71 and 72.

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 402-591. Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, pp. 93-95.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 97.

date of whose death is shown by Kalhaṇa with year, month, and day, stands at the head of a new dynastic list. It seems to indicate that records based on contemporary annals were contained among Kalhaṇa's sources only from the commencement of the Utpala dynasty onwards."[1] The reign of Avantivarman is remarkably free from any ambitious foreign policy or wars of aggression beyond its frontiers. But his reign is important as an era of internal peace and consolidation. Aided by his able *mantri* Śūra, he initiated a series of reforms which soon healed the wounds of misgovernment and internal troubles of the preceding reigns. One of these troubles was the growth of the power of the Ḍāmaras. The Ḍāmaras are first mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with the reign of Lalitāditya, who is said to have asked his successors not to leave to the villagers "more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for (the tillage of) their fields. Because if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Ḍāmaras and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king."[2] Aided by the weak rule of the later Kārkoṭas, this powerful rural aristocracy was gradually growing up from the well-to-do land-holding class. Their rapacity and insubordination were permanent sources of trouble in later Kashmirian history. But even as early as this reign their land-grabbing instinct is well illustrated by the story of the Ḍāmara Dhanva of Lahara (mod. Lar district), who took away all the villages belonging to the shrine of Bhūteśvara. We are told by Kalhaṇa that Śūra treated him like a son, and he was so powerful that when summoned to the presence of the *mantri*, "he made the earth shake with the tramp of his foot soldiers, and did not bend his back." The minister realised the danger to the state from the growth of this new factor in the polity, and meted out the extreme penalty

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 347-88; see Stein's Note G in Volume II of his Eng. Trans., pp. 304 ff.

of the law to the miscreant.[1] Amongst the building activities of Śūra must be mentioned the formation of a 'fine town called Śūrapura' (mod. Hūrᵃpōr) at the Kashmir end of the Pīr Pantsāl route, to which city he transferred the watch station (*ḍhakka*) from Kramavarta (mod. Kāmelankoṭh).[2] This minister, his wife Kāvyadevī, and his son Ratnavardhana were all devotees of Śiva, and built many temples and *maṭhas* in honour of that god.[3] The king, we are told "conformed to the pleasures of his minister as (if it were that) of a deity, bore himself (outwardly) as a worshipper of Śiva, though he was (in reality) from childhood a worshipper of Viṣṇu." He constructed the temple of Śiva Avantīśvara and made other benefactions to the shrines of Tripureśvara, Bhūteśa, and Vijayeśa.[4] But foremost among the foundations of this reign was the town of Avantipura (mod. Vāntⁱpōr) whose ruins "rank among the most imposing monuments of ancient Kashmir architecture, and sufficiently attest the resources of their builder."[5]

Avantivarman and his minister also appear to have been liberal patrons of letters. Amongst the poets who obtained fame during his reign Kalhaṇa mentions four, *viz.*, Ānandavardhana, Ratnākara, Śivasvāmin, and Muktākaṇa.[6] Of these the first was the author of two works, yet extant, the *Dhvanyāloka*, a rhetorical treatise, and the poem *Devīśataka*, both of which 'were commented upon towards the close of the 10th century.' Ratnākara has been rightly identified with the author of *Haravijaya*, who composed this work under Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa (826-38 A.D.). Muktākaṇa 'appears to be known otherwise only from quotations in two treatises of Kṣemendra (11th century),' while Śivasvāmin is 'perhaps identical with

1 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 48-62.
2 *Ibid*, V, 39, see also III, 227 and Note D in Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. II, p. 291 ff.,
3 *Ibid*, V, 37-38, 40-41.
Ibid, V, 45-46.
Ibid, Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 97.
Rājataranginī, V, 32-36

the poet, verses of whom are given in Kṣemendra's *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* and some later anthologies.'[1]

But the foremost achievements of this reign were the regulation of the waters of the Vitastā and vast undertakings of drainage and irrigation in the Valley. Kalhaṇa tells us that this work was first begun by king Lalitāditya, but it soon fell through under the feeble kings who succeeded Jayāpīḍa, with the result that the land was overtaken by disastrous floods and the price of a *khāri* of rice rose to 150 *Dinnāras*.[2] The person who thought and carried out the necessary steps was a man of extraordinary engineering skill. A foundling picked up by a *Caṇḍāla* woman and brought up by a Śūdra nurse, Suyya, became a 'teacher of small boys' and having attracted attention by his 'brilliant intellect,'[3] was entrusted by Avantivarman with the necessary funds to carry out his projects. Thanks to the minute topographical description of Kalhaṇa and the researches of Stein we can still after the lapse of more than 1,000 years trace the steps taken by Suyya. Among his measures the most important was the changing of the confluence of the Sindhu and Vitastā, which formerly flowed to the left and right of the Trigrāmī (mod. Tregaon), to their present position near Shādipūr. He diverted the combined waters into a new bed leading "into that part of the Wular which by its depth and well defined boundaries is naturally designed as a great reservoir to receive the surplus water of dangerous floods." He then constructed stone embankments along this course for 7 *yojanas*, (about 42 miles). By this means he reclaimed the marshes south of the Mahāpadma, and founded there flourishing villages protected by circular dykes, which came to be known as *Kuṇḍala*

[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Eng. Trans. by Stein, Vol. I, p. 189, note on V. 34; *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS.* by G. Bühler; extra number of the *JBRAS*, 1897, pp. 42, 65 and 66; Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, 1891, Part I, pp. 491, 654; *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, Ed. by Peterson, 1886, p. 129.

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 68-71. For *Dinnāra* and *Khārī*, see Stein's Note H in Vol. II of his translation, pp. 308-28.

[3] *Ibid*, V, 74-80.

from their appearance of round bowls (*Kuṇḍa*).[1] "He (then) arranged (accordingly) on a permanent basis for the size and distribution of the watercourse for each village, and (by using for irrigation) the *Anūlā* and other streams embellished all regions with an abundance of irrigated fields which were distinguished for excellent produce." Previous to these operations he had removed the rocks which had rolled down from the mountains at Yakṣadara (mod. Dyārᵃgul, some 3 miles below the eastern end of the Bārāmūla gorge) into the Vitastā and constructed stone walls to protect it against any future fall of rocks. The result of these operations are described as follows by Kalhaṇa:

"There where previously from the beginning of things the purchase price of a *khārī* of rice was 200 *Dinnāras* in times of great abundance, in that very land of Kaśmīra henceforth—O wonder!—the *khārī* of rice came to be bought for 36 *Dinnāras*."

Suyya's memory is preserved to this day by the town of Suyyapura (mod. Sōpur), which he founded on the bank of the Vitastā, where she leaves the waters of the Mahāpadma.[2]

Avantivarman died as a devout Vaiṣṇava in the *Laukika* era 3959 (A.D. 883) at the *Tripureśa* hill (mod. Triphar).[3] Soon after his death a civil war began amongst the proud and numerous descendants of Utpala, who all "aspired each and all to the throne." The *Pratīhāra* Ratnavardhana secured by his exertions the kingdom for Śaṅkaravarman, the son of Avantivarman. But the *amātya* Karṇapa raised his cousin Sukhavarman to the status of *yuvarāja*.[4] The result was a civil

[1] Dr. Barnett suggests that *Kuṇḍala* may mean rings or bracelets.

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 81-111; Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 98; Vol. II, Note 1, pp. 329-36; and *Memoir*, sections 68-71, pp. 418-22.

[3] See Stein's note on V, 46, Eng. Trans., Vol. I, pp. 192-93. Cunningham refers to this king the coins with the legend *Adi...njita* (Ādityavarma ?); *CMI*, p. 45.

[4] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 128-29; his father Śūravarman, a step-brother of Avanti, enjoyed 'wide powers of *yuvarāja*' in the previous reign; see V, 22.

war, "during which the kingdom was at every moment as placed in a swing." Śaṅkaravarman defeated his rival with difficulty, and after fighting many battles with Samaravarman and other rivals, at last secured his position.[1] After consolidating his power at home, he is reported to have undertaken a series of expeditions to recover the foreign possessions which were lost during the weak rule of the later Kārkoṭas. In spite of the beneficial measures during the reign of Avantivarman, Kalhaṇa admits that Kashmir during the period 'had become reduced in population and wealth.' The expeditions of the king which Kalhaṇa describes with so much poetic flourish, and in one of which the king met his death, leaves us in no doubt that the boundaries of the kingdom were again restricted to the Vitastā basin, east of Varāhamūla. With a large army whose advance guard alone, according to the exaggerated estimate of Kalhaṇa, consisted of "9 lakhs of foot-soldiers, 300 elephants, and 1 lakh of horsemen" the king marched forth from the *dvāra* and following the Pīr Pantsāl route,[2] invaded Dārvābhisāra. At the approach of the Kashmirian army, its king Naravāhana took refuge in the mountain gorges.[3] Saṅkaravarman then captured and imprisoned a prince named Harigaṇa, and gradually reached the outskirts of the Punjab plain, "wholly bent on the conquest of Gūrjara." Pṛthvīcandra, the king of Trigarta (Kangra), who had previously given his son Bhavanacandra as a hostage, is reported at this stage to have come towards Śaṅkaravarman to do homage, but fearing capture, "fled far away, failing in resolve." Kalhaṇa's description does not show that Trigarta was actually conquered, and Stein is probably right in assuming that no "material success was achieved by him in the hills east of the Ravi." But he appears

[1] *Ibid*, V, 130-35.

[2] On this point see Stein's note on I, 122, 302; IV, 404; V, 137, 143-44, in his Eng. Trans., Vol. I.

[3] Naravāhana, though innocent, was later slain by the king, who was afraid of treachery. See V, 209.

to have met with better success in his struggle with the *Gūrjarādhipa*, Alakhāna. I have already described elsewhere the possibility of some sort of an alliance between the *Adhirāja* Bhoja, Alakhāna, and the *Śāhi* Lalliya.[1] Though Śaṅkaravarman claims to have curbed the sovereign power of Bhoja and "uprooted in battle the fortune of Alakhāna, he seems to have gained no substantial success. His only conquest probably was the *Ṭakka-deśa*, the region between the upper waters of the Chenab and the Ravi.[2] This land Alakhāna is said to have humbly given up, "preserving his own country, as (if he had saved) his own body (at the sacrifice) of a finger." The Gūrjara lord was no doubt saved from a more serious defeat by the support of Lalliya *Śāhi*, against whom however Śaṅkaravarman does not appear to have gained any success. The only other expedition of this king was towards the Indus through the Bārāmūla defile, and was undertaken to avenge the death of his *dvārādhipa*[3] at Vīrānaka, in the Vitastā valley, below the gate of Bārāmūla. Kalhaṇa informs us that after destroying Vīrānaka the king conquered numerous territories on the banks of the Sindhu (Indus) and received the homage of their terror-stricken kings. As he was marching back through Uraśā from this expedition he was fatally wounded in the neck, by a "swift-flying arrow" discharged by a *Śvapāka*, in the course of a conflict with the inhabitants. While the arrow was being pulled out he died, in the Laukika era 3977 (A.D. 902).[4] In describing the subsequent march of the army towards Kashmir, Kalhaṇa tells us that it reached "Bolyāsaka in their own territory" after 6 days' march.[5] This shows that in spite of the energetic efforts of Śaṅkaravarman he could not extend the boundaries of his state

[1] See *supra*, chapter on the *Śāhis*, pp. 74-75.

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 137-56; 209; *Ṭakka-deśa* has been identified with the *Tseh-kia* of Yuan Chwang, the capital of which was close to the old city of She-kie-lo (Śākala = Sialkot).

[3] Eng. Trans. by Stein, Vol. I, Note on V, 214.

[4] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 214-22. In V, 389-90 he identifies the *Ḍombas with the Śvapākas*.

[5] *Ibid*, V, 225.

beyond the limits of the sub-montane regions adjoining Kashmir on the west and south. From Kalhaṇa's silence about the king's operations in the north and east, it must be assumed that he made no efforts to recover the possessions of the Kārkoṭas in these directions.

Though this king's military expeditions did not result in any considerable success, yet their expenses appear to have been a severe drain on the resources of Kashmir. To meet this, the king was driven to take exceptional measures for raising revenue, which caused severe hardships to the people. Kalhaṇa describes in detail this elaborate system of taxation.[1] The king established two new revenue offices called *Aṭṭapatibhāga* ('the share of the lord of the market') and *Gṛhakṛtya* ('domestic affairs'). The former officer was probably placed in charge of a new "variety of direct taxes on market shops, artificers, etc." while the receipts of the other officer possibly included fees levied at certain domestic events, such as marriages, *yajñopavitas*, etc. We are told that "by deducting or adding to the (due) weights, by fines on the villages and similar imposts, he amassed revenue for the *Gṛhakṛtya* (office)," and "he appointed in this special office five secretaries (*divira*) and the sixth the treasurer (*gañjavara*)...... Lavaṭa."[2] Under the pretext "that they were the (king's legal) share of the selling price" the king next proceeded to take "from the temples the profits arising from the sale of incense, sandal wood, and other (articles of worship)." He also resumed the villages which were granted to the temples as *Agrahāras*, on the understanding that a fixed amount should be returned as compensation (*pratikara*) from the income of these villages. These lands were then cultivated directly by the State, but the amount of the *pratikara* due to the temples was reduced by diminishing the weight in the scales by one-third. He then "plundered straightway 64 temples, through special officers (placed

[1] *Ibid*, V, 165-81.

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 167, 176-77, 301; *Gṛhakṛtyādhikāra* occurs in VII, 42; see also VIII, 1428; Stein's note in his Eng. Trans. on V, 167 and 177; Lawrence, *Valley*, pp. 399 ff.

over them) under the pretence of exercising supervision."[1] But the most serious taxation was certainly the systematic organization of the *corvée* (*rūḍhabhāroḍhi*), which broke the backbone of the poor. "Villagers, who did not turn up to carry their allotted loads, were fined by the value of the latter at enhanced rates, and the same fine was levied the following year a second time from the village as a whole." Kalhaṇa mentions 13 kinds of *corvées* which were introduced by the king. Furthermore, "by levying (contributions) for the monthly pay of the *Skandakas* (?), village clerks (*grāmakāyasthas*) and the like, and by various other exactions, he drove the villagers into poverty." Against this oppressive system of grinding taxation the king's son Gopālavarman, is said to have protested but his remonstrances were scornfully rejected by the king.[2]

Kalhaṇa records with bitterness that under this rule the learned men lost all respect while power fell more and more into the hands of the plundering *Kāyasthas*. The king "from fear of having to be liberal was averse to the society of distinguished men," and "poets like Bhallaṭa, and others had to lead the meanest existence." This Bhallaṭa has been identified with the author of the extant *Bhallaṭaśataka* and the dictionary called *Padamañjarī*, who is often quoted by Kṣemendra.[3] The king, according to Kalhaṇa, did not speak "the language of the gods (among men, *i.e.*, Sanskrit), but used vulgar speech (*apabhraṁśa*) fit for drunkards," and under him cultured habits became the object of ridicule.[4] But that he was not entirely heterodox is shown by his building of two temples of Śiva, *Śaṅkaragaurīśa* and *Sugandheśa*, which were raised in a city built by him and named Śaṁkarapura (Mod. Paṭan, a village, 74° 37′ long. 34° 10′ lat.), after himself. Kalhaṇa with evident

[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 168-71.

[2] *Ibid*, V, 172-75 and Stein's note on the verses in his Eng. Trans.

[3] *Ibid*, V, 181, 204; Stein's note on V, 204 in his Eng. Trans.; Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, 1891, Part I, p. 397.

[4] *Ibid*, V, 206-08.

pleasure remarks that this city was only known "for the weaving of (woollen) cloths, purchase and sale of cattle, etc.," and never became famous like Parihāsapura, which the king plundered to build his city.[1]

The copper coins of this king of the usual seated-goddess-and-standing-rājā type, are common enough. From him onwards we find Kalhaṇa's list of kings illustrated by the evidence of an unbroken series of coins.[2]

I have already described the violent death of this king in the land of Uraśā. For sometime the Kashmiri army was in great risk of being overwhelmed by its enemies; but thanks to the prudence of Sukharāja and other ministers it was led home in safety. The king's death was concealed, and "by means of cords which made his head bend down and rise like that of a puppet, they caused him to return the greeting of the feudatories who had come to do homage." When the army reached Bolyāsaka within Kashmir, the funeral rites of the king was performed. Three of his queens, including Surendravatī and a clever and grateful Velāvitta (?) named Jayasimha, followed the king to death. Kalhaṇa tells us that, "struck by the curse of the people," the king had lost during his lifetime 20 or 30 children without (previous) illness. But before his death he entrusted his surviving minor son Gopālavarman to the care of his mother, queen Sugandhā, the daughter of the illustrious Siṁharāja, "the ruler of the northern region."[3] The ministers respected the wish of the dying king, and placed Gopālavarman on the throne under the guardianship of his mother. The widowed queen soon "became very dissolute through sensual enjoyments" and fell in love with the *mantri* Prabhākaradeva. The only important incident of this reign is a successful expedition

[1] *Ibid*, V, 156-62.

[2] *Ibid*, Eng. Trans. by Stein, Vol. I, p. 101; *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45; see also *CCIM*, 1906, pp. 269-70.

[3] V, 157. Stein suggests that Siṁharāja may have been a ruler of the Dard or some neighbouring territory.

undertaken by this minister against the *Śāhis* of Udabhāṇḍapura. The war resulted in the defeat and dethronement of the reigning *Śāhi*, possibly Sāmand (Sāmanta). After placing on the throne Lalliya's son Toramāṇa-Kamaluka (Kamalū), the minister returned to Śrīnagara in triumph.[1] Flushed with victory, he grew arrogant and began to cause "the humiliation of brave men." For sometime he plundered the wealth of the State in his post of *Koṣādhyakṣa*, and when the young king, "by degrees realising the state of things, insisted on an examination of the treasury-chests," the minister ascribed all that was missing to the treasury to expenses in the *Śāhi* war. Finding the king unconvinced, and realising the danger of his position, he, with the assistance of his relative Rāmadeva took adequate steps, so that the young prince "fell into a hot fever and died after a rule of two years" (904 A.D.).[2] Then Gopālavarman's supposititious brother Saṁkaṭa, "who had been picked up from the highway," obtained the throne. But he too died after a reign of ten days. Thereupon, Sugandhā herself assumed the royal power "at the bidding of the subjects." She built the town of Gopālapura (mod. Gauripur, 75°3′ long 33°57′ lat.?), the Gopālamaṭha, the temple of Gopālakeśava, and also a town after her name "for the increase of religion." During this reign we hear for the first time of the *Ekāṅgas* and the *Tantrins*. The former appear to have been a body organised in military fashion but employed chiefly for police duties and can probably be compared with the '*pattan Nizāmat*,' which was maintained in Kashmir until a few years ago, or the *gendarmes* of Continental Europe.[3] The *Tantrins* were a body of foot-soldiers who probably derived their designation from their tribal name, and owed their close organisation to ethnic affinities.[4]

[1] See *supra*, pp. 76-77.

[2] V, 239-41. Kalhaṇa ascribes his death to witchcraft, but it looks more like poisoning. For his copper coins see Cunningham's *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45; *CCIM*, p. 270.

[3] V, 249; Stein's note on it in his Eng. Trans.

[4] V, 248; and Stein's note on the verse in his Eng. Trans.

Aided by the weak rule, of Śaṅkaravarman's successors, these organisations assumed the character of close corporations, and began to play the part of "true Praetorians." Kalhaṇa tells us that in the reign of Sugandhā the *Tantrins* "had formed a confederacy, and were strong enough to punish or to favour the rulers of this land." She carried on her administration for two years, relying on the *Ekāṅgas* and through the good will of the *Tantrins*.[1] But the moment she tried to take an independent line, she came into conflict with them and was hurled from power. As Avantivarman's family had died out, she assembled the *mantris*, *sāmantas*, *Tantrins*, and the *Ekāṅgas* in council and proposed to invest Nirjitavarman, a grandson of Sūravarman, and a son of Sukhavarman, with regal power. This prince was notorious under the nickname *Paṅgu*, and was in the habit of spending the night in dissipation and all day in sleep. Her proposal therefore did not meet with ready acceptance. The *Tantrins* in the meantime united in a separate faction and placed Pārtha, the ten-year old son of Nirjitavarman, on the throne (906 A. D.). The unfortunate queen was compelled to leave the royal palace, "making her rolling tears take the place of a necklet of pearls." In 914 A. D. she came out from her retirement at Huṣkapura (mod. Uskur), and tried to recover her power with the assistance of the *Ekāṅgas*. In the struggle that followed the *Tantrins* were victorious. The union of the *Ekāṅgas* was broken while the unfortunate queen herself was taken prisoner and put to death (914 A. D.).[2]

In the meantime Paṅgu was acting as the guardian of the child-king. But, as Kalhaṇa puts it, he together with the ministers was bent only on the amassing of bribes. The kings, says the chronicler, "were in the service of the *Tantrins*, and

[1] V, 248-49.

[2] V, 251-62. For her copper coins see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45; V. Smith, *CCIM*, p. 270.

ousted each other like *grāmakāyasthas*, by offering greater and greater bribes. In this land, the rulers of which had conquered Kanyakubja and other countries, the kings now maintained themselves by giving bills of exchange (*huṇḍikā*) to the *Tantrins*." The ministers 'intrigued in deep-laid plots,' for the throne, and a famine caused by a flood "appeared like a caustic thrown in a wound" (917-18 A.D.). Crops failed and the price of a *khārī* of rice rose to a 1,000 *Dinnāras*. The waters of the Vitastā became entirely filled with corpses, and the land covered with bones like one great burial ground. But in this great calamity the ministers and the *Tantrins* became wealthy 'by selling stores of rice at high prices.' The king would only take that person as minister who raised the sums due on the *Tantrins*' bills. His callous attitude to the sufferings of his people is thus vividly described by Kalhaṇa: "As one might look from inside his hot bathroom upon all the people outside distressed by the wind and rain of a downpour in the forest, thus for a long time the wretched Paṅgu, keeping in his palace, praised his own comfort, while he saw the people in misery." [1]

The next 18 years of Kashmir history (918-36 A. D.) are entirely dominated by the *Tantrins*, who made and unmade kings. In A.D. 921 Pārtha was overthrown by his father Paṅgu, whom the *Tantrins* supported and installed as king. But he died in 923, after having placed on the throne his young son Cakravarman. Pārtha with the assistance of the *Tantrins* tried to recover his throne, and fought a battle with the *Ekāṅgas*, without decisive results. In the meantime the child-king was protected under the guardianship of his mother Bappaṭadevī, and then for 10 years under that of his grandmother Kṣillikā. In 933 A.D., however, the *Tantrins* overthrew him and appointed as king Śūravarman (I), the son of Paṅgu by Mṛgāvatī. The uncles and ministers of this king,

[1] V, 264-77.

who was of good character, caused his overthrow "by not paying what was due to the *Tantrins*." He was deposed in 934 A. D., and the guards made the 'liberal Pārtha once more king.' But in 935 Cakravarman, who offered them 'great riches' was again crowned. But he soon fled being unable to meet the bills of the *Tantrins*. His 'deceitful minister Saṁbhuvardhana, whom he had placed in charge of the *Gṛhakṛtya* office then got himself installed in the same year, by "promises of yet greater bribes." But in 936 A. D. Cakravarman with the assistance of the Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma raised a large army, and inflicted a terrible defeat upon the *Tantrins* outside Padmapura (mod. Pāmpar, 74°59′ long. 34°1′ lat.). This victory, in which Cakravarman appears to have displayed considerable personal bravery and which caused the death of five to six thousand *Tantrins*, broke the backbone of this military corporation.[1] But as the battle was won 'with the assistance of numberless Ḍāmaras,' it introduced, as we shall see further on, another element of danger in the body politic from this landed aristocracy.[2] Cakravarman after he had killed Saṁbhuvardhana and cleared the kingdom of his enemies, soon fell under 'the power of parasites and committed acts which were cruel and devoid of judgment.' One of these cost him his life and throne. The king, enamoured by the singing and dancing of two beautiful *Ḍomba* girls named Haṁsī and Nāgalatā, took them to his seraglio. Haṁsī was raised by the love-blinded king to the rank of chief queen, and enjoyed the royal privilege of being fanned with chowries. This alliance appears to have raised the status of the *Ḍombas* in the State. But the flagrant violation of caste-rules, the shock caused by their free entrance into places of worship, the galling subservience of the proud Ḍāmaras to the pleasure of this low-caste people, and the king's treacherous conduct towards the Ḍāmaras, at last produced an

[1] V, 327-47.

[2] V, 439, 445-48; these verses show the growing power oft he Ḍāmaras.

inevitable reaction. A body of these barons, suddenly surprised him at night in the Ḍomba-queen's quarters, and "killed him in the embrace of the crying *Śvapākī*, while his body rested on her swelling breasts."[1] This event occurred in 937 A.D. The 'foolish ministers' then installed 'the wicked son of Pārtha' called Unmattāvanti, who is described by Kalhaṇa as "worse than wicked." "His chief ministers were those who could make music with their noses, shoulders, etc., and who would bang their skulls with knocks and blows." We can form an adequate estimate of these ministers by the conduct of Parvagupta, "who danced in the royal assembly with his loin cloth taken off." The following are some of the instances of this king's revolting sports. Kalhaṇa tells us that:

"Instigated by wretched companions, he exercised himself in the use of arms by hitting naked women in the hollow, between their breasts with thrown daggers.

"He had the womb of pregnant women cut open in order to see the child, and also cut off limbs of labourers to test their power of endurance."

Encouraged by the wicked Parvagupta, who was plotting to secure the throne himself, he imprisoned and starved to death all his half-brothers, and at last killed his father Pārtha in his retirement at the Jayendravihāra at Śrīnagara with revolting cruelty.[2] But before the "long-continued laugh" of amusement of his cruel deed was over, he became afflicted with a consumptive disease, and after suffering immeasurable pains died in 939 A.D. Kalhaṇa tells us that, not to speak of his subjects, even the 14 queens of his seraglio were delighted at his death.[3]

"The parricide miscreant king, when his descent to hell was near, placed on the throne a young child called Śūravarman (II), whom the servant-girls of his seraglio had procured from

[1] V, 354-413; for his copper coins see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45.

[2] For the copper coins of Pārtha see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45. *CCIM*, p. 270.

[3] V, 418-44. For his copper coins see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45.

somewhere and falsely declared to be the king's son." Before the child-king's position could be consolidated, the commander-in-chief (*Kampanādhipati*),[1] Kamalavardhana, advanced on the capital from Maḍavarājya, and easily defeated the royal troops. He, however, very foolishly did not ascend the throne at once, but 'collected all the Brahmans and canvassed them, in his desire for the royal power.' The Brahmans, who are described by Kalhaṇa as 'resembling bulls without horns,' dressed in coarse woollen cloaks, met in an assembly and deoated the question for 5 or 6 days. At last their choice fell upon Yaśaskara, the ambitious and eloquent son of Prabhākaradeva, 'the secret paramour of Sugandhā,' who had just returned from abroad.

With the accession of Yaśaskara in A.D. 939 the Utpala dynasty came to an end. Kalhaṇa gives a favourable description of the reign of the new king. "The land became so free from robbery that at night the doors were left open in the bazars, and the roads were secure for travellers. As he exercised careful supervision, the functionaries, who had plundered everything, found no other occupation but to look after the cultivation."[2] The chronicler illustrates the judicial sagacity of the king by two stories which appear to be based on fact, and mentions the building of a *maṭha* for students from *Āryadeśa*.[3] Yet he was not entirely free from defects. His excessive joy at the death of his eldest brother, his connivance at the love-intrigues of the *Maṇḍaleśa* Velāvitta with his queens, his infatuation for the courtesan Lallā, who "yet had meetings with a Caṇḍāla watchman" and association with those "who had eaten the food remnants of the *Ḍombas*," are mentioned among his faults.[4] To this last fault Kalhaṇa ascribes his

[1] V, 447. Se Stein's note on this verse in his Eng. Trans. He has explained that *kampana* here means *army* and not a *country*.

[2] VI, 7-8.

[3] VI, 14-67, 87-88, one of the stories is also found in *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 386.

[4] VI, 68-84.

abominable' and lingering disease which overtook him towards the end of his reign. Rejecting the claims of his young son Saṁgrāmadeva, "as he knew that he was not begotten by himself," he then had Varṇaṭa, the son of his paternal grand-uncle Rāmadeva, consecrated "by the ministers, *Ekāṅgas* and feudal chiefs." But Varṇaṭa gave offence to the king by not visiting or even enquiring after his condition, and the scheming Parvagupta at the last moment persuaded the dying prince to grant the throne to Saṁgrāmadeva. Feeling his end to be near, he then proceeded to his *maṭha*, where his death was hastened by a dose of poison (948 A.D.).[1]

The child-king Saṁgrāmadeva, who was nicknamed *Vakrāṅghri* (crooked-footed), was installed as king under the guardianship of his grandmother. But the real power was wielded by the six *mantris*, Parvagupta and his five colleagues. Parvagupta had been intriguing to seize the crown since the days of Unmattāvanti. He now put out of the way the others, together with the king's grandmother, and began to display conduct which "created the mingled impression of *rājan* and *rājānaka*." Disarming suspicion by serving the child-king by bringing him food, etc., he eluded the 'hostile *Ekāṅgas*' under the cover of a heavy snowfall, and, surrounding the palace, killed the boy-king in A.D. 949. Then, throwing the dead body, 'with a stone bound to his neck,' into the Vitastā, he seated himself on the vacant throne.[2]

Parvagupta rose from humble circumstances, his grandfather being a mere clerk (*divira*). He appears to have been a strong ruler, and Kalhaṇa tells us that the "malevolent princes, *Ekāṅgas*, chiefs, ministers, officials and *Tantrins* (*pārthiva-aikāṅga-sāmanta-mantri-kāyastha-tantri*) were all afraid of him." But his reign was characterised by fiscal oppression.

[1] VI, 69, 84, 90-107. For another version of his death VI, 108-112. For his copper coins, *CMI*, see Plate IV, and p. 45.

[2] VI, 114-25.

He is said to have "accumulated treasures, and thus again raised to power the functionaries, those plagues of the people." With his ill-gotten riches he founded the shrine of Śiva Parvateśvara, near the site of Skandhabhavana-vihāra in Śrīnagara.[1] Then, worn out by cares and agitations he was seized by dropsy and died in the precincts of the Sūreśvarī Tīrtha (mod. Iśabar on the shore of the Dal lake) in A.D. 950.[2]

He was succeeded by his son Kṣemagupta, a worthless young man addicted to licentious habits and drinking, and fond of evil company. In the hands of "Vāmana and other roguish sons of Jiṣṇu" he danced "just as if he were a doll pulled by strolling players with strings." Of the disgusting revels and corruptions of his court it will be sufficient to quote only the following verse of Kalhaṇa: "Among his minions the two beggars Hari and Dhūrjaṭi were simpletons in the art of procuring, as they protected the virtue of their mothers."[3] In order to kill the Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma, who had taken asylum in the famous Jayendravihāra, the king burnt it down and founded the temple of Kṣemagaurīśvara with its ruins. The only important incident of his reign is his marriage with Diddā, daughter of Siṁharāja, the lord of Lohara, and grand-daughter of the *Śāhi* ruler Bhīma.[4] From this time onward the influence of the *Śāhis* and the House of Lohara gradually increased in the Kashmirian court and had important consequences on its future history. We are told that Diddā so much engrossed the mind of the king that he "became known by the humiliating appellation *Diddā-Kṣema*." The truth of this statement of Kalhaṇa is verified by the copper coins of this king with the legend *Di-Kṣema* which is no doubt a contraction of the above name. It is certainly an indication of the prominent position held by the young queen during her husband's reign. This conclusion is

[1] See Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. II, Note K, pp. 339-40.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. I, note on VI, 137; VI, 147-48. For his coins, see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45.

[3] VI, 166.

[4] See *supra*, chapter on the *Śāhis*, pp. 77-78; see also VI, 178.

further strengthened by the fact that while the coins of Kṣemagupta bearing the name of the queen "are extremely common,... the single name coin is unique."[1] In the course of a jackal hunt, the young king was shaken with fright by seeing "a flame issuing from the mouth of a howling jackal." As a consequence of this, the king contracted *lūtā* disease,[2] and died in A.D. 958.[3]

The period of approximately half century (958-1003 A.D.) which follows is dominated by the masterful personality of Diddā. Abhimanyu, the young son of Kṣemagupta, was next installed as king under the guardianship of this widowed queen-mother. The first incident of the reign was a terrible conflagration in Śrīnagara, which "purified the land by burning the great buildings which the contact of the kings who had been touched by the *Ḍombas* and *Caṇḍālas* had defiled." The next incident was the downfall of the *Sarvādhikāra* Phalguṇa the conqueror of Rājapuri (mod. Rajauri), who outshone all other ministers 'by counsel, courage, energy, and all other good qualities.' He had incurred the enmity of Diddā because he had given his daughter Candralekhā to the last king. He was also an object of hatred to all other ministers because of his ability and high office. When the proud minister perceived his critical situation and when new dishonour was continually showered upon him by the queen, he laid his sword at Varāhakṣetra and retired with his troops to Parṇotsa (mod. Punch). The queen next found Mahimān and Pāṭala, sons of two daughters of Parvagupta conspiring for the throne. They had grown up "in the king's palace as if they were his own sons," and wielded great influence. But Diddā turned them out of the royal palace, and when they raised a formidable rebellion she

[1] *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45; *CCIM*, p. 270.

[2] In VI, 185 and 187 Kalhaṇa describes it as a variety of eruptions, "resembling split lentils," which covered the body, and was accompanied with fever.

[3] Because he often showered bracelets on the arms of his courtiers he acquired the *biruda* Kaṅkaṇavarṣa. See VI, 161 and 301.

quickly bought off their Brahman supporters. The result was a temporary reconciliation between Mahimān and the queen.[1] One of the bribed Brahmans, Yaśodhara, was made the commander-in-chief, but as soon as he displayed energy in defeating the *Śāhi* Thakkana, Diddā grew suspicious and believed in the accusation that Yaśodhara 'had taken money for keeping Thakkana on his throne.'[2] When Diddā attempted to banish him on this charge, his supporters raised a formidable rebellion and besieged her in the palace. But, thanks to the assistance of the minister Naravāhana and the valiant defence of the *Ekāṅgas*, the rebellion was crushed, and the queen took terrible vengeance on her disaffected ministers. We are told that "Those treacherous ministers, who during sixty years from the Laukika era 3977 (A.D. 901-02) onward had robbed sixteen kings, from king Gopāla (varman) to Abhimanyu, of their dignity, lives and riches, were quickly exterminated by the energy of queen Diddā ..." This victory induced the grateful queen to make Naravāhana her chief councillor 'with the title of *Rājānaka*.' For sometime "she slept when he slept, took food when he took it, rejoiced in his joy, and from sympathy felt dejected when he was despondent." But soon Sindhu, the treasurer, put into her head that the minister was gradually trying to usurp royal power. This belief led her to heap such insults upon Naravāhana 'that tormented by disgrace he committed suicide.'[3] An attempt to kill the sons of the Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma next involved her in a rebellion of the landed aristocracy. Being unable to cope with these troubles, she recalled Phalguṇa to her side. At this time the king, who, though weak, was a learned and handsome man, developed consumption and died (972 A.D.). He was succeeded by his young son Nandigupta.[4] The death of her son came as a great shock

[1] VI, 191-225.

[2] See *sup. a*, chapter on the *Śāhis*, pp. 78-79.

[3] VI, 226-77.

[4] VI, 278-93. For his coins see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45. *CCIM*, p. 270.

to the queen-regent, and for one year she was engaged in laying the foundations of temples, *maṭhas*, and cities for acquiring religious merit. Kalhaṇa records the tradition that "she made 64 foundations in different localities" and enclosed with stone walls almost all the temples the surrounding walls of which had been burnt down." Amongst her more important pious foundations may be mentioned the temples of Viṣṇu Diddāsvāmin, the cities of Diddāpura, and Kaṅkaṇapura, and several *vihāras* and *maṭhas* for the residence of foreigners. One of these, Diddāmaṭha, has left its memory in the name Didᵃmar, which is now applied to the western end of Srinagar on the right bank of the Vitastā.[1] But this burst of pious enthusiasm was short-lived. Kalhaṇa had already indicated a fatal weakness in her character when her courage failed before the funeral pyre of the dead husband. Before long "The officers who held charge of foreign affairs, the royal household and other posts" began to visit the queen's bed-chamber without scruples. This factor in her character, together with a passionate desire for power, soon brought about a violent reaction. As a result of this she killed her little grandson Nandigupta by 'employing witchcraft' in 973 A.D., and two years later in a similar way disposed of another grandson, Tribhuvana, who had been raised to the throne in his place.[2] In 975 she put "her last grandson Bhīmagupta on that path which bore the name throne." The opportune death of the venerable minister Phalguṇa removed the last restraint, and "thereafter she committed hundredfold excesses by open misconduct, infuriated just as a female elephant in rut which has torn off its face-covering." Even ministers and leading men became procurers of her "many paramours." As the child-king Bhīmagupta after four or five years "became a little developed in intellect and recognised that the affairs of his kingdom and his

[1] VI, 300; VII, 11; VIII, 349; also Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. II, p. 448.

[2] VI, 189, 196, 310-12. For the coins of these two kings see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45; also *CCIM*, p. 270.

grandmother's way of living were not right," he was imprisoned and put to death by various tortures (980-81 A.D.).[1] Shortly before this event Diddā had been captivated by a young Khaśa from Parṇotsa named Tuṅga. He had at first come to Kashmir as a herdsman of buffaloes, and later obtained employment as a letter-carrier in the Foreign Office. When Diddā herself ascended the throne in 980-81 A. D., the infatuated queen made him "the *Sarvādhikāri*, and raised him above everybody." Four brothers of Tuṅga were also placed in high offices. The result was that the former ministers whom Tuṅga and his brothers ousted, united and raised a rebellion which was headed by the Lohara prince Vigraharāja, son of Diddā's brother. He began his campaign by inducing the Brahmans holding the chief *Agrahāras* to enter upon a solemn fast. But before the disturbances could proceed further Diddā by a judicious distribution of gold amongst the Brahmans brought the sacred fast to an end, and the rebellion soon collapsed. A second attempt of Vigraharāja was also crushed by the vigorous action of Tuṅga. At this time Pṛthvīpāla, the king of Rājapurī, who probably acknowledged the supremacy of Kashmir, 'showed arrogance,' and practically destroyed an invading force sent from Srīnagara. But Tuṅga and his brother retrieved the disaster by suddenly penetrating into Rājapurī by another route. Owing to the diversion caused by the burning of his capital, Pṛthvīpāla was defeated and the remnant of the Kashmirian forces rescued. Pṛthvipāla was forced to pay tribute to Tuṅga who on his return to Srīnagara was invested with the post of Commander-in-chief by the grateful queen. The last recorded incident of Diddā's reign was a rising of the Ḍāmaras, whose hosts however were destroyed by her brave lover "with the courage of a lion." After this she selected Saṁgrāmarāja, a son of her brother Udayarāja, for the rank of *Yuvarāja*, and died in 1003 A.D.[2]

[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI, 313-32. For his coins see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45, also *CCIM* p. 270.

[2] VI, 318-22, 333-65. For her coins see *CMI*, Plate IV, and p. 45. *CCIM*, p. 271.

In spite of all her glaring defects Diddā was certainly gifted with energy and statesmanship of a high order. This is nowhere better attested than by this last step, which secured a change of dynasty without any political upheavals. Saṁgrāmaraja was the younger brother of Vigraharāja, prince of Lohara. His accession thus led to the foundation of the first Lohara dynasty in Śrīnagara. Before the queen died she had "made Saṁgrāmarāja and Tuṅga and the rest take the oath by sacred libation that they would not harm each other." So Tuṅga remained in power even after the death of Diddā. An attempt on the part of the Brahman councillors to bring about his fall was crushed by Tuṅga's energy. Kalhaṇa admits that besides his bravery Tuṅga had been always "eminently prudent in his conduct, and wholly bent on satisfying the people." But old age and the "cares of endless official and other affairs" gradually weakened his discretion, and he took the false step of appointing "a low-born mean *Kāyastha*, Bhadreśwara by name," in charge of the *Gṛhakṛtya* office. The administration of this officer, whose hereditary occupation "had been to trade in night-soil" resulted in fiscal oppression and much suffering of the people. His position was further weakened, when on being sent to help the *Śāhi* Trilocanapāla against Maḥmūd of Ghazni, he brought about the defeat of the Hindu forces on the banks of the Tośī, by his inordinate folly and vanity.[1] After this defeat, when he returned to Śrīnagara in disgrace the intrigues against him gained a fresh start. Even the king's brother Vigraharāja began to urge in secret letters the removal of Tuṅga. The king, who was in sympathy with the conspirators, but whose weak 'character was equal to his courage,' only waited for a favourable opportunity. The opportunity soon arrived. One day the unsuspecting Tuṅga entered

[1] VII, 47-70; *KY*, pp. 389-92; *TA*, p. 8; *TF*, Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I, p. 54. For details see *supra*, chapter on the *Śāhis*, pp. 95-97.

the palace with his son and a slender following, and was at once surrounded and killed by the conspirators. Thus died a valiant and loyal servant of the state, who, though of low origin, was never guilty of treachery,—no mean compliment in this period of Kashmir history. The officers who succeeded him were only noted for their licentious habits and rapacity, and "accumulated crores" by plundering the people and the treasury.[1]

The most important incident in the history of Kashmir after the death of Tuṅga was the futile attempt of Maḥmūd of Ghazni to conquer the Valley. Kalhaṇa in his account of the reign only incidentally refers to the cowardly conduct of the sons of the low-born Candramukha, 'who on being sent by the king to fight with the Turuṣkas, like Tuṇga, turned, fled, and again came back to their own country.'[2] This incident most probably happened in connection with the attempt of Maḥmūd to invade Kashmir after the defeat of Trilocanapāla. But unfortunately Kalhaṇa does not supply us with any details of this grave danger to his country's independence. For this we have to depend on the Muslim chroniclers who had recorded the history of the Yamīnī dynasty. I have already shown elsewhere how Maḥmūd after his victory on the Toṣī in 1013 A.D., advanced into the foothills of Kashmir, and carried away much booty and plunder.[3] According to both Niẓām ud-Dīn and Firishta Maḥmūd in A.H. 406 (A.D. 1015) returned to the attack. The latter gives the following account of this campaign: "Maḥmūd in the year A.H. 406, revisited Kashmir with his army, in order to punish some revolted chiefs, and to besiege some forts, which he had not reduced in his former expedition. The first of these forts was Lohkot, remarkable on account of its height and strength, and which entirely defeated the king's utmost efforts; for not being able to reduce it during the summer season, he was obliged, on the approach of winter, to abandon his enterprise and return

[1] VII, 99-110.
[2] VII, 111-118.
[3] See *supra*, chapter on the *Śāhis*, p. 98.

to Ghazni. On his route he was misled by his guides, and falling into extensive morasses, from which he for several days could not extricate his army, many of his troops perished, and he failed in all the enterprises of this campaign."[1] Niẓām ud-Dīn, though brief, substantially agrees with this story.[2] Stein has shown that this fort, which blocked Maḥmūd's advance into Kashmir, is to be identified with al-Bīrūnī's Lahūr (or Lauhūr)[3] and the fort of Lohara of Kalhaṇa, situated not far from the Tosmaidān Pass.[4] Starting from some place on the Punjab plain between the Indus and the Jhelum, Maḥmūd must have been advancing along this route. He may have been following the Tosī (mod. Tohī) river from some position north of the modern town of Jhelum, where he defeated Trilocanapāla in 1013 A.D. Though Maḥmūd was repulsed and failed to enter the valley, yet it seems that he succeeded in conquering a portion of the 'sub-montane regions which adjoin Kashmir on the south.' This is proved by 'Utbī who tells us that when Maḥmūd started on his expedition against Kanauj (1018 A.D.) he was waited upon by Jankī, son of Samhī, the ruler of the pass of Kashmir, who marched 'in front of him as a guide crossing valley after valley.'[5] In A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021) Maḥmūd again invaded Kashmir and invested the stronghold of Lohkot, "but finding it altogether impregnable he decamped" and proceeded to Lahore.[6] Niẓām ud-Dīn

[1] *TF*, Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 54-55.

[2] *TA*, Trans. by B. Dey, p. 9.

[3] *KH*, Trans. by Sachau, Trübner, Vol. I, pp. 208 and 317.

[4] Eng. Trans. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 108; Vol. II, Note E, pp. 293-300.

[5] In the original Arabic Text of the *Kitāb-i-Yamīnī*, the name is clearly given as جنكي بن سمهي. See the text printed on the margin of *Ta'rīkh ul-Kāmil*, Bulak, Cairo, 1874, Vol. XII, p. 73. Reynolds in his translaton from the Persian version of the text gives the name as 'Haball-'bn-Shāsnī,' see p. 451; Elliott (Vol. II, p. 42) gives the name as Sablī, son of Shāhī, son of Bamhī.' I do not know where Prof. Habib gets the name 'Sali.' See his *Maḥmūd of Ghaznin*, p. 36. As 'Utbī, the contemporary historian distinctly calls him "ruler of the pass of Kashmir" we cannot accept the statement of Firishta that he was lord of the whole valley. (I am indebted to Dr. Mirza of Lucknow University for help in comparing the original Arabic Text.)

[6] *TF*, Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I, p. 65.

tells us that the siege was personally conducted by the Sulṭān "for a month" After he retreated towards Lahore.[1]

Samgrāmarāja died in the year 1028 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Harirāja. He was a popular prince, and during his brief reign appears to have taken steps for the preservation of law and order in the State. But his reign was cut short by sudden death after a reign of 22 days, and Kalhaṇa refers to a general report that the licentious queen-mother Śrīlekhā "had used witchcraft against her son who was dissatisfied with her conduct." The design of the queen to capture the crown was frustrated by the prompt action of the assembled *Ekāṅgas* and the king's milk-brother Sagara, who placed her young son Ananta on the throne. The attempt of Vigraharāja, the ruler of Lohara, who had been intriguing for the throne for a long time, also proved a failure. He advanced from Lohara by rapid marches, burnt down the "Gate" (*dvāra*), and unexpectedly appearing in Srīnagara, threw himself into the Loṭhikāmaṭha.[2] But the troops of Śrīlekhā killed him and his followers by setting fire to the place.[3]

During the first part of the reign of Ananta, the *Śāhi* princes (*Śāhiputrāḥ*), who had taken shelter in Kashmir after the destruction of their power in the Punjab, wielded great power at his court.[4] They were intimate friends of the king, and used to draw high salaries. One of them, Rudrapāla, who had married Āsamatī, a daughter of Inducandra, the prince of Jālandhara, induced the king to marry her somewhat younger sister Sūryamatī. Though the influence of these *Śāhis* on the king and the State was not wholly beneficial, yet their bravery often helped Kashmir to tide over the dangers of foreign invasion, and civil war. Hardly had the new king established himself on the throne

[1] *TA*, p. 13.

[2] VII, 120; 139-41.

[3] VII, 127-41;] for the coins of Saṁgrāmarāja, see *CMI*, Plate V, and p. 46. also *CCIM*, p. 271.

[4] For details *supra*, chapter on the *Śāhis*, pp. 99-101.

when the powerful Commander-in-chief Tribhuvana challenged him at the head of the Ḍāmaras and practically the whole army of the State. But fortunately the *Ekāṅgas* and the mounted soldiers remained loyal and with these Ananta attacked and defeated the rebel forces at Śālāsthala after a fierce contest.[1] As a reward for their loyalty the grateful king "relieved the *Ekāṅgas* of the uncertain dependence on the *Akṣapaṭala* office and gave them instead a fixed assignment" amounting to 96 crores of *Dinnāras*.[2] Shortly after this the *gañjādhipa* Brahmarāja, having quarrelled with Rudrapāla, again raised certain Ḍāmaras against the king. The rebellion assumed serious proportions when that disaffected official succeeded in inducing 'Acalamaṅgala, king of the Darads, together with seven *Mleccha* princes' to invade Kashmir. But thanks to the bravery of Rudrapāla 'the *Mleccha* kings were all slain or captured and the king of Kashmir obtained much plunder in gold, jewels, and other presents.' The *Śāhi* prince further presented his sovereign with the head of the Darad king.[3] It is likely that by the word *Mleccha*, Kalhaṇa meant Muslim chiefs from the Upper Indus valley. Bilhaṇa, however, referring to this victory in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, designates the enemies of Ananta as *Śakas*.[4]

After a general epidemic of death had removed Rudrapāla and a large number of *Śāhi* princes, Ananta gradually came under the influence of his able queen Sūryamatī, who bore the second name of Subhaṭā. Kalhaṇa mentions various pious foundations of this queen. To the vicinity of one of these, the shrine of Sadāśiva, the royal couple transferred their residence after the death of their son Rājarāja.[5] In the meantime the

[1] VII, 143-160. On the place of battle see Stein's note on VII, 159, in Vol. I of his Eng. Trans.

[2] VII, 161-63.

[3] VII, 166-76.

[4] Ed. by Bühler, Bombay, 1875, XVIII, 33-34; for *Śaka* in the sense of Muhammadans see *JASB*, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 108 and Plate X. By *Śaka*, Bilhaṇa may have hinted at the Turkish origin of the *Mleccha* princes.

[5] VII, 180-87.

king had not given up his extravagant ways, which he had learnt from the *Śāhis*. His attachment for foreign jesters, and fondness for horses and other foreign luxuries involved him in heavy debts. One of his creditors, Padmarāja, a foreign trader, for some time held even the royal diadem as security for his debts. We are told that "in every month on the day of the solemn reception, these emblems of regal dignity were brought from his house to be used in the royal assembly." Kalhaṇa incidentally informs us that through this man, the Paramāra king, Bhoja (*c.* 1010-1055 A.D.) arranged for the regular supply of water, from the sacred spring of Kapaṭeśvara in Kashmir to Mālava. This reveals the interesting fact that in spite of the political isolation of Kashmir due to its mountain barriers and the conquest of the Punjab by the Muslims, there was still regular intercourse between Kashmir and the other Hindu States of Northern India.[1]

The disgrace to the country due to the king's financial embarrassments was at last removed by Sūryamatī, who redeemed the royal debts by her own savings. From this time onwards the queen took the " king's business in hand, " and he "did what he was bid to do." As the behaviour of the royal couple to each other was irreproachable, the arrangement worked well. Sūryamatī secured the services of a number of honest and competent ministers. Kṣema, a barber, organised the *Pādāgra* office,[2] and filled the empty treasury " by the impost of *dvādasa-bhāga*, and other means." . Keśava, a Brahman from Trigarta, became a successful minister, and yet—a thing unique in Kashmiri history—still remained poor. Haladhara, the son of a Vaiśya temple watchman, gradually rose in Sūryamatī's service till he obtained the Prime-ministership (*Sarvādhikārikā*). He wisely abolished the 'royal privilege of marking gold,' which enabled the officials to estimate the private means

[1] VII, 188-96; Stein's Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 109.

[2] VII, 197-203, 210; on the office of *Pādāgra* see Stein's note in his Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 286.

of individuals and which in its turn offered unique opportunities for the confiscation of private property by rapacious kings. He executed some of the 'detested horse-trainers who robbed property and women,' and by his liberality and steps for appeasing the sufferings of the people became popularly known as 'the abolisher of imposts.' [1] Saved from his financial distress by the wise internal government of his queen, king Ananta now turned his attention to foreign conquest. Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* tells us that Ananta's supremacy was acknowledged by Campā, Dārvābhisāra, Trigarta, and Bhartula.[2] This is borne out by Kalhaṇa, who ascribes to this ruler 'victories over various kings.' He first invaded Campā, and after 'uprooting king Sāla placed a new ruler on the throne.' The suggestion of Kielhorn that Sāla is to be identified with king Sālavāhanadeva mentioned in a Chamba copper-plate, and that of Vogel, that the prince raised to the throne was the latter's son Somavarman, have been generally accepted.[3] Encouraged by this success, Ananta appears to have made a number of rash inroads into foreign territories. In one such expedition in Vallāpura, situated in the lower hills to the east of Jammu, his troops 'became worn out' and were with difficulty extricated by Haladhara. In a similar attack on Uraśā, 'the enemy blocked the routes' and his retreat was only made possible when his Commander-in-chief 'cleared the roads.'[4] But while the king was trying to re-assert the suzerainty of Kashmir over the surrounding hill states, trouble was brewing nearer at home. The Ḍāmaras of Kramarājya rose in rebellion and killed the *Dvārapati* Rājeśvara, while the trusted Haladhara 'became an object of slander on account of his continual attendance upon the queen.' Things became still worse when, goaded

[1] VII, 204-214.

[2] Ed. by Bühler, XVIII, 38.

[3] VII, 218; *IA*, Vol. XVII, 1888, pp. 8, 9 and 11; *Antiquities of Chamba State* by Vogel, Calcutta, 1911, pp. 102-03, 185, 193; Stein's note on his Eng. Trans., Vol. I, pp. 286-87 on VII, 218.

[4] VII, 219-21.

continually by his wife, and against the advice of his trusted ministers, he abdicated his throne in favour of his son Kalaśa in 1063 A.D.[1] The inordinate fondness of Sūryamatī for this unworthy son, who rumour held to be the child of a petty official substituted on the death of the queen's own child, was, as we shall see, a source of infinite sufferings to the king and the country. For the time being however Haladhara by his diplomatic skill succeeded in inducing Ananta to resume his royal power. Kalaśa was kept under strict supervision, serving in state functions " like an assistant, acting as if he were his father's Purohita." While in the harem, the jealous Sūryamatī " made the queens of her son constantly do the work of slave-girls, until they did not refuse to do even the smearing of the house-floor with cow-dung, etc."[2] About this time the cousin of Ananta, the Lohara prince Kṣitirāja, being disgusted with his rebellious son Bhuvanarāja, bestowed his kingdom upon Utkarṣa the second son of Kalaśa. Another good fortune for Kashmir at this time, was the conquest of 'Rājpurī and other regions ' whose chiefs were forced to pay tribute by the brave Commander-in-chief Jindurāja.[3]

In the meantime the arrangement by which Kalaśa continued to be king and the real power remained in the hands of his parents, appears to have worked smoothly. But Kalaśa came more and more under the influence of depraved and licentious parasites. Kalhaṇa mentions ' five or six procurers ' who were constantly at work to secure the king's ' enjoyment of the wives of others.' In one of these scandalous intrigues at night his presence was detected, and he was soundly belaboured by the *Caṇḍāla* guards of the house. His life was only saved with difficulty by declaring his identity. This dishonourable conduct of Kalaśa, caused an open rupture between father and son. When his efforts to imprison his son were frustrated by the

[1] VII, 222-33;
[2] VII, 240-50, 427, 435 and 437-438.
[3] VII, 251-67.

fondness of Sūryamatī, anger and disgust at his wife's conduct led Ananta to retire in 1079 A.D. to the *Tīrtha* of Vijayeśvara (mod Vij^abrōr). There he was followed by his wife, court and most of the troops.[1] Kalaśa however was not long in taking advantage of this false step. After reorganising his administration at the capital and raising an infantry force by loans from rich people, he attacked his parents in their new residence. Fortunately for Ananta, the Ḍāmaras and the cavalry remained loyal. But he was again prevented from crushing his son by his wife, who, perceiving the weakness of her son, induced him to march back to his own capital.[2] But the enmity between father and son went on increasing, and when Ananta offered the royal dignity to the scions of his father's cousin Jassarāja, Sūryamatī, fearing evil for her own descendants, called Kalaśa's son Harṣa to Vijayesvara. Harṣa, though well-guarded succeeded in eluding his father's cavalry, and arrived in safety at the residence of his grandparents. This made Kalaśa more judicious in his conduct towards his father, and when "the Brahmans held a solemn fast against father and son, in order to put a stop to their hostility which caused ruin to their country," Ananta relented and lived at the capital for a period of two months. But coming to know that their son was trying to imprison them, the royal couple hurried back to their retreat at Vijayeśvara. Kalaśa now took drastic steps to undermine the power of his parents. Realising that their firm position in the country was largely due to their wealth, he set fire and burnt down the town of Vijayeśvara with the residence of his father. Ananta thus lost many of his possessions and with them much of his power. Kalaśa then began to press him to leave Kashmir and retire to Parṇotsa. When his 'masterful wife' also 'urged him on again and again with taunts to effect this project,' the much harassed prince severely rebuked her for her

[1] VII, 273-356.
[2] VII, 362-81.

baneful influence on his fortunes. The abusive retort of the angry queen led him to commit suicide 'by driving a knife into his anus.' Sūryamatī atoned for her faults by dying 'with a bright smile' on the funeral pyre of her husband. Ananta's age exceeded 61 years when he died in 1081 A.D.[1]

The tragic death of his parents had a magic effect on the character of Kalaśa. 'Taking an oath by sacred libation,' he effected a reconciliation with his son Harṣa, and induced him to come back to the city 'with his grandparents' treasures.' Kalhaṇa tells us that at this time "there arose in the king a righteous disposition, a legitimate care for wealth which altogether removed his poverty." As the king began to "look after the country as a householder after his house, no one among the people felt misery." After establishing internal stability with the assistance of able officers like Vāmana, Kandarpa, and Vijayasiṁha, and founding many temples and pious endowments,[2] the king then turned his mind to foreign conquests. Taking advantage of a civil war between Saṁgrāmapāla, the minor prince of Rājapurī, and his uncle Madanapāla, he effectively intervened in the affairs of that state and re-established Kashmir's supremacy over its prince, Uraśā, which was unsuccessfully invaded by his father, was next attacked. His general Malla with a small cavalry force crossed the Kishen Ganga, and carried off "king Abhaya's kingdom with his herds of horses." The result of this vigorous foreign policy of Kalaśa was seen in the year 1087-88, when there appeared in the king's court the following princes: "Kīrti, the ruler of Baddhāpura (?); Āsaṭa, king of Campā; Kalaśa, lord of Vallāpura; Saṃgrāmapāla, lord of Rājapurī; Utkarṣa, Lohara's ruler; Saṅgata (?), king of Uraśā; Gāmbhīrasīha, chief of Kānda; and Uttamarāja, the ruler of Kāṣṭhavāṭa."[3]

[1] VII, 390-484. For his coins see *CMI*, Plate V, and p. 46; *CCIM*, p. 272.

[2] VII, 486-518 and 523-32.

[3] VII, 533-90. On the identification of the princes, see Stein's note on his Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 315.

Though the identification of these rulers and the names of their principalities are not known in all cases, it is clear that Kalaśa had successfully carried out the old policy of Kashmir, by re-asserting its hegemony over the mountain states that surrounded it from Uraśā in the west to Kāṣṭhavāṭa in the east. Among this list of princes Āsaṭa, the chief of Campā has been identified with the prince of the same name of the Chamba genealogical lists and copper plates.[1] Kalaśa was married to Bappikā, a sister of this prince, during the reign of Ananta. His son Harṣa was the offspring of this union.[2]

Unhappily the latter part of Kalaśa's reign was clouded by mutual suspicion between him and his son Harṣa. According to Kalhaṇa the latter was even in his early youth 'an embodiment of all sciences.'[3] A brave and powerful soldier, he soon acquired the reputation of "knowing all languages, a poet in all tongues, and as a depository of all learning." An accomplished musician, he amused his father "in public with songs as if he were a singer." Attracted by his personality and liberality, distinguished men from various countries came to his father's court. As his miserly father left them unnoticed, he 'asigned salaries' to these men. These expenses and his natural love for magnificence put him into financial difficulties. For a time he tided over these by supplementing his meagre allowance by presents from his father ; but at last he was persuaded by the repeated efforts of Dhammaṭa to join a conspiracy to dethrone his father. The plot was however betrayed to Kalaśa, who, after vainly trying to obtain a repudiation of the conspiracy from his son, at last ordered his arrest (*c.* 1088).[4]

The conduct of his son brought on a violent reaction in the character of Kalaśa. During the last seven years (1081-1088

[1] Vogel, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, pp. 103, 187-202. Stein. Eng. Trans. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 111.

[2] VII, 319, 1512.

[3] VII, 319.

[4] VII, 609-77.

A.D.) he had not entirely given up his evil habits. Kalhaṇa indeed notices that girls born in distant lands were bought for him from the Turuṣkas, and "with these and the wives whom he had often taken away from others......he brought the number of the ladies in his seraglio to 72." But he preserved his strength by "the use of fish-broth and other aphrodisiacs." [1] He now threw away all discretion and even treated " some of his son's wives as if they were those of an enemy." His character 'sank to the level of animals,' and the severe strain of these habits soon told on his health. Conscious of approaching death, he brought as his successor his second son Utkarṣa from Lohara. Soon after he died in 1089 in his 49th year before the image of Mārtaṇḍa with the sound of music accompanying the coronation of the new king.[2]

Harṣa, as we have seen, was imprisoned by his father. Attempts were made to poison him in prison even by his own immoral wives. But thanks to the vigilance of his personal servant Prayāga, he kept himself alive with the food secretly brought by him. When Utkarṣa became king he transferred his brother to a more closely guarded prison and refused to allow him to go abroad.[3] In the meantime the administration of the new king met with increasing opposition. " Miserly like a *Śrotriya* and of mean character in his actions, he was not liked by the people, who are eager to have masters of large minds." The opposition found a capable leader in the king's step-brother Vijayamalla, who was disaffected for not receiving his promised daily allowance from the greedy king. Joined by Jayarāja, another son of Kalaśa, and some Ḍāmaras, he defeated the king's troops and besieged him in his palace at Śrīnagara. The ostensible object of the attack was to release Harṣa. Though Utkarṣa soon realised that the death of Harṣa would undermine this danger, his delay and vacillation, Harṣa's tact

[1] VII, 519-22.
[2] VII, 684-730; For his coins see *CMI*, Plate V, and p. 46 ; also *CCIM*, p. 272.
[3] VII, 685-94, 706-07, 737-48.

and the vigour of Vijayamalla's attack all conspired to save Harṣa's life. Released by his younger brother to effect a compromise with Vijayamalla, Harṣa boldly seized the throne by taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in the palace. The rumour of Harṣa's coronation spread like wildfire, and "made the councillors assemble from all sides, as the thunder of the clouds attracts the *cātaka* birds." Utkarṣa was imprisoned and soon after committed suicide by cutting the vital arteries of his throat with a pair of scissors. He died in his 24th year (1089 A.D.) after a reign of only 22 days.[1]

Thus after many vicissitudes of fortune Harṣa at last became king. He is perhaps the most dazzling figure in the whole range of later Kashmirian history, and produced a profound impression on his contemporaries. About his personal appearance Kalhaṇa says: "He wore earrings which flashed like the reflected image of the sun; on his round, broad head-dress was fixed a high diadem; he used to look round like a pleased lion; his bushy beard was hanging down low; his shoulders were like those of a bull, his arms great, and his body of a dark-reddish complexion; he had a broad chest with a narrow waist and his voice was deep like thunder. Thus even superhuman beings would have lost before him their presence of mind." Already proficient in many languages, a master musician and noted for his liberality, he became as it were a veritable *Kalpavṛkṣa* to the artists and literary men of his time. We are told that the Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa, who had left his country in the reign of Kalaśa, and had attained high honour as *Vidyāpati* in the court of 'Parmāḍi, the lord of Karṇāṭa,' when he heard this 'thought even his great splendour a mere deception.' His love of magnificence was shewn in his numerous palaces "having golden *Āmalaka* ornaments and buildings which reached to the clouds." He introduced into the land "elegant fashions, just as spring brings flowers into the forest." Kalhaṇa tells

[1] VII, 731-33, 754-861.

us that during his reign not only were the courtiers and officials allowed to dress in gorgeous raiments so that each was mistaken in public for a king, but for the first time braided hair, head-dresses and ear ornaments which were long regarded as royal privileges were introduced amongst the nobles.[1] Amongst other innovations Kalhaṇa notices the king's love of *Dākṣiṇātya* fashion and the introduction of coin-types from *Karṇāṭa*. This statement of the chronicler is strikingly verified by the discovery of the gold and silver coins of the 'elephant' type which according to Cunningham are clearly "copied from the coins of Karṇāṭa.'[2] As an evidence of prosperity Kalhaṇa adds that the 'use of gold and silver *Dinnāra* became plentiful during this reign while that of copper money grew rare.' Though there is certainly a good deal of poetic exaggeration in this statement, yet it is significant that of all the Lohara kings only his gold and silver coins have hitherto been discovered. The king's fondness for amusements was illustrated in the brilliant courts which he held every night. Sleeping only "for two watches of the day...he passed his nights in the assembly-hall, which was illuminated by a thousand lamps, attending meetings of learned men, musical performances and dances."[3]

Harṣa began his rule by wisely retaining many of his father's State officials. Vijayamalla, to whom he owed his throne, was specially honoured by him, while Jayarāja, his younger brother, who was placed at the head of the whole host of Chamberlains became 'to him more than his life.' Kandarpa was placed in charge of the gate, while Madana received the chief command of the army. In order to make himself accessible to the humblest of his subjects at all time he hung up "at the palace gates (*siṁhadvāra*)...great bells in all four directions, to be informed by their sound of those,

[1] VII, 874-83, 921-24, 935-38; for fashions of the ladies of the court see verses 928-31.

[2] VII, 926; *CMI*, pp. 36-37, 46, and Plate V. For his other coins see *CCIM*, p. 272.

[3] VII, 913-50, 1140-41.

who had come with the desire of making representations.[1] These arrangements for a time worked well, and the position of the king became gradually consolidated. Kalhaṇa makes it amply clear that the first part of the reign of this prince was eminently successful. Thus even when the powerful Vijayamalla became disaffected and raised the standard of treason, he was driven out of the country and compelled to take shelter in the land of the Darads, where he perished in an avalanche.[2] The king's arms were equally successful in foreign war. Thus Saṁgrāmarāja, "the proud lord of Rājapurī," who had become unfriendly was defeated by Kandarpa after a severe contest and compelled to pay tribute. Soon after this success Jayarāja and Dhammaṭa, another relative of the king, 'who was lusting for the throne,' formed a treacherous design to kill the king. The plot however came to the knowledge of Harṣa, who by his diplomacy and intrigue not only frustrated the conspiracy but also effected their destruction. But these plots by his brothers and relations whom he held so dear and whom he had given no cause of complaint, seem to have gradually embittered his character, and he soon after executed with the sword and hangman most of his relatives, including "Domba, the elder of the two sons of Utkarṣa, whom he had himself brought up."[3]

Another disagreeable feature of his character also gradually came into prominence. As a result of lavish extravagance and liberality by which "beggars became able to support others" he soon found himself in financial difficulties. Urged by some of his wicked ministers, he was persuaded to annex the treasury of the temple of Bhīmakeśava, which was long closed on account of a quarrel amongst the members of the *Purohita* corporation. Once started, the 'policy of temple-spoliation was rapidly developed by the king into a regular practice.' When the treasures of the temple were exhausted, he appointed an officer

[1] VII, 879, 884-98.
[2] VII, 899-916.
[3] VII, 967-1068.

named Udayarāja as 'prefect for the overthrow of divine images' (*dev-otpāṭana-nāyaka*). Under the supervision of this officer a systematic policy of robbing temples of their metal images was followed, and Kalhaṇa observes that soon with a few exceptions "there was not one temple in a village, town or city, which was not despoiled of its images by that *Turuṣka*, king Harṣa." The use of this epithet by Kalhaṇa has led Stein to suspect that Harṣa might have been affected by Muslim influences. While the association of the king with his 'Turuṣka captains' is in favour of this view, the fact that 'this perverse-minded king ate domesticated pigs until his death' seems to go against it. Kalhaṇa tells us how statues of gods were at first defiled by pouring "excrement and urine over their faces." The agents appointed to do this work were heterodox 'naked mendicants' who after defiling them dragged the images along the roads "by ropes round their ankles, with spittings instead of flowers." [1]

The horror excited by these practices in a Hindu State can only be imagined. Yet it was this prince who in the beginning of his reign had 'profusely provided Brahmans with skins of black antelopes, cows with calves and other presents' while his ministers and wives had vied with each other in building temples and other pious practices.[2] His character appears to have gradually degenerated under the evil influence of his courtiers, who still represented all the immoral influences of Kalaśa's time. Indeed Kalhaṇa remarks that soon Harṣa 'showed in all respects such weaknesses of moral sense as befitted a son of king Kalaśa.' The king's seraglio, became 'the embodiment of all that was immoral.' His father's wives who had brought him up in their arms, 'he took in his arms,' and he violated even his own sisters. "Confused in his senses, the king placed 360 women

[1] VII, 982-88, 1080-1099.
[2] VII, 951-57.

of doubtful character in his harem. He took there continually whatever women (he could get); only women of *Ḍomba* and *Caṇḍāla* class he excluded."[1]

The results of the steady degeneration of the king's character and administration was nowhere better illustrated than in the foreign relations of Kashmir. Poisoned by treacherous ministers, the king had exiled his only able and trusted general, the *Dvārapati*, Kandarpa, the conqueror of Rājapurī. On a second occasion, when the king personally undertook an expedition against this hill state, his want of firmness and treachery of the prefect of police Sunna led to his ignominious retreat. As the poet puts it, "from that time onwards the glory of the king vanished, and his epithet of *Pratāpacakravartin* faded away altogether." Another expedition, which resulted in still greater disaster, was his attempt to capture the fort of Dugdhaghāta from the Darads. The attack on the fort was undertaken on the report of the spies to the effect that the snow which was kept there for the use of the garrison had at that time become exhausted by a drought. But unfortunately for the king, the distress of the besieged was soon relieved by a heavy rainfall, and the Kashmirians rendered "miserable by the rain, remembered their houses" and began to retreat. The Darads took up the pursuit and spread confusion and slaughter in the ranks of Harṣa. Kalhaṇa notices that in the disgraceful rout Malla and his two sons Uccala and Sussala alone 'did not flee, but endeavoured to save the army,' which was left without leaders. While Harṣa thus failed in achieving success nearer home, he formed visionary projects to overthrow the Karṇāta king Paramardi and capture his queen Candalā.[2]

Amongst the various causes of the king's financial distress, Kalhaṇa had specially pointed out his 'extravagant expenditure

[1] VII, 958-64, 1142-49.

[2] VII, 1119-1200; *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Ed. by Bühler, Introduction, pp. 38-41. Cantos VII to IX, describe Vikramāditya's marriage with the Śilahāra princess, Candralekhā.

upon various corps of his army.' These disastrous expeditions only increased his troubles, and led him to impose heavier and more oppressive taxes. By this time not only had he run through the treasures of his father and grandfather and those brought by Utkarṣa from Lohara but also the wealth derived from temple-spoliation. In a desperate effort to raise revenue he appointed "numerous officers, who took their designation from frequent new imposts." "What more need be said?...... he appointed also a 'prefect of nightsoil' to raise revenue." The country groaned under the oppression of the *Kāyasthas*. When things were in such a critical condition, 'the villages were suddenly flooded by an inundation and there arose an extreme scarcity of all wares' due to a famine (A. D. 1099). The price of a *Khāri* of rice rose to 500 *Dinnāras,* while two *Palas* of grape juice cost 1 *Dinnāra*. A plague raged over the land, while 'in broad daylight people were killed by robbers' who took 'golden bowls even from the king's own apartments.' 'Day and night the sound of the funeral music accompanied by loud lamentations' rose on every side.[1]

Taking advantage of the anarchical condition of the land, the Ḍāmaras gradually 'became overpowerful.' In the next two years of his reign Harṣa was engaged in an unceasing struggle against this landed aristocracy. Kalhaṇa gives vivid details of the king's ruthless policy against these barons of Kashmir, who at this period appear to have mostly belonged to the tribal division of the *Lavanyas*. "Wherever the king took his abode, there the people formed wide-spreading triumphal garlands with the horrible heads of the *Lavanyas.*" Driven out by the angry king, "some of them ate cow's meat in the lands of the *Mlecchas,* others lingered on by working water wheels, land mills, and the like." When he had exterminated the Ḍāmaras in Maḍavarājya, Harṣa hurried to Kramarājya. The barons of this place however banded together and for a time effered effec-

[1] VII, 1089, 1100-07, 1216-1226.

tive opposition to his generals.[1] When things were in this desperate condition, Harṣa committed a grave blunder which ultimately caused the loss of his life and throne. I have already referred to the bravery of Uccala and Sussala in the disastrous retreat from Dugdhaghāta. Though they had done nothing against the king, Harṣa was led to harbour suspicions against them. But being warned of the murderous intentions of the king by a friendly courtesan, the brothers effected their escape from the city in A. D. 1100. Uccala fled to Saṁgrāmapāla, king of Rājapurī, while Sussala betook himself to the court of Kalha, the ruler of Kaliñjara.'[2] Kalhaṇa tells us that these two princes were 'through Jessarāja, Guṅga, and Malla, the fourth direct descendants from Kāntirāja, the brother of Diddā and uncle of king Saṁgrāmarāja of Kashmir.'[3] The futile attempts of Harṣa to capture them only increased their importance, and the disorganised Ḍāmara rebels soon found in them not only capable leaders but also successful pretenders for the throne of Kashmir. Urged by the oppressed barons, Uccala in 1101 A.D. entered Kashmir through the Tosamaidān route. The Ḍāmaras and Khāśikas from the mountains at once joined him from all sides. In the language of Kalhaṇa · "Masses of Ḍāmaras issued forth from all regions, just as bees from the holes in the ground when the snow melts." Uccala formed a junction with the barons of Kramarājya and occupied Parihāsapura. Here however he was attacked and defeated by Harṣa, and escaped with great difficulty. It was after this victory that Harṣa broke up the 'glorious'

[1] VII, 1227-42.

[2] VII 1246-1258; Kaliñjara, sometimes spelt Kāliñjara (VIII, 201, 618, 915), is apparently the hill fort called Kalunjur, on the frontiers of Kashmir, where Khwāja Aḥmad, the Vazir of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, was imprisoned for 18 years. See *TF*, Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 89 and 99; also Stein's note on VII, 1256, in Vol. I of his Eng. Trans. of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. It must not be confused with the Kālañjara modern Kalinjar in the Banda district of the U. P.

[3] VII, 1282-87.

silver image of Viṣṇu Parihāsakeśava. But he foolishly failed to take prompt steps for the pursuit of Uccala who soon began to reorganise his forces.[1] In the meantime a new danger appeared in the south. Aided by the chief of Kaliñjara, Sussala entered Kashmir through the Pir Pantsāl route, and, being encouraged by messages from his father, attacked and captured the watch-station of Śūrapura. With the wealth thus obtained, he raised sufficient troops, and, after defeating the governor Paṭṭa, rapidly advanced on the capital.[2] While Harṣa was trying to check Sussala in Maḍavarājya, Uccala again advanced with his Ḍāmara bands. As the barons accompanying him were mostly on foot, he avoided the plains, where the king was strong in cavalry, and taking a difficult mountain path suddenly appeared in Lahara (mod. Lār). In the south however Sussala was for a time successfully checked by the brave Candrarāja, the king's newly appointed Commander-in-chief. After advancing as far as Advantipura, Candrarāja surprised and killed the *Kampaneśa* of Sussala. But in the north Harṣa's troops were defeated by Uccala, who on his way to Śrīnagara received the *Abhiṣeka* from the assembled Brahmans of Hiraṇyapura (mod. village of Raṇyil on the way to Srinagar from Lār).[3]

This event brought to a head the currents of treason and treachery which were already rampant in Harṣa's court and were slowly undermining his authority. He found himself surrounded by ministers who kept on advising him to retreat with his wealth and family to Lohara. This the king refused to do, and recalling his son Bhoja, who had already started to seek refuge in the castle of Lohara, he tried desperately to weed out traitors from the city. Instigated by his *Śāhi* queens, he killed Malla, who from Śrīnagara had been secretly instigating

1 VII, 1257-80, 1292-1347.
2 VII, 1348-58.
3 VII, 1359-85.

his sons Uccala and Sussala to rebellion.[1] But the news of their father's death only made the brothers redouble their efforts. Sussala defeated and killed the valiant Candrarāja, and capturing Vijayeśvara, attacked Śrīnagara. Filled with the ambition of seizing the throne for himself, he now wished to prevent Uccala from entering of the city. But his purpose was frustrated by his unexpected defeat at the hands of the king's son Bhoja. In the meantime the treachery of Sunna, the Prefect of Police, and Nāga, the Town Prefect, had thrown open the gates of Śrīnagara to Uccala. After a desperate resistance at the bridge-head of the city Harṣa was driven back into the palace, which was burned and plundered by a mob of infuriated "citizens and Ḍāmaras striking at each other with upraised weapons." The king's son Bhoja then took to flight 'knowing that the kingdom was lost,' while 17 queens with Vasantalekhā at their head burned themselves on the four-pillared pavilion of the palace. Among the faithful servants who still clung to the king was Campaka, Kalhaṇa's father. The doomed king, who had not received any news of his son, now sent Campaka and other officers to follow up his track. Soon he was completely deserted by all his followers, and fled from Śrīnagara with only his personal servant Prayāga and a cook named Mukta. Kalhaṇa gives a pathetic description of the incidents which gradually led to his death. In this supreme crisis of life the king threw away his last chance when he forgot to take shelter in the house of the loyal Ḍāmara Nīlāśva. While hiding in a miserable hut on the Vitastā, below Śrīnagara, near a burning ground, he heard of the tragic death of his son Bhoja and was soon after himself killed with Prayāga by some supporters of Uccala (1101 A. D.).[2] At the time of his death

[1] VII, 1386-1497. He was not such an innocent man, as Stein following Kalhaṇa, represents him to be; see VII, 1349, where Malla is clearly inciting his sons to greater efforts against the king. This point makes it seem possible that the picture of Harṣa has probably suffered to his disadvantage on account of his heterodox views and measures.

[2] VII, 1498-1717.

Harṣa was only 42 years and 8 months old. Thus miserably died a prince who in his dazzling qualities and monstrous vices as well as in his heterodoxy and traces of incipient insanity probably finds a parallel in Muhammad Tughluq.[1] We end his account by quoting the following verses of Kalhaṇa, which admirably sums up this striking character :

"The story of king Harṣa, which has seen the rise of all enterprises and tells of all failures ; which brings to light all (kinds of) settled plans and yet shows the absence of all policy ; which displays an excessive (assertion of the) ruling power and yet has witnessed excessive disregard of orders; which (tells) of excessive abundance of liberality and of (equally) excessive persistence in confiscation ; which gives delight by abundant (display of) compassion and shocks by superabundance of murders ; which is rendered charming by the redundance of pious works and soiled by the superabundance of sins ; which is attractive on all sides and yet repulsive, worthy of praise and deserving of blame ; which sensible men must magnify and deride, regard with love and yet feel aggrieved at; which is to be blessed and to be condemned worthy of memory and yet to be dimissed from the mind." [2]

The history of Kashmir for the next half a century is a story of continuous struggle between the king and the Ḍāmaras. The latter by siding with the numerous pretenders who appeared at this period soon reduced the power of the central government to a mere shadow. The forces that destroyed Harṣa soon brought about the downfall of all royal power in the valley, in spite of the energetic efforts of Uccala and his successors. Indeed the whole period from c. 1100 to 1339 A.D. may be described as one long evil dream for Kashmir. Civil war, famine, foreign invasions, corruption and treachery held the land in their firm grip till Shāh Mīr deposed queen Koṭā and founded the Muhammadan dynasty.

[1] For Muḥammad Tughluq's character see *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 136 ff.

[2] VII, 869-78 ; for the coins of Harṣa see *CMI*, Plate V.

Uccala after his accession to the throne (1101 A.D.) tried his best to set matters right. But with " robbers as ministers and feudatories, a brother ready to become a pretender, a land without treasure," he had a difficult task. He removed Sussala from Kashmir by making him independent ruler of Lohara, and then attempted to get his kingdom clear of the (Ḍāmara) robbers (*dasyu*) by diplomacy, as well as by open acts of repression. By Machiavellian cunning he destroyed the powerful Ḍāmara Janakacandra, and then proceeding to Maḍavarājya "executed Kāliya and other Ḍāmaras who were fond of rebellions." Thus, the king who had at first allowed the barons " to rise to high posts in remembrance of their past services, just as a sandalwood tree allows the snakes to climb upon it," mercilessly destroyed them, and for a time at least established his power over the land. He then turned to the task of the reform of internal administration. Kalhaṇa praises Uccala's consideration for the common people and his sense of justice. We are told that "he used to go about alone on horseback, and whenever he heard the people, ignorant that he was the king, remarking upon a fault of his, he would quickly abandon it." As he took a vow that " he would commit suicide if any person should die by starving himself (*prāyopaveśa*) he caused the judges to be careful. ' The chronicler gives an interesting story,[1] probably based on genuine historical tradition of Uccala's acuteness in delivering judgment in difficult cases. The king kept the *Kāyasthas*, who 'were worse than crabs,' in check and punished and exposed their corruption before the public. Dismissed and out of employment many of them passed their time in "worrying astrologers by asking them to examine their nativities, dreams, omens and auspicious marks"; while others "ran about night after night begging for anything." Kalhaṇa does not hide his pleasure at these strong steps against this corrupt official class. In times of famine Uccala saved his people from distress by "selling his grain stores at cheap prices." Many of the temples and *maṭhas*

[1] VIII, 123-157.

which were destroyed in the previous period were also restored by the piety of this ruler.[1]

The account given above proves that Uccala was an able and vigorous ruler. But he had also his faults. Among his vices Kalhaṇa notices his 'jealousy of noble bearing, valour, intelligence, firmness and youth' of those around him. On account of this fault he is said to have 'destroyed the honour and life of numberless men.' Kalhaṇa also blames his harshness: he openly discussed "the defects of his servant's descent, conduct, personal appearance, and the like." He was so fond of personal combat amongst his soldiers and officers that "women, when their husbands returned alive after going to the royal palace, thought that they had gained a day, but otherwise never felt safe. When the king saw soldiers killed who had glistening black hair, fine beards and splendid apparel, he felt delight instead of pain."[2] But much of this conduct is doubtless to be explained by the difficult conditions under which he had to work to build the royal power, and the necessity for ever wakeful cunning to destroy the rampant tendencies of rebellion and corruption. His policy finds justification in the repeated invasions of pretenders and the intrigues of his officers, which constantly disturbed his reign, and in one of which he met an untimely and violent death. Sussala, the king's own brother, for whom he had repeatedly shown 'tender regard' was the first to rise against him. Suddenly issuing out of the Tosᵃmaidān Pass with a mobile force, Sussala 'rapidly moved like a falcon.' But Uccala was on his guard. With the assistance of the Ḍāmara Gargacandra he defeated his brother in several sharp engagements and drove him towards the land of the Darads. Kalhaṇa makes it clear that it was again from affection for his brother that Uccala did not capture Lohara after this victory. Sussala with great difficulty, and after many months'

[1] VIII, 2-160.
[2] VIII, 162-174.

journey "by routes hard to pass" at last regained his territroy.[1] Soon after this the birth of Sussala's son Jayasiṁha in 1105-06 A.D. brought about a reconciliation between the two brothers.[2] Hardly had this danger been averted when the Ḍāmara Bhīmadeva with the assistance of Jagaddala, the king of the Darads, produced a son of king Kalaśa named Bhoja as a pretender for the throne. Uccala's diplomacy however was successful in persuading the Darad ruler to retire to his dominions. Without Darad support the rebellion speedily collapsed. Bhoja was thereupon betrayed and 'executed by the king like a robber.'[3] But a more serious possibility of danger appeared when Bhikṣācāra, the son of Bhoja and grandson of Harṣa, escaped from the king's custody and 'grew up secretly for the ruin of the people' in the court of the Paramāra king, Naravarman (c. 1097-1111 A.D.). At the time of Bhikṣācāra's escape he was a boy barely 6 or 7 years old, and it took some time before he developed into a menace to the stability of Kashmir.[4] In the meantime the city prefect Chuḍḍa who claimed descent from king Yaśaskara, began to aspire to royal power, and formed a dangerous conspiracy with his brother 'Raḍḍa and the rest.' They allied themselves with a number of disaffected officials, and waited for 4 or 5 years for a favourable opportunity. At last the conspirators surprised the king, when he was preparing at night to retire to his queens' apartments, and cruelly murdered him after a desperate struggle. He had only passed his 41st year when he died in 1111 A. D.[5]

That very night Raḍḍa with his bloodstained sword and armour 'placed himself on the throne, where he appeared like a Vetāla on a stone of the burning ground.' He assumed the name of Śaṅkharāja, but he and the conspirators were soon

VIII, 191-207.

VIII, 238-42.

VIII, 209-13.

VIII, 16-18, 224-36, For Naravarman see Kielhorn's 'List of Northern Inscriptions,' in *EI*, Vol. V, Nos. 79 and 82. Also *infra*, chapter on the Paramāras.

5 VIII, 256-341; for his coins see *CMI*, Plate V.

defeated by the powerful Ḍāmara Gargacandra of Lahara, who killed Raḍḍa with many of his fellow conspirators. Finding no one fit for the throne, Garga consecrated as king Salhaṇa, a step-brother of Uccala (1111 A. D). Kalhaṇa notices the nobility of the character of Gargacandra, who, though requested, refused to seat himself on the throne.[1] Sussala, when he heard of his brother's tragic death at once marched with a slender following for Kashmir by way of Kāṣṭhavāṭa. But Gargacandra opposed him, and after destroying his followers, compelled him to take to flight. Sussala escaped and after crossing many passes rendered difficult by heavy falls of snow again regained his kingdom. After this Gargacandra 'obtained exceptional power' over the king, and became the dictator in the State. Salhaṇa had "neither political wisdom, nor valour, neither cunning nor straightforwardness, neither liberality nor greed. Nothing prominent in his character."[2] He with his brother Loṭhana passed his days in low sensual pleasures, while 'robbers plundered the people in his very palace, even at midday.' For a time Gargacandra acted the king-maker, but he was soon attacked by rival barons with the king's connivance. Thereupon he formed a league with Sussala. The latter, in spite of this alliance, distrusted Gargacandra and took adequate precautions before he marched out again for Kashmir. When he appeared in the valley and gained some preliminary success "all except the king (Salhaṇa) joined him." The citizens and the Ḍāmaras vied with each other in offering him welcome, while Chuḍḍā, Gargacandra's wife, presented him with her two daughters. Salhaṇa was then besieged in the palace, and after a brief struggle captured and imprisoned, when he had only reigned for 4 months less 3 days (1112 A.D).[3]

The character of the new king is represented by Kalhaṇa 'as the same as that of his elder brother.' Like him, "he

[1] VIII, 342-76.
[3] VIII, 379-480.

kept ever his sword unsheathed from an apprehensive expectation of treason." Though 'by nature gentle,' the wickedness of the people had hardened him, and he only 'displayed outward moderation when his object demanded it.' But though he did 'not tolerate any improper arrogance on the part of his servants' unlike his brother he was free from the petty jealousy 'on account of dress and such matters of his officers.' Nor was he fond, like Uccala, of killing proud people by inducing them to fight duels. Harshness of speech, a blot on his brother's character, was also absent in him; but he also lacked his brother's liberality in money matters. Kalhaṇa specially notices his great eagerness for collecting wealth and the fewness of the occasions when he showed liberality. But he had all the vigour of his elder brother. A renowned horseman and a brave soldier, he vainly struggled till his death to check the rank growth of disruption and anarchy.[1]

Before he was seated on his throne for a month, Gargacandra, the powerful Ḍāmara of Lahara, refused to give up the young son of Uccala to the king and assumed a defiant attitude. Pressed by the energetic king and after withstanding a siege for some time in one of his hill forts, he was at last compelled to submit. At the end of this civil war there was a short period of peace, which was utilised by the king to consolidate his position at Lohara. He personally went there, and after imprisoning Salhaṇa and Loṭhana in the fort and renewing his alliance with the neighbouring chiefs of Kāliñjara and Rājapurī returned to his capital.[2] But hardly had he reached Kashmir than a murderous attack was made on him by some Ḍāmaras of Devasarasa (mod. Div^{a}sar pargana in the S.E. of the Valley). His charger was killed and he only escaped 'as a longer life was destined to him.' This was followed by an attempted invasion by Sahasramaṅgala and

[1] VIII, 482-99.

[2] VIII, 519-20. Kāliñjara (VIII, 204 etc.) is spelt Kaliñjara in VII, 1256, see supra, p. 153, fn. 2.

other exiled nobles 'by the route of Kānda,' situated in the south-east of the Valley. When the king's vigilance had repulsed this invasion,[1] there appeared on the scene Bhikṣācāra, who in the hands of the rebellious Ḍāmaras soon became the most formidable rival of the king. This prince while on a pilgrimage at Kurukṣetra attracted the sympathy of a group of 5 princes from Campā, Vartula, Trigarta, Vallāpura and Babbāpura. Escorted by them, he appeared on the frontiers of Kashmir and was joined by numerous exiles. Among the princes who hospitably received him Kalhaṇa mentions Jāsaṭa, king of Campā. But the first attempts of Bhikṣācāra failed, on account of internal dissensions amongst his supporters. Gayapāla, his chief supporter, was treacherously murdered by his relatives, and 'the gold given for the expedition' having become exhausted, he was reduced to helplessness. For 4 or 5 years Bhikṣācāra's efforts were paralysed, and he lived in the house of Jāsaṭa, 'securing with difficulty mere food and clothing.'[2]

Sussala utilised this interval of peace to establish the finances of his state on a more secure foundation. For this purpose he secured the services of Gauraka as his prime minister (*Sarvādhikāra*). This minister by depriving the royal servants 'of the living they had found in numerous offices, always kept the king's treasury full.' The system of revenue administration and taxation established by Gauraka appears to have caused considerable suffering, and the king became unpopular by sending 'his sordid gains' for safety to the castle of Lohara.[3] In 1117 A.D. he found himself strong enough to attack Gargacandra. After undermining his position with the assistance of the rival Ḍāmara Mallakoṣṭha, Sussala forced Gargacandra to submit. Later on, when the Ḍāmara came to his court, the king had him arrested with his sons and

[1] VIII, 522-36.
[2] VIII, 537-54.
[3] VIII, 560-78.

strangled in prison (1118 A.D). At this time Maṇidhara, the ruler of the Darads, paid a friendly visit to Kashmir.[1] Soon after this event Sussala took up the cause of Nāgapāla, who had sought his protection against his brother Somapāla, the chief of Rājapurī. Somapāla, when his friendly overtures failed, retaliated by inviting Bhikṣācāra to his court. To counteract this danger Sussala marched into Rājapurī with a large army and put Nāgapāla on the throne. But though the king stayed there for 7 months, 'causing terror to his various enemies,' the people of the hill state remained steadfast in their loyalty to their former chief; and when Sussala returned to Kashmir in A.D. 1119, 'Nāgapala too followed him, having lost his throne.'[2] The military expenditure involved in this expedition led Sussala to increase the rigour of his taxations and reduce his expenditure. Even Gauraka was found unsuited for his duties and dismissed from his post. The king then began sending 'into the castle of Lohara masses of gold, having made them into gold bricks (ingots).' The result of this policy was increased discontent amongst the officials and the nobles, which after smouldering for some time burst into flame in 1120 in a great rising of the Ḍāmaras.[3] In vain did the king try to overawe the barons by a reckless slaughter and imprisonment of prominent Ḍāmaras on whom he could lay his hands. The leaders of the rebellion, Pṛthvīhara and Mallakoṣṭha, after gaining some minor successes against the king, 'gave the revolt unity and a well defined object,' by bringing Bhikṣācāra into Kashmir. Though 'the king exerted himself by violent efforts to check the growing ascendency of the Ḍāmara hosts, his position daily grew more insecure on account of his injudicious acts. Thus by his ungrateful and harsh conduct he drove the loyal and

[1] VIII, 581-615.
[2] VIII, 621-35.
[3] VIII, 636-61.

brave Commander-in-chief Tilaka into the enemy's arms. When in Āṣāḍha 1120 his troops were routed by Pṛthvīhara, Sussala remembering the tragic fate of Harṣa prudently sent his queens and family to the safety of the castle of Lohaṭa. In the meantime the rebels with Bhikṣācāra at their head gradually surrounded Śrīnagara. Sussala defended his capital with great bravery. But he was harassed by the callous indifference of the citizens, by the sacred fasts of the Brahman assemblies, who by this means tried to gain control of the king's affairs, and by treachery and desertion on every side. In spite of this, the rebels hampered by dissensions in their camps, failed to penetrate the defences of the city. At last, 'when the Ḍāmara bands were thinking of retreat' a rebellion broke out amongst the king's own troops in the city, 'who with drawn swords blocked the doors in the royal palace' and demanded extra allowances. This new danger at last forced Sussala to decide to leave the city. Followed by 5 or 6 thousand soldiers, the king marched out of Śrīnagara 'on the 6th of the dark half of Mārgaśiras' in the year 1120 A.D. and by a judicious distribution of gold and his own presence of mind reached Lohara in safety.[1]

Bhikṣācāra then entered Śrīnagara in triumph. Janakasiṁha the City Prefect, gave him his niece, while the Commander-in-chief Tilaka welcomed him with his daughter. But the inexperienced king blundered at every step in the task of government. The royal power gradually passed into the hands of Bimba, the *Sarvādhikārin*. Low parasites soon surrounded him. As Kalhaṇa puts it: 'With a simple-minded king, with negligent ministers and bold Ḍāmaras (*dasyu*) the reign was doomed from its very beginning.' In addition to this the king soon developed a taste for 'new women' and 'rich dishes.' The wives of the highest officials of the State carried on intrigues with the king 'like mares with a stallion.' Things became

[1] VIII, 662-836.

still worse when the two leading Ḍāmaras Pṛthvīhara and Mallokoṣṭha, 'made the palace shake by their furious quarrels.' When things were in such a critical condition, the king 'in his madness' sent Bimba with an army by way of Rājapurī to attack Sussala at Lohara. Accompanied by Somapāla, the king of Rājapurī, and a force of Turuṣkas under Sallāra Vismaya, possibly a Muslim chief from the Lower Punjab hills, Bimba marched against Sussala. The Turuṣkas in this invasion were certain of success. Kalhaṇa records the interesting information that "every single horseman among them said boastfully, showing a rope, 'with this I shall bind and drag along Sussala.'" But the battle that followed on the banks of the Vitolā near Parṇotsa resulted in complete victory for the Lohara prince (1121 A.D.). Many of the Turuṣkas 'went into the snares of death after dropping from fright the ropes they had bought to bind him.' With the remnants of the Muslim army Somapāla retreated to his own territories, while Bimba and the Kashmirians shamelessly deserted to Sussala's side.[1] While things were taking this unfavourable turn for him, Bhikṣācāra passed his days in the capital in the embraces of Bimba's wife. Soon after this victory Sussala received messengers from Mallakoṣṭha and Janakasiṁha urging him to make fresh efforts to regain his kingdom. Even ordinary people 'began to extol the (same) Sussala, who had been reviled before as subject to such greed, cruelty, and other vices.' The corrupt Brahman corporations held fasts and arrogantly cried: "without the Long-beard (Sussala) we cannot get on." In the midst of these developments, Sussala marched out of Lohara in 1121 A.D., and took possession of Śrīnagara, after an absence of 6 months and 12 days. Bhikṣācāra with Pṛthīhara fled to Rājapurī, and again grew powerful with the assistance of Somapāla.[2]

[1] VIII, 842-927.
[2] VIII, 925-64.

The next seven years, which formed the duration of the reign of the restored Sussala (A.D. 1121-28), were darkened by constant struggles between Sussala and Bhikṣācāra. The latter had taken up a convenient position at the village of Puṣyāṇanāḍa (mod. Puṣiāna), at the southern foot of Pīr Pantsāl. From this refuge which was situated in Somapāla's territory, he repeatedly swooped down upon the Valley with his Ḍāmara allies. These feudal barons, whom Kalhaṇa during this period rightly designates as *dasyus*, soon found out that their real interest lay in the continuance of this civil strife. In the course of one of these raids Pṛthvīhara and Bhikṣācāra entered Maḍavarājya, and after defeating the royal troops at Vijayeśvara burnt the famous shrine of Viṣṇu Cakradhara at that place. In these constant struggles Bhikṣācāra gradually gained experience and developed into a brave and dashing soldier. But as the Ḍāmaras on the other hand grew apprehensive on account of his 'extraordinary prowess' and became lukewarm in his cause he failed to gain any decisive success. By exploiting these dissensions in the Pretender's ranks, Sussala soon succeeded in driving him back to Puṣyāṇanāḍa. The respite thus gained by the king was utilised by him in completely overhauling his entourage. Kalhaṇa tells us that 'Henceforth his confidants and ministers were only foreigners, excepting a few of his countrymen who had loyally followed him to Lohara. Among the new officers appointed at this time was Sujji, who was placed by the king in the post of a *Rājasthāna* (chief justice?). Though this new policy was no doubt necessitated by the persistent treachery and unfaithfulness of the Kashmirian officers and generals, it nevertheless aroused considerable apprehension, and Kalhaṇa tells us that there was a general movement amongst most of the citizens to go over to the enemy. 'Only one in a hundred,' says he, 'remained after this by the king's side.' [1]

[1] VIII, 959-1048.

Early in 1122 A.D. Bhikṣācāra returned to Kashmir with Pṛthvihara and other followers. In the subsequent struggles Sussala, after gaining some minor successes in Vijayakṣetra, was compelled to retreat towards Śrīnagara, and lost heavily while crossing the Gambhīrā (confluence of the Vitastā and Viśokā). He reached the capital with 'only the thousandth part of his army.' As the royal troops were completely destroyed by Pṛithvihara, the king was again besieged in Śrīnagara. But though Sussala lost many troops, he kept up his courage, and with the assistance of 'twenty or thirty Rājputras' from Campā, Vallāpura, and the hill-regions to the south of Kashmir, held the besieging armies at bay. It was no doubt to the bravery and devotion of these Rajput mercenaries that Sussala owed his victory over the rebels near the Gopādri (mod. Takht-i-Sulaimān), S.E. of the city (1122 A.D.).[1] After this defeat the Ḍāmaras were compelled to raise their siege, and Sussala resumed the offensive. But his success appears to have been limited. In the spring of 1123-24 Bhikṣācāra again besieged the capital, and unceasing encounters took place all round Śrīnagara. In one of these engagements, the Ḍāmaras set fire to the city, which was soon 'reduced to a heap of earth.' Still the bravery and superior tactical skill of Sussala, prevented the city from falling into the hands of the enemy, but as the foodstores of the capital had been completely consumed by fire, while outside the city the Ḍāmaras seized all the produce of the fields and blocked the roads, Śrīnagara soon fell into the grip of a terrible famine. People died by thousands and the stench produced by the decomposing corpses in the Vitastā became unbearable. The ground became, 'white with the fragments and skulls from fleshless human skeletons.'[2] The sufferings of the brave king were further increased at this time by the news of the death of his beloved queen Meghamañjarī. In his dejected state of mind

[1] VIII, 1051-1118.
[2] VIII, 1155-1212.

Sussala thought of renouncing his throne, and with this object in view brought his son Jayasiṁha from Lohara and had him crowned in Āṣāḍha, 1123 A.D. But he soon grew suspicious even of his son, and kept all real power in his own hands. Fortune, however, at last appeared to smile on him. Soon after his son's coronation 'the blockade of the city, the drought, the plague, the robberies, and other troubles ceased.' The rebels were defeated at Kalyāṇapura (mod. Kalampōr in the Sukru Pargana, 74° 54′ long. 33° 48′ lat.), and Bhikṣācāra and his Ḍāmara supporters were thereupon compelled to retire to Śamālā (mod. Hamal district to the west of Sopur).[1] The king now formed a plan for destroying his hated enemy by getting hold of his person. For this purpose he entered into a plot with Utpala, 'the constant companion' of the powerful Ḍāmara Ṭikka. 'He asked him under promises of power and grants to kill Bhikṣācāra at Ṭikka's seat, and then Ṭikka.' But the wife of Utpala persuaded him to change his plan and form a conspiracy to kill the king himself. In spite of warnings by trusted servants, the king constantly held secret conferences with Utpala and his associates. On one of these occasions, when Sussala was unattended by guards, they approached him under the pretext of making a 'communication' and brutally killed him, in 1128 A.D. At the time of his death Sussala had only passed his 55th year.[2]

The news of the king's death produced wild confusion in the palace, in the midst of which the murderers escaped with the dead body of the slaughtered king. For some time Jayasiṁha was helpless, and was in danger of meeting with the same fate as his father. But, fortunately for him, the rebels did not attack his place of residence. In this crisis Jayasiṁha decided upon a wise plan, and announced in the city with beating of drums a general amnesty in the following

[1] VIII, 1217-64.
[2] VIII, 1245-59, 1281-1348. For his coins see *CMI*, Plate V and p. 46. *CCIM*, p. 273.

terms: "Whatever a person may have taken to himself, that is now forsaken by me, and amnesty is given to those who have joined the enemy, guilty though they may be." The result of this was magical. The almost deserted king soon found himself surrounded by citizens shouting blessings upon him. Kalhaṇa notices that this judicious step was 'an almost complete departure from the procedure followed by the immediately preceding kings.' The king's position improved so rapidly that when Bhikṣācāra next attempted to enter the city, he was easily repulsed by Pañcacandra, the son of Gargacandra who had joined the king. Sujji and other trusty officials of Sussala also soon cut their way to the capital through the Ḍāmara bands from the various parts of the Valley, and saved the king from all immediate danger.[1] The subsequent efforts of Bhikṣācāra were defeated by Sujji on the Gambhīrā and at Dāmōdara, south of Śrīnagara. By a judicious use of bribes the king then isolated from Bhikṣācāra's side many of the prominent Ḍāmaras, and the pretender, finding himself almost alone, left Kashmir. Somapāla who had concluded a treaty with Jayasiṁha, did not give him refuge in Rājapurī, and Bhikṣācāra soon found out that 'even the gods have no pity in Trigarta, no morals in Campā, no generosity in Madra-land, and no goodwill in Dārvābhisāra.' He rejected with scorn the advice of his councillors to temporarily retire to Naravarman's [2] country. He, however, accepted the invitation of his father-in-law, and stopped at his house on the bank of the Candrabhāgā. Thus within a brief period of four months Jayasiṁha found himself firmly settled on the throne.[3]

But though peace was thus apparently established, the ominous sound of the drums of the marching Ḍāmaras was

[1] VIII, 1340-44, 1349-1426.

[2] VIII, 1532-33. Who was this Naravarman? The person of this name mentioned in VIII, 228 and 511 has been rightly identified with the Paramāra Naravarman (c. 1097-1111 A.D.). He appears to have died before the accession of Jayasiṁha in Kashmir in A.D. 1128. See *supra*, p. 159.

[3] VIII, 1488-1534.

still heard from every corner of the land. Each one of the Ḍāmaras appeared to the people 'as more splendid than the king with his pack horses, parasols, steeds,' their numerous hosts and castles.[1] While the country had suffered unspeakable sufferings in the long drawn civil war, it had led to the consolidation of the power of these feudal barons, who mercilessly plundered the villages and openly defied the kings. Sussala had tried with all his vigour to turn the tide, but in spite of his energy and ruthless cruelty his sword had failed to re-establish the power of the central government. His son now changed the policy so long followed by his uncle and father. Sheer force of arms had failed to curb the barons. Jayasiṁha now tried to combat the disruptive forces by his Machiavellian diplomacy and unscrupulous cunning ; and the very fact that he succeeded in maintaining himself on the throne for 27 years (1128-1155 A.D.) is in itself an ample proof that he gained a substantial measure of success. But the cancer was never cured, and it continued to be the bane of Kashmirian polity even far into the Muhammadan period.[2]

For the time being, however, Jayasiṁha made a splendid start. His brave Commander-in-chief Sujji and the astute Chamberlain (*Pratīhārī*) Lakṣmaka soon baffled all the attempts of Bhikṣācāra to invade the Valley from the south. Utpala, the murderer of Sussala, was also captured and killed. Even when Sujji, driven into exile by the intrigues of the autocratic Chamberlain, joined Bhikṣācāra, Jayasiṁha's diplomacy succeeded in isolating and destroying the pretender in the castle of Bāṇaśālā (1130 A.D.).[3] But his career of success soon received a severe check. Before the jubilations at the destruction of this dangerous enemy was over, there came to the king's camp at Vijayakṣetra, the news of the loss of Lohara. Through the treachery of some officials, Loṭhana, the brother of the

[1] VIII, 1535-39.

[2] See VIII, 1070 and Stein's note on the word *Upaveśana*, on p. 84 of the 2nd volume of his Eng. Trans.

[3] VIII, 1549-1794.

ex-king Saṁbaṇa, who had been imprisoned in the castle, escaped from his fetters and captured the fort with all the hoarded treasures. Realizing the danger from the loss of the family stronghold, Jayasiṁha sent a large army under Lakṣmaka to recapture Lohara. But the expedition which was undertaken in the 'fierce heat of early summer,' ended in disaster. When an epidemic of 'cold fever' in the Kashmirian camp compelled Lakṣmaka to retreat, he was suddenly attacked at night by Sujji and Somapāla. The royal army was completely destroyed, and the Chamberlain was taken prisoner. The number of soldiers who died by fever alone is estimated by Kalhaṇa at 10,000.[1] But fortunately Jayasiṁha did not lose his firmness at this calamity. He ransomed Lakṣmaka from Somapāla for 36 lakhs, and tried by intrigues to recover his lost kingdom. For a time however, Loṭhana, with the able guidance of Sujji, who had become his minister, countered all his attempts with success. But a plot in his court deprived Loṭhana of his crown and raised his nephew Mallārjuna to the vacant throne (1131 A.D.). The new prince however proved to be a feeble ruler, and squandered the wealth accumulated in the castle in extravagance and profligacy. Jayasiṁha was not long in taking advantage of the situation and forced his cousin to pay tribute. After winning over Sujji to his side, he then drove out Mallārjuna from the castle of Lohara in 1132 A.D.[2] When Sujji, who had been reinstated in his post of Commander-in-chief, became discontented, Jayasiṁha caused him to be treacherously killed, with his friends and relatives. Hardly had the king brought about the fall of Sujji, when he was confronted with an invasion by Mallārjuna and the powerful Ḍāmara Koṣṭheśvara. But Jayasiṁha's diplomacy again triumphed. Mallārjuna, who had taken up a position in the hills south of Kashmir, was captured in 1135 A.D., and soon afterwards his supporter was also safely lodged in prison.[3]

[1] VIII, 1795-1906.
[2] VIII, 1904-2024.
[3] VIII, 2063-2309.

The period that follows appears to have been and of comparative peace. The administration of Lakṣmaka proved effective, and it was probably at this time that Jayasiṁha undertook the restoration of the many temples and *maṭhas* ruined during the last civil war.[1] In foreign affairs too the king obtained some success. While he effectively interfered in the affairs of the State of Vallāpura, he appears to have maintained friendly diplomatic connections with the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra (*c.* 1114-55 A.D.) of Kanauj, and possibly also with Aparāditya (1138 A. D.), the Śilāhāra prince of Koṅkaṇa.[2] His attempts to interfere in the affairs of the Daraddeśa, however, involved him in serious difficulties. Viḍḍasīha, the *de facto* ruler of that country, stirred up a serious rising on the northern frontier of his kingdom. Encouraged by him, Loṭhana in 1143 appeared as a pretender, with the powerful support of the Ḍāmara Alaṁkāracakra, Bhoja, a son of king Salhaṇa, and Vigraharāja, a half-brother of Jayasiṁha. But the rebels were soon besieged by the royal army in the castle of Śiraḥśilā, and, thanks to the energy of the minister Dhanya, Alaṁkāracakra was compelled to surrender Loṭhana and Vigraharāja in the spring of 1144 A.D.[3] In the autumn of the same year Bhoja escaped from Śiraḥśilā and appeared as a pretender for the crown. He was accompanied by the Darada ruler Viḍḍhasīha and his Muslim (*mleccha*) allies from the Upper Indus valley. The invading army was led by Rājavadana, an able and disaffected officer of Jayasiṁha, and had the support of Trillaka and other powerful barons. While this army advanced from the north to the vicinity of the

[1] VIII, 2376-80. For his other acts of piety see VIII, 2389-2402.

[2] VIII, 2453; Stein's note on the verse in his Eng. Trans.; also Bühler's *Report* in *JBRAS*, 1877, p. 51. The poet *Maṅkha*, the brother of Alaṁkāra, the Supdt. of the great treasury (*bṛhadgañja*) of Jayasiṁha, describes a *sabhā* of scholars in the XXV canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. In this *sabhā* which was held in Alaṁkāra's house, Suhala and Tejakaṇṭha, the ambassadors of the Gāhaḍavāla and Śilāhāra princes respectively, were present (XXV, 102 and 110); see also Stein's note on VIII, 2423 in his Eng. Trans. of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[3] VIII, 2456-2641.

Mahāpadma, Loṭhaka, the son of Pṛthvīhara, the adversary of Sussala, led another Ḍāmara army from the south. Kalhaṇa in great detail describes the mazes of intrigue and diplomacy by which, aided by the bravery of his trusted officer Rilhaṇa, Jayasiṁha at last extricated himself from this danger. While Rilhaṇa defeated Loṭhaka in the south, Ṣaṣṭhacandra stood like a mountain against the onslaughts of the Daradas, *Mlecchas* and *Turuṣkas*. Fortunately for the king, the invaders in the north became suddenly demoralised after this check and 'prepared for flight.' But the country remained in suspense, and it was not till Jyaiṣṭha 1145 A.D., when the mediation of the chief queen Kalhaṇikā led to the surrender of Bhoja, that the incipient Ḍāmara rebellion collapsed.[1] The next few years up to 1149-50 A.D., when Kalhaṇa finished his work, appear to have been comparatively uneventful. It was during this period that Jayasiṁha crowned his young son Gulhaṇa as the ruler of Lohara.[2] Kalhaṇa mentions numerous pious foundations of the king and his court during these years.[3]

The history of the next period, *i.e.*, from 1148-49 to 1339 A.D. roughly a period of 200 years, is the record of the gradual decline of Hindu power in the Valley, till it was supplanted by Islam. We can only trace a brief outline of the incidents that happened during this time with the help of Jonarāja's chronicle and occasional help from Muslim sources. According to Jonarāja, Jayasiṁha ruled for another five years, during which he undertook a successful expedition against an unknown Muslim (*Yavana, Turuṣka*) king.[4] On his death in Phālguna, 1154-55 A.D., he was succeeded by his son Paramāṇuka. This king neglected the duty of protecting his

[1] VIII, 2690-3244.

[2] VIII, 3301. For the coins of Gulhaṇa see *CMI*, Plate V and p. 46,

[3] VIII, 3343-3360. For coins of Jayasiṁha see *CMI*, Plate V and p. 46; *CCIM*, p. 273.

[4] *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Ed. by Peterson, Bombay, 1896, 27-26. Unless otherwise mentioned, verses referred to are from this edition.

subjects, and only took steps to fill his own treasury with the assistance of two rapacious officers Prayāga and Janaka. He did not undertake any foreign expeditions and gradually he became a mere tool in the hands of his two ministers. His inglorious reign came to an end in Bhādra, 1164-65 A.D., after lasting 9 years 6 months and ten days.[1] He was succeeded by his son Vantideva, who died in 1171-72 A.D.[2] With him the Lohara dynasty seems to have come to an end, for Jonarāja tells us that after his death 'the citizens for want of a worthy successor elected one named Vuppadeva.'[3] He was 'like the *Rākṣasa* chief covered with grass.' Jonarāja describes him as a great fool, and relates some humorous incidents illustrating his character, one of them being an order to increase the size of stones by feeding them with milk. When he died, after a reign of 9 years 4 months and 2½ days (*c.* 1180 A. D.), the throne passed to his brother Jassaka,[4] who proved to be a still greater dunce. In spite of his unwillingness to accept the responsibility of the kingdom, the *Lavanyas* (Ḍāmaras) crowned him, no doubt thinking that their chances of aggrandisement increased with the weakness of the central government. During this reign the two Brahman brothers Kṣukṣa and Bhīma rose to great power, and were only prevented from seizing the throne by their fear of the feudal barons. Jassaka reigned for 18 years and 10 days, and died in Māgha of *c.* 1198 A.D.[5] He was succeeded by his son Jagadeva. Jonarāja gives a favourable description of this ruler. He was well versed in science, and is said to have, like a surgeon, extracted the dart of evil laws from the country. He 'looked with an equal eye on the servants of the state,' and did his

[1] *Ibid*, 38-52. For his coins see *CMI*, Plate V. Cunningham reads the name as *Sri-para(mānaka)deva*.

[2] In the Calcutta edition, 1835, the name is Varttideva, see verse 49, while the *AAK*, has Dati, see Vol. II, p. 378.

[3] In the Calcutta edition the name is Vopyadeva, see verse 50.

[4] Verses 52-58.

[5] *Ibid*, 59-67; *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 378, has Jas Deva.

best to establish peace in the country. But the officers soon drove this inconvenient ruler out of the country. With the assistance of a loyal minister named Guṇākara-rāhula the king succeeded in recovering his throne. But he was soon after poisoned by Padma, his 'lord of the gate,' and died after a reign of 14 years 6 months and 3 days (*c*.1212-13 A.D.).[1]

After the death of Jagadeva, his son Rājadeva had fled to Kāṣṭhavāṭa ; but the enemies of Padma brought him back to Kashmir. A civil war followed. But fortunately for the prince, when he was besieged in the fort of Sahaṇa, Padma was accidentally killed by a *Caṇḍāla*. Rājadeva was then anointed king by the *Bhaṭṭas*. The royal power however was seriously curtailed by the powerful *Lavanyas*. One of them, Baladhya-candra, Lord of Lahara, took possession with his soldiers of half of Śrīnagara, 'and the king,' we are told, 'was unable to cope with him.' He died after a reign of 23 years 3 months and 27 days (*c*. 1235 A. D.).[2] His son Saṁgramadeva, who succeeded him, appears to have been a more powerful prince. He is said to have 'terrified his enemies as the lion does the elephant.' But his attempts to put down the feudal barons were largely frustrated by the treachery of his younger brother Sūrya who held the responsible post of *Pratinidhi*. When his evil intentions were detected by the king, Sūrya fled from the capital and raised a rebellion with the assistance of the powerful Ḍāmaras Candra of Lahara and Tuṅga of Śamālā. In the struggle that followed Tuṅga was defeated and Sūrya captured and killed. But this civil war had helped to build the power of the sons and relatives of Kalhaṇa.[3] The king began to 'fear them as serpents,' and became

[1] *Ibid*, 68-78 ; *AAK* gives the reign-period as 14 years and 2 months only. See *ibid*. For his coins see *CMI*, Plate V and p. 46 ; *CCIM*; p. 273. V. A. Smith reads the king's name as *Jāgadeva*.

[2] *Ibid*, 79-91. For his coins see *CMI*, Plate V.

[3] Like the author of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, this Kalhaṇa was also a Brahman. Dr. Barnett thinks that they were probably not identical. It may however be pointed out that the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* also belonged to a ministerial family.

anxious 'to save his royal power.' His attempts to save his crown however proved unavailing, and he was compelled to take shelter with the lord of Rājapurī. After this, utter anarchy prevailed in Kashmir, and "the kingdom was for a long time devoured by the *Ḍombas*, even like food polluted by the touch of low people." How long this state of anarchy prevailed it is difficult to say, but in the end the king succeeded in defeating his enemies in a battle near Rājapurī and recovered his power. He however unwisely 'did not kill the sons of Kalhaṇa because they were Brāhmaṇas,' and was soon after cut down by them in about the year 1252 A.D. after a reign of 16 years and 10 days. Jonarāja describes this king as 'a benefactor of his country,' and a *Kalpadruma* to poets and learned men. The poet Yaḥśaka is said to have made this king the hero of his compositions. His piety is proved by his building of the ***Śrī-Viśāla*** a house containing 21 rooms, at Vijayeśvara, 'for the habitation of cows and Brāhmans.'[1] Saṁgrāmadeva was succeeded by his son Rāmadeva, who, after taking prompt measures to execute his father's murderers, entrusted the actual work of administration to one Pṛthvīrāja. The new king on the whole appears to have been successful in his administration. His queen Śrī-Samudrā, established at Śrīnagara on the Vitastā a *maṭha* 'marked with her name.' As no offspring was born to this king, he adopted the son of a Brahman of Bhiṣāyakapura as his own. When he died in *c.* 1273 A.D. after a reign of 21 years 1 month and 13 days,[2] Lakṣmaṇadeva succeeded his adoptive father. The new king was a learned man, but as 'a painted stone does not take the beauty of a jewel,' he never developed the vigour and bravery of a Kṣatriya. He was therefore soon defeated and killed by a Muhammadan (***Turuṣka***) invader named Kajjala in *c.* 1286 A.D. after a reign of 13 years 3 months and 12 days. Jonarāja mentions the founda-

Ibid, 92-108.
Ibid, 109-117.

tion of a *maṭha*, by the chief queen Mahelā, by the side of her mother-in-law's *maṭha* at Śrīnagara.[1]

It is difficult to trace the events that followed. Most probably the last ruler left no sons to succeed him, and there appears to have followed a period of complete anarchy. Out of this chaos arose the figures of Saṁgrāmacandra, the lord of Lahara, and Siṁhadeva, who is described by Abu'l-Faẓl as 'chief of Labdar of Dakṣiṇapārā.'[2] The latter declared himself king; but so long as Saṁgrāmacandra lived, his power was restricted to the valley of the Ledarī (mod. Lidār), which flows into the Vitastā between Anantanāg and Vijabrör.[3] After the death of his rival he succeeded to the kingdom, now much reduced in size. Jonarāja mentions a number of pious foundations of this prince, and on the whole the first part of his reign appears to have been comparatively successful. But gradually through association with 'bad men' he 'became devoid of his belief in God' and an intrigue with the beautiful daughter of his nurse resulted in the loss of his life and throne, in *c.* 1301 A.D. He reigned for 14 years 5 months and 27 days. The next king was his brother Sūhadeva. This prince with the assistance of Kāmasūha, one of the murderers of his brother, succeeded in establishing his authority in the whole of Kashmir. Jonarāja tells us that 'like a second Arjuna, the king established his authority on the borders of Pañcagahvara' (mod. Panjgabbar, situated on the east of Rājapurī in the valley of the Upper Ans river).[4] He owed his success probably to the bravery of Śāhamera (شاه میر, *i.e.*, Shāh Mīr), a Muslim adventurer of Rājput origin who with his relatives migrated to Kashmir and entered the king's service in *c.* 1313

[1] *Ibid*, 118-122.

[2] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 378.

[3] *Jonarāja*, v. 123; Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, see I, 87 and Stein's note on the verse in his Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 15. Also *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 412-13.

[4] *Jonarāja*, 123-37.

[5] *Ibid*, 138-42; *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, Stein's Trans., note on I, 317 on p. 47

A.D.[1] The prosperity of the reign is shown by the foundation of the town of Garbharapura by the king's son Babhruvāhana.[2] But unfortunately for the king, the promise of peace and prosperity in his administration was completely destroyed by two foreign invasions, which not only destroyed his power, but also led to the destruction of Hindu rule in the valley. One of these was led by Duluca, who is described by Jonarāja as the *Camūpati* of the great king (*Cakravarti*) Karmasena. According to the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* he (Dalju) was the chief commander under the king of Kandahar. Stein has suggested that he was probably a Turk who came to the Valley through the Zōji-Lā pass. The suspicion that he was a Muhammadan appears to be confirmed by the fact that his army included *Tājika*, *Turuṣka*, and *Mleccha* troops.[3] He had under him an army of 60,000 troops, and the king, finding it hopeless to oppose him, took refuge in the hills and tried to turn him back by granting him a subsidy.[4] For this purpose he imposed a special tax on all castes. The confusion in the kingdom considerably increased when the Brahmans began to hold solemn fasts as a protest against the cowardly conduct of the king. While the country was thus harassed by Duluca, a Tibetan (*Bhoṭṭa*) invader, named Riñcana (Tibetan—*Rin-Chen*), appeared in the valley by the same route. The capital was invested by the invaders from the east and the north. According to Jonarāja Duluca 'destroyed innumerable gods, and afraid of the excessive cold of Kashmir,' at last went out 'by a good military road,'

[1] Abu'l-Faẓl is wrong when he gives the name of the prince under whom Shāh Mīr first took service as Sinhadeva II. According to this authority the adventurer is said to have traced his descent from the Epic hero Arjuna. See *AAK*, Vol. II, pp. 378 and 386. Jonarāja (v. 143 and 146) gives the name of his father and grandfather as Kuruśāha and Tāharāja. Stein points out that he came from the south; see his Trans. of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 131.

[2] *Jonarāja*, 141.

[3] *Ibid*, 170.

[4] *Ibid*, 152-55; *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 386; Stein's Eng. Trans., *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, p. 406.

taking with him almost all the able-bodied men of the Valley as his slaves. "When the Rākṣasa Duluca went away, "the son found not his father, nor father his son, nor did brothers meet their brothers. Kashmir became almost like a region before the creation, a vast field with few men, without food and full of grass." In the confusion the king Sūhadeva appears to have lost his life, after a reign of 19 years, 3 months and 25 days (*c*. 1320 A. D.). According to Jonarāja, one Rāmacandra, who was probably a relative and officer of the last king had for a time offered effective resistance to Riñcana. But the latter had him treacherously killed in the fort of Lahara, and seized the royal power in the valley. He married Koṭādevī, the daughter of the deceased and after taking under his service Śāhamera, established his rule over the whole Valley.[1] Under the able and vigorous administration of Riñcana Kashmir for a time again enjoyed a short period of peace. Jonarāja describes two episodes illustrating the king's power of judgment and sense of fairness. He kept the *Lavanyas* in check by creating division amongst them by 'secret devices.' Abu'l-Faẓl tells us that he was famous for his munificence, and 'eventually adopted the religion of Śāhamera through intimacy of association with him. Jonarāja notices that Devasvāmī refused to initiate him in Śaivism, as he was a *Bhoṭṭa*, and as such unworthy of such favour. The career of this king unfortunately was brought to a close by a conspiracy through which the king was wounded in the head and died from its effects in *c*. 1323 A. D.[2] During Riñcana's administration Śāhamera had gradually risen in power; and when Riñcana died, he left his queen Koṭādevī and son Haidara in his charge. As Haidara was still a minor, Śāhamera raised Udayanadeva, a relative of Riñcana to the throne. He married the widowed queen Koṭādevī, and

[1] *Jonarāja*, 156 ff.; *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 386.
[2] *Ibid*, 206-54.

conferred important offices on Jyaṁśara Ālleśara, the two sons of the king-maker. The queen continued to wield great power while the king 'spent his time in bathing, in penance and in prayer.' Taking advantage of the weakness of the king, the *Lavanyas* again began to molest the kingdom, and Śāhamera 'frightened the king day and night by holding up Haidara before him even as one frightens a bird by holding up his hawk.' Śāhamera strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the 'lord of the gate' and other nobles, and soon confined the king's power to the limits of the palace. After an inglorious reign of five years the king 'left the world polluted by the touch of Śāhamera' in 1338 A. D. Koṭādevī, from fear of Śāhamera, kept his death a secret for four days and then assumed the control of the kingdom with the assistance of the *Lavanyas*. Śāhamera at first seemed to acquiesce in the arrangement, but soon after, when the queen had gone to Jayāpīḍapura (same as Jayapura), near the present village of Andarkoṭh, he seized the capital, and after defeating the loyal *Lavanyas*, besieged the queen. Jayāpīḍapura was a strong place, being surrounded on all sides by water, but the queen was won over 'by the specious flattery and intrigue' of the adventurer and agreed to share her bed and throne with Śāhamera. After a day's married life she was treacherously imprisoned, and Śāhamera declared himself king of Kashmir, under the title of Śrī-Śaṁsadīna (Shams ud-Dīn) in 1339 A. D.[1] The dynasty of Shamsud-Dīn was succeeded by the Chakk dynasty in 1561. In the reign of Ya'qub Shāh, the fifth of this line, Kashmir was annexed by Akbar (1586 A. D.).[2]

[1] *Ibid*, 255-352; *AAK*, *ibid*, pp. 386-97, gives the date as 'the year 742 A. H.' (1341-42 A. D.). I have accepted the date of Jonarāja which is Laukika 4415.

[2] For the history of Kashmir of this period see *CHI*, Vol. IV, pp. 277 ff.

Genealogical Tables.

I. *The Kārkoṭas* (*c. 631 to 855 A.D.*).

II. *The Utpalas* (*c. 855-856 to 939 A.D.*):

Utpala (died *c.* 853) — Jayādevi = Lalitāpīḍa (*c.* 699-736) (11th prince of the *Kārkoṭa* Line),

Sukhavarman (died *c.* 355-56).

Avantivarman (*c.* 856-83)

Saṁkaravarman (*c.* 883-902) = Sugandhā (904-902)

Gopālavarman (902-904)

Saṁkaṭa (904)

Śūravarman

Sukhavarman

Nirjitavarman (*Paṅgu*) (921-23).

Pārtha (first raised to the throne in 906; died in 937).

Cakravarman (first raised to the throne in 933; death in 937)

Sūravarman (*I*) (933-34)

[Usurpation of Sambhuvardhana] (935-36)

Unmattāvanti (937-39)

Sūravarman (II). (939)

III. *Successors of the Utpalas* (*939 to 1003 A D.*):

(*a*) *Line of Vīradeva* (*939-949*):

Vīradeva (939-49)

Kāmadeva

Prabhākaradeva...............(Brahman minister of Gopālvarman and paramour of Sugandhā)

Yaśaskaradeva (939-48)

Saṁgrāmadeva (948-49)

Rāmadeva

Varṇaṭa (deposed in 948).

Princes whose names are in *italics* did not reign. Uncertain relationship is shown by vertical dots

(*b*) *Line of Abhinava* (*949-1003*):

- *Abhinava*, a *divira* (clerk)
  - *Samgrāmagupta*.
    - Parvagupta (949-50)
      - Kṣemagupta (950-58) = Diddā (980-81 to 1003)
        - Abhimanyu (958-72)
          - Nandigupta (972-73)
          - Tribhuvana (973-75)
          - Bhīmagupta (975 to 980-81)
- *Śāhi* king Bhīma
  - Daughter = Lohara king Siṁharāja.
    - Diddā (980-81 to 1003)

IV. *The Lohara Dynasty* (*1003-1171 A.D.*):

- *Siṁharāja* of Lohara
  - *Udayarāja*
    - Vigraharāja of Lohara
  - Diddā = Kṣemagutpa (of the *Line of Abhinava*)
    - Saṁgrāmarāja (King of Kashmir) (1003-28)
      - Harirāja (1028)
      - Ananta (1028-63) = *Sūryamatī*.
        - Kalaśa (1063-89)
          - Harṣa (1089-1101)
            - *Bhoja*
              - Bhikṣācāra (1120-21)
          - Utkarṣa (1089)
          - *Vijayamalla*
          - *Jayarāja*
          - *Bhoja*
  - *Kāntirāja*
    - *Jassarāja*
      - *Tanvaṅga*
        - *Dhammaṭa*
      - Guṅga
        - Malla
          - Uccala (1101-11) [usurpation of Raḍḍa-Saṁkharāja] (1111)
          - Sussala (1112-20) (1121-28)
            - Jayasiṁha (1128-55)
          - Salhaṇa (1111-12)
            - *Bhoja*
          - *Loṭhana*

Jayasiṁha (1128-55)

Gulhaṇa **(King of Lohara)**

Paramāṇuka (c. 1154-55 to 1164-65)

Vantideva (1164-65 to 1171)

V. ***Successors of the Loharas (c. 1171-1339 A.D.):***

Line of Vuppadeva (c. 1171 to 1286).

Vuppadeva (c. 1171-80)

Jassaka (c. 1180-98)

Jagadeva (1198 to 1212-13)

Rājadeva (1212-13 to 1235)

Saṁgrāmadeva (1235-52)

Rāmadeva (1252-73)

(adopted son)
Lakṣmaṇadeva (1273-86)

(*b*) ***Siṁhadeva and his successor: (c. 1286 to 1320)***

Siṁhadeva (1286-1301) **Sūhadeva (1301-20)**

(*c*) ***Bhoṭṭa*** **Riñcana (1320-23).**
= Koṭādevī.

Haidara.

Udayanadeva = Koṭādevī = Sāhamera (Shāh Mīr)
(1323-38) **(1338)** **Saṁsadina (Shams ud-Dīn)**
(ascended the throne in 1339 A.D.).

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CHAPTER IV

DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NEPAL

The modern State of Nepal extends along the southern slopes of the Himalayas for a length of about 500 miles. "Its general direction is from north-west to east, between the 80th and 88th degrees of E. longitude, the most southern and eastern angle reaching as long as the 26th and its most northern and western corner as high as the 30th degree of N. latitude. In shape, therefore, the country is long and narrow, varying in breadth from 90 to 100 miles, while its area is estimated at 54,000 square miles. Along the northern boundary Nepal adjoins Tibet, on the east it is bounded by the State of Sikhim and the District of Darjeeling;" on the south by Behar and the United Provinces, and on the West by Kumaun and the river Kali. The territory of Nepal is divided into three main natural divisions by lofty ridges which take off from the high peaks of Nanda Devi (25,700 ft.), Dhaulagiri (26,826 ft.), Gosainthan (26,305 ft.), and Kinchinjunga (28,146 ft.). "These ridges stand out at right angles from the central axis of the Himalayas and run parallel to each other nearly due south towards the plains." The western division is drained by the river Kauriala (Karnali or Gogra) and its tributaries the Kali, Babai and Rapti. The central division is watered by the seven streams which uniting form the river Gandak, and are known to the Nepalis by the name *Sapt-Gaṇḍakī*. The eastern division is similarly known as the *Sapt-Kosi*, the country of the Seven Kosis, of which the most important is the San Kosi. Compared with this large region ancient *Nepāla*[1] seems to have occupied a much smaller

[1] For the mention of *Nepāla* in literature and its etymological explanation, see Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 62-68.

area. The application of this term appears to have been more or less restricted to the "undulating plain of nearly oval shape" which lies between the basins of the Gandak and the Kosi. It has an average length "from north to south of about 20 miles and an average width of 12 to 14 miles." It lies 4,700 ft. above the sea-level, and is surrounded on all sides by mountains, which rise to a height of 7,000 to 9,000 ft. It covers an area of 250 square miles, and is watered by the small stream Bagmati. This portion is still known as the 'Valley of Nepal.' It was only in comparatively recent times that the conquests of the Gurkhas extended the geographical and political application of the term to the whole tract between Almora and Darjeeling.[1]

For the history of Nepal we have a number of local chronicles, which attempt to give a connected history of the Valley from the beginning of creation down to modern times. The early attempts of European scholars like Kirkpatrick and Wright[2] to write a history of Nepal were almost solely based on these Vaṁśāvalīs. It remained for an Indian scholar, Dr Bhagwanlal Indraji, to demonstrate the unhistorical character of these documents.[3] His publication of the "Inscriptions from Nepal,"[4] in 1880 revealed for the first time the necessity of building on the more solid foundation of archæological evidence. Since then his work had been ably taken up by Bendall, Fleet, Sylvain Lévi, and a number of European and Indian scholars, and it has now become possible, though much still remains doubtful, to give a fairly accurate idea of the political events in the Valley from about the 2nd century of the Christian era downwards. For the pre-Christian period we have no epigraphic evidence,[5] and must still depend on the

[1] For a more detailed account of the orographical and geographical features of the State, see *IGI*, Vol. XIX, 1908, pp. 25ff.

[2] *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, by Colonel Kirkpatrick, London, 1811. *History of Népal*, edited by D. Wright, Cambridge University, 1877.

[3] *IA*, 1884, Vol. XIII, pp. 411-28.

[4] *Ibid*, 1880, Vol. IX, pp. 163-94.

[5] Excepting the Rummindei and Nigali Sagar epigraphs of Aśoka.

Vaṁśāvalīs. These chroniclers, in their attempts to give a complete picture of the history of their country, have connected their accounts with the legendary four ages of the world and the Bhārata war on the field of Kurukṣetra. From the time of the sage Nemi, dynasties of the Gopālas, Ābhīras, Kirātas, the Somavaṁśīs, and the Sūryavaṁśīs are said to have held the Valley in succession till we come to the time of Aṁśuvarman, the founder of the Ṭhākuris. The mention of Aṁśuvarman, who is referred by the chroniclers to 101 B.C.,[1] brings to light the fictitious character of the chronology adopted in the local Vaṁśāvalīs. This prince has been rightly identified with Ang-shu-fa-ma of Ni-p'o-lo (*Nepāla*) mentioned by Yuan Chwang, who flourished in the first half of the 7th century A.D.[2] The Vaṁśāvalīs have thus antedated him by about 700 years. The anxiety to connect their heroes with the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war and the lack of any authentic list of kings led these chroniclers to introduce in their lists many mythical kings of the Purāṇas and to assign to most of the princes reigns of truly patriarchal length, besides lengthening the reigns of many historical kings. Even then they failed to bridge the enormously long period which in their chronology separated the mythical from the historical period.[3] But though the Vaṁśāvalīs as a whole have thus little or no historical value, it is nevertheless possible that they may contain in their narration of the events of the pre-Christian period some elements of historical truth. The period assigned to the Gopālas and Ābhīras might have been dominated by nomadic tribes who were in their turn supplanted by the Kirātas, in all likelihood a Tibeto-Burman people who lived between the high Himalayan plateau, the mouth of the Ganges, and the neighbouring sea-coast. Prof. Sylvain Lévi has pointed out that the Nepalese

[1] *IA*, 1884, Vol. XIII, p. 413. Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 69.

[2] *IA*, 1884, Vol. XIII, p. 419; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 69, 144 ff.; *BR*, Vol. II, pp. 80-81; *YC*, Vol. II, pp. 83-85.

[3] *IA*, 1884, Vol. XIII, pp. 412-17, 419.

usage still gives the name Kirāta to the country between the Dudh-Kosi, and the Arun, and that there is evidence that the Kirātas once occupied a much more extensive area in Nepal.[1] The passing away of the Kirātas and the reign of the Somavaṁśīs probably marks the definite entry of Nepal into the domain of precise historical tradition. Paśuprekṣa of this dynasty is credited by all the Vaṁśāvalīs, with having introduced the Hindu social system into the Valley. According to Prof. Lévi, the Nepal era, which in his opinion starts from 110 A.D., probably marks the date of the expulsion of the Kirātas from Nepal.[2] With the rule of next dynasty, the Sūryavaṁśī, Licchavis, we are first introduced to dated epigraphic records. The inscriptions, from the Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa pillar inscription of Mānadeva to the Khopasi inscription of Śivadeva, are dated in the years 386 to 520 of an unknown era.[3] There has been considerable difference of opinion amongst scholars about the epoch of this era. As early as 1884 Bhagwanlal Indraji suggested the reference of the dates used by the Licchavi Mānadeva to the *Vikrama* era (58 B.C.),[4] while Fleet in the next year referred them to the *Gupta* era (319-20 A.D.).[5] The latest theory is that of Prof. Sylvain Lévi, who finds the astronomical data contained in the Kisipiḍi inscription of *Saṁvat* 449 in perfect agreement only with 482 *Śaka* current. Thus according to him the era starts from 110 A.D. (482—449 = 33 *Śaka*).[6] Whatever may be the real epoch of the era there can probably be little doubt that the first quarter of the 6th century of the Licchavi

[1] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 72-78; *IA*, Vol. XIII, p. 417; *HA*, 2nd Ed., 1926, p. 12.

[2] *JA*, 1907, tome IX, pp. 68-72; *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 48 and 51.

[3] *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 163-68; Vol. XIV, pp. 97-98; *JA*, 1907, tome IX, pp. 49-91; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 1-81; Bendall, *A Journey in Nepal and N. India*, pp. 72-74; The Lagantōl fragmentary insc. mentioning the *dūtaka Rājaputra* Vikramasena is dated in the year 535 of the same era; see *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 168.

[4] *IA*, Vol. XIII, 425-26.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 342 ff.; *GI*, *Appendix IV*, pp. 171 ff.

[6] *JA*, 1907, tome IX, pp. 68 ff.; and 78 ff.; *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 48 ff. and 70 ff.

era, when *Mahāsāmanta* Aṁśuvarman was gradually rising into power in Nepal, must fall in about the first half of the 7th century A.D. It was probably during the reign of one of the early Licchavis that the great Gupta emperor Samudra Gupta claimed respectful homage of the *pratyanta Nepāla-nṛpati.*[1]

The rise of Aṁśuvarman is one of the most interesting incidents in the history of Nepal. It seems likely that the Ṭhākuris, to which tribal group Aṁśuvarman belonged, held ministerial offices before the reign of Śivadeva. In the reign of the latter we find the *Mahāsāmanta* Aṁśuvarman's name associated with that of his sovereign in several charters, three of which are dated in the Licchavi era 518, 519, and 520.[2] All these inscriptions are issued from *Mānagṛha*, the royal residence of the Licchavi kings built by Mānadeva. During this period he must have gradually assumed the position of the 'mayor of the palace,' and according to the Vaṁśāvalīs, strengthened his position by marrying the daughter of his sovereign. By the time the Harigaon inscription was issued, the revolution that was slowly taking place was complete. Śivadeva has disappeared from the inscriptions, which are now dated in a fresh era, and are issued from *Kailāsakūṭabhavana,* no doubt a new palace constructed by the usurper. Like the Nizāms and Peshwas of Mughul history, he however still retained his humble title of *Mahāsāmanta,* and is sometimes even given the simple honorific of *Śrī*. In an inscription of his successor, however, his sovereign power is recognised by the title of *Mahārājādhirāja.*[3] The inscriptions of Aṁśuvarman are dated in years from 30 to 39 of the new era.[4] Though there is unanimity amongst

[1] *GI*, p. 8, line 22.

[2] *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 97-98; Bendall, *A Journey in Nepal and N. India*, pp. 72-74. The date of this inscription read by Bendall and Kielhorn as 318 has been corrected by Lévi as 518. See his *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 126; Vol. III, pp. 61-64, 70-81; *JA*, tome IX, pp. 78-91; *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 168-69.

[3] IA, Vol. IX, pp. 171-72; *cf.* the present position of the *Mahārājās* of Nepal.

[4] *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 82-101; *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 169 71; Bendall, *Journey*, pp. 74-76. According to Fleet the Satdhara inscription of this king was dated in 44 or

scholars about the age of Amśuvarman, the latter being identified with the Nepalese ruler who was dead shortly before the itinerary of Yuan Chwang in Northern India in about the middle of the 7th century A.D., yet there are considerable differences of opinion when it comes to determining the exact epoch of the era used in his insciptions.[1] In his 'Considerations on the History of Nepal,' Bhagwanlal Indraji definitely rejected the possibility of Aṁśuvarman founding a new era, and offered plausible arguments for the belief that the era used was the Harṣa era. This view was accepted by Fleet in his critical examination of the 'Chronology of the Early Rulers of Nepal.' But the strength of their arguments were much weakened when Prof. Lévi showed that the passage of the *Harṣacarita* which had so long been accepted as an allusion to the conquest of Nepal by Harṣa is capable of another interpretation.[2] A more serious objection to the acceptance of the view of Bhagwanlal is probably the fact that it seems to involve a contradiction of the statement of Yuan Chwang that Aṁśuvarman was dead when he visited Northern India (606-07+45=651-52 A.D.). Lévi has shown from Tibetan and Chinese sources that Nepal during Aṁśuvarman's reign was a vassal of the powerful Tibetan king Srong-btsan Sgam-po, to whom the Nepal king was compelled to give his daughter in marriage. In a note contributed to the *Journal Asiatique* the same scholar has tried to show that the year 34 of Aṁśuvarman corresponds to 629 of the Christian era. Thus, he came to the conclusion that the era used by the

45; see his *GI*, p. 180. Bhagwanlal dated it in 45 (?); see *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 171; also *Le Népal*, Vol. III, p. 142.

[1] *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 419-22; Vol. IX, pp. 342-51; *GI*, pp. 177-91; see also Kielhorn's note in *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 73, note 3.

[2] ....*atra parameśvareṇa tuṣāra-śailodbhuvo durgāyā gṛhītaḥkaraḥ*, p. 101 of the *Nirṇayasāgara* Ed., translated by Bühler as "Here the supreme lord (Harṣa) took tribute from the land in the snowy mountains, that is difficult of access' (*i.e.*, Nepal); see *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 40-41. But see *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 143-44; Lévi takes the terms *tuṣāra* to be identical with *Tukhāra*, and translates it as: '(Harṣa) received taxes from the mountains and inaccessible land where lived the Tukhāras (=Turks in the N. W. of India).'

usurper started from 595 A.D., and as Aṁśuvarman was a vassal of the Tibetans, the era he uses is probably Tibetan in origin and possibly dates from the first king of Tibet, Lun-tsang so-lung-tsan. The fact that Aṁśuvarman celebrated his *Abhiṣeka* in the year 30 of the era seems to confirm the opinion that the era was a borrowed one.[1] Whatever might be the exact epoch of his era, there is no doubt that he was a successful king. The distribution of his inscriptions at Katmandu, Patan, Deo-Patan and Bagmati demonstrates that he exercised his sovereignty in the very centre of the valley of Népal. The fact that his name is registered by the Chinese annals and is joined with the Tibetan legends shows that he produced a profound impression on his contemporaries. But after his death, which must have happened some time before the year 48 (643 A.D. ?), the date of his successor Jiṣṇugupta,[2] Nepal enters upon a period of confusion. There is unquestionable evidence that the ancient dynasty of the Licchavis was again restored to power. The Licchavi era and the names of Licchavi kings again appear on the charters of Jiṣṇugupta.[3] It seems likely that, taking advantage of the confusion that followed the death of Aṁśuvarman, this adventurer, who was probably sprung from an indigenous family, seized the royal power and raised a scion of the Licchavis as his nominal sovereign. From the fact that he mentions his great-grandfather Mānagupta without any honorific, and that the ending of his name is *Gupta*, which is absent in the names of the Licchavi princes, and occurs only in the legendary lists of Gopāla kings, Lévi concluded that Jiṣṇugupta was an Āhīr (Ābhīra=Gopāla=Goāl) of plebeian rank.[4] By the time his reign ended, the Licchavis, the

[1] *Note sur la chronologie du Népal*, in *JA*, 1894, II, pp. 55ff. *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 70-81, 82-90; Vol. II, pp. 144-55.

[2] *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 171-72; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 155ff.

[3] *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 171-74; *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 102-09.

[4] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, 156-59.

legitimate sovereigns of Nepal, had fully recovered their power. From the time of Narendradeva, who succeeded Jiṣṇugupta sometime before the year 657 A. D., the date which marks, according to Lévi, the introduction of the cult of Matsyendranātha in Nepal, down to the time of Jayadeva *Paracakrakāma* whose Katmandu inscription is dated in 153 (=748 A.D. ?), the Valley appears to have remained under the control of the Licchavis.[1] Śivadeva, the father of Jayadeva, whose Lagantol inscription is dated in 119 (=714 A. D. ?), married Vatsadevī, the daughter of the Maukhari Bhogavarman and the granddaughter of the *Magadhādhipa*, Ādityasena. This last prince is certainly the later Gupta ruler of that name whose Shahpur image inscription is dated in the Harṣa year 66 (=672-73 A. D.).[2] I-tsing, who visited India during 673-85 A. D., mentions a pious foundation of this Gupta prince.[3] Jayadeva himself married Rājyamatī, daughter of Harṣadeva, who is described as belonging to the *Bhagadatta-rāja-kula* and king of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga, Kośala and other lands. Kielhorn has identified this prince with Śrī-Hariṣa (Harṣa) of a Tejpur epigraph in Assam.[4]

The period that followed the death of Jayadeva is extremely obscure in the history of Nepal. It has been shown by Sylvain Lévi that the Tibetans exercised hegemony over Nepal for about two centuries, from the beginning of the 7th century to practically the end of the 8th century. The dominions of K 'i-li-pa-pu (*c.* 650-79), the grandson of Srong-btsan-sgam-po, who died in *c.* 650 A. D., extended in the south to Central

[1] For their inscription see *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 174-83; *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 113-57; Bendall's *Journey*, p. 79; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 161-70.

[2] *GI*, pp. 208-10; *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 178-83.

[3] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 167-68.

[4] *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 179, verses 14-15; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 171; *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 384-85; *JASB*, 1840, Vol. IX, p. 767 ff. For the coins of the Licchavi Aṁśuvarman and Jiṣṇugupta, see V. Smith, *CCIM*, 1906, pp. 281-83, and Plate XXVIII; *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 669-83 and plate I; *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 112-118 and Plate XIII; *ZDMG*, 1882, Band XXXVI, pp. 651-52.

India (Po-lo-men). That the Tibetans held sovereignty in Nepal is proved by the Lagantol inscription of Śivadeva (119=714 A. D. ?), which refers to the obligation of furnishing 5 labourers for *Bhoṭṭa-viṣṭi*.[1] Another evidence of the Tibetan suzerainty seems to be supplied by the name of the Nepal king Aramuḍi who according to Kalhaṇa opposed the Kashmirian king Jayāpīḍa in the second half of the 8th century A. D. Stein rejected the episode as mythical, but Lévi has shown that the name of the king is Tibetan.[2] In the years 816-38 the dominions of the Tibetan king Khri lde srong btsan, called also Ral-pa-ćan, extended over a vast tract from Mongolia in the north to the Ganges, including Nepal in the south. But the anti-Buddhistic policy of Glang-Darma (Chinese Ta-mo), who succeeded Itai in 838, produced a formidable religious revolution and shattered the empire of the Tibetans.[3] Taking advantage of the civil war in Tibet, Nepal appears to have gained its freedom; and it is not unlikely that the Nepal era, which starts in 879 A. D., marks the date of its emancipation from the Tibetan yoke.[4] Cunningham in his *Book on Indian Eras*, mentions Rāghavadeva as the founder of this era. Curiously enough no Vaṁśāvalī expressly says that this prince founded the Nepal era. Most of the Vaṁśāvalīs ignore him altogether. Lévi has therefore objected to the acceptance of Cunningham's view. According to him 'the pale figure of Rāghavadeva does not harmonise with the idea of the founder of an era.' He has therefore suggested a rather

[1] *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 174-76; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 171-77.

[2] *Rajataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 531-81; Trans. by Stein, Vol. I, p. 95; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 176.

[3] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 177-79.

[4] Mr. Parker points out from the T'ang Annals (618-907) that in 703 A. D. Nepal and India threw off Tibetan suzerainty and that "the then king of Tibet perished during his personal conduct of the punitive expedition that he had organised against them." But as Prof. Sylvain Lévi has shown, Nepal was subsequently reconquered by the Tibetans. See *Journal of Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, p. 133. For a further account of the war in 703 A. D., see the *Missionary Journal, China*, 1904, and *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1910.

plausible theory to explain the institution of this new era. According to him, the superstitious dread of the Nepalese for the figure "8" was responsible for the foundation of it. The year in which "8" occurs according to him has ever been a year of misfortune for Nepal. It was in the year 888 (A. D. 1768) that the Gurkhas conquered Nepal. The fear of living for 100 years under the menace of a formidable misfortune had thus perhaps sufficed to cause a revolution in the calendar of the superstitious Nepalese. Referring to the Baijnath *praśastis*,[1] which are dated in *Śaka* 7(26) and *Lokakāla* 80 (which starts from 3075 B. C., but in use allows the hundreds and thousands to be omitted), he says that the Nepalese applied the principle of the *Lokakāla* to the *Śaka* era. The Baijnath *praśastis* show that both the eras were current in the heights of Kangra, Kashmir, and Nepal, and the originality of this new era lay simply in counting 1, 2, etc., in the place of (Śaka) 801, 802, etc.[2] But Bendall has shown that the name of Rāghavadeva is duly recorded in a new chronicle discovered by him. "Not only so, but the years of reign assigned to him and his immediate successors quite accord with the tradition of his having founded the era. Thus if we add together the duration of his reign and that of his five successors down to Lakṣmīkāmadeva we get about 135 years. This, again, added to 879-80 brings us to the second decade of the eleventh century, when we know from a colophon that Lakṣmīkāma had commenced to rule at all events as joint sovereign, becoming sole king later on"[3] It is therefore perhaps not unreasonable to reject the theory of the French *savant* and to regard Rāghavadeva as the king whose reign ushered in a new era in Nepal.

For the next 200 years after the foundation of the era, however, we have no epigraphic records of the kings who ruled in

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 107 and 115.
[2] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 179-84.
[3] *CPMDN*, pp. 5-6.

developed with a mutual exchange of goods. The formation of the Tibetan kingdom opened up a new direction. As Nepal guarded the important routes which led from the Indian plains to Tibet and China its people soon came into contact with a wider world and left the comparatively less un-remunerative fields for trade and commerce. Lévi has pointed out that at the time when the History of the T'ang (618-905 A.D.) was compiled, merchants were numerous and cultivators rare in Nepal. The growth of commerce and city life also synchronised with the development of manual arts and industries. Goldsmiths, metal founders, painters, illuminators, found a ready market for their handicrafts in the neighbouring countries.[1] Guṇakāmadeva is said to have instituted at Katmandu a *Yātrā* in honour of Lokeśvara Khasarpaṇa, probably in imitation of the *Yātrā* of Matsyendranātha at Patan.[2] He made large benefactions to the god Paśupati, and appears to have extended his power outside the Valley towards the east. In spite of his expenditure on pious donations and military enterprises, he is credited with having left the fabulous sum of 500 millions in charge of the Nāga Vāsuki in the pit of mount Indraśāla.[3] It is a pity that we have as yet no authentic dated records either literary or epigraphic for his long and interesting reign. The next king, Udayadeva, was succeeded by Nirbhayadeva, who appears to have ruled jointly at least for some time with Rudradeva, who is placed next in the Vaṁśāvalīs. This is proved by a palm-leaf MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* in the Cambridge University Library which is dated *Saṁvat* 128 (A.D. 1008) under the *dvirājya* of Nirbhaya and Rudradeva. The term *dvirājya* should be taken in the sense of 'joint regency,' and it refers to a well-known practice in Hindu polity, where two princes either divide a kingdom into two halves, like Yajñasena and Mādhavasena in *Mālavikāgnimitram*, or otherwise hold joint authority without destroying the organic

[1] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 185.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 186; also Vol. I, p. 354.
[3] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 186

unity of the State.[1] Prof. Lévi seems to have gone too far when he assumes that this form of government must necessarily indicate the dominance of a foreign power. Though this is so in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, it is an accident and not a corollary of a *dvirājya* form of government. It is however not impossible that the Pālas, who dominated the lower Ganges valley, extended their hegemony over Nepal under Mahīpāla and Nayapāla.[2] This, in the opinion of Lévi, would offer an explanation, for the presence in Nepal of MSS. copied under the Pāla kings, specially under the two abovementioned princes. But this contention of Lévi, though possible, is far from conclusive. As he has himself shown, Buddhism had, at this time and even earlier, united the Nepal valley and the dominions of the Pālas in a closer bond. The Pālas possessed Bodh-Gaya and Sarnath, two of the most sacred sites of Buddhism, while the *vihāra* of Vikramaśilā was a great centre of knowledge and Buddhist piety. Under the circumstances, communication was frequent between the mountain-kingdom and the empire of the Pālas. Amongst the doctors at Vikramaśilā in the 11th century Tāranātha mentions Vairocana Paṇḍita, Ratnakīrti and Kanakaśrī who all came from Nepal. Lévi refers to a notice of a Chinese mission, according to which 300 *Śramaṇas*, after visiting Magadha under the Pālas, returned by way of Nepal. The Tibetan mission sent to Vikramaśilā in about 1040 A.D. to bring back Atīśa met a Nepalese prince on the Indian frontier who went to the same monastery. In the reign of Devapāla, the Indian *savant* Vajradeva is reported to have gone to Nepal. Vāgīśvara Kīrti, a contemporary of Atīśa, went to the same country in the 2nd half of his life, while under the immediate successors of Nayapāla, Pham-mthiṅ with his brother Jñānavajra visited the valley to work for the salvation of its

[1] *CBMC*, pp. 1-4, MS. No. 866; *IA*, 1923, pp. 278-79; *Arthaśāstra*, Mysore Ed., 1919, p. 325; *Mālavikāgnimitram*, V, 13-14.

[2] *Le Népàl*, Vol. II, pp. 188-90.

people. When Muḥammad-i-Bakhtyār captured Bihar in about 1193 A.D. Buddhaśrī, the *Sthavira* of the Mahāsaṁghikas at Vikramaśilā, and many other scholars sought shelter in the hills of Nepal, no doubt taking large numbers of MSS. with them. Under the circumstances it would be perhaps going too far to infer from the find of MSS. copied under the Pālas a hegemony of the latter over Nepal. MSS. may have passed from one country to the another in the ordinary course of communication between the two neighbouring kingdoms, united closely by so many bonds of culture, religion and commerce.[1]

The Vaṁśāvalī of Bendall unfortunately does not assign any reign-period to either Nirbhaya or Bhoja. But in the colophon of another palm-leaf MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, noticed in Bendall's Catalogue,[2] 7 years later than the abovementioned record of the double reign of Nirbhaya and Rudradeva, probably the same Rudradeva appears as holding power conjointly with two other princes named Bhojadeva and Lakṣmīkāmadeva. The MS. is dated in the year 135 (A.D. 1015), and was copied in the Hlam-vihāra in the *Nepāla-maṇḍala*.[3] The reference to the three princes is to be found in the following verse :

Rājñi śrī-Bhojadeve'py-amitaguṇagaṇāla(bhda)-śrī-Rudradeve
Śrī-Lakṣmīkāmadevair-arijaga(t)kuliśair-ardharājye' pabhukte.

According to Bendall, the verse means that, while Bhojadeva apparently governed one half of the kingdom, the other two princes ruled simultaneously as co-regents of the

[1] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 188-89, Tāranātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, von A Schiefner, p. 257.

[2] Cambridge, 1883, pp. 151-52. MS. No. 1643.

[3] Notice the peculiar name of the *Vihāra*, which appears to be certainly non-Sanskritic. The MS. No. 843 was also copied in this monastery.

remaining half.[1] He finds a parallel in a non-Buddhistic MS. dated A.D. 1400, the metrical colophon of which describes 'a triple sovereignty' of Jyotir-malla and his elder and younger brothers.[2] But Lévi has, following the interpretation of the word *ālabdha* by Śrīdharasvāmin in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* offered another explanation of the verse. The word *ālabdha,* which characterises the connection of Bhojadeva with Rudradeva, indicates in his opinion that the former succeeded the latter 'not as a natural heir but in virtue of a meritorious choice.' The word *ardha-rājya* used in connection with Lakṣmīkāma, in his opinion, 'finds its exact parallel in the *Mālavikāgnimitram,* where a prince is being installed in *addharajje.* The term, therefore, applies exactly to the two members of the *dvirājyaka* or *dvairājya.*'[3] Bhojadeva, who occupied the throne in about 1015 A.D., appears to have been a contemporary of the Paramāra ruler of Mālava of the same name (*c.* 1010-55 A.D.). An undated Cambridge MS. (Add. 2191) was copied when Bhoja was ruling alone. It is not unlikely that Bhoja had for some time at least ruled alone before he became associated with Lakṣmīkāma. The latter in his turn appears as sole king in a palm-leaf MS. of the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka,* which is dated in the year 159 (=A.D. 1039).[4] From the similarity of names Lévi is disposed to agree with the tradition which mentions Lakṣmīkāma as a grandson of Guṇakāma. This prince is credited with the construction of the monastery known as Lakṣmī-varma-vihāra.[5]

[1] *CBMC,* pp. v-vi. Dr. Barnett understands the verse thus: "When Bhoja was reigning, who succeeded......Rudra, when half the kingdom had been enjoyed by .....Lakṣmīkāma."

[2] *Ibid,* pp. vi and ix.

[3] *Le Népal,* Vol. II, pp. 191-92; Foucher also holds the same opinion. See his *Etudes d'iconographie Buddhique,* p. 17.

[4] *CBMC,* p. 172.

[5] *Le Népal,* Vol. II, p. 192.

The successor of Lakṣmīkāma is variously known in the different Vaṁśāvalīs as Vijaya, Jaya, Jayadeva, and Jayakāmadeva. Excepting the chronicle consulted by Bendall, which gives him 31 years, all other Vaṁśāvalīs assign to him a reign of 21 years. He is said to have restored the cult of the Nāga Vāsuki. But his reign appears to have been disturbed by the rising of the feudal nobles. Lévi has pointed out from the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra* that during this period they turned Nepal into a veritable *mātsyanyāya* by their turbulence and plundering expeditions. Atīśa, while traversing Nepal in about 1040 A.D. was received into the palace of a local *rājā* when he went to pay his respects to the *caitya* of Svayambhū, and then journeying westwards towards Palpa met the sovereign king of Nepal Grags-pa-mtha-yas (Tibetan= Anantakīrti?).[1] When Jayakāmadeva died childless, the royal authority was reduced almost to a shadow, and perhaps did not extend beyond the city of Patan. He was next succeeded by Bhāskaradeva, who is regarded by all the chronicles, except that of Bendall, as the founder of a new dynasty, the Ṭhākuris of Nayakot. It is probable that Bhāskaradeva belonged to one of the tribal groups who held feudal power in the valley and, taking advantage of the confusion, usurped the sovereign power. According to Kirkpatrick, Bhāskara was 'a refractory tributary of Patn' (Patan).[2] But it is to be noted that the chronicle of Bendall contains a rather obscure note as to his 'repairing his paternal crown.' If he belonged to a new dynasty, it seems likely that his father had already assumed an independent position. A MS. of the *Viṣṇudharma* written in Newari character and dated in his reign in *Saṁvat* 167 (= A.D. 1046) gives him the imperial titles

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 193-94; Bendall thought that the Tibetan name 'may be a form of Yaśodeva.' See fn. 3 on p. 6 of *CPMDN*. Dr. Barnett, however, suggests : " It is hardly possible to equate *Grags-pa-mtha-yas* with Yaśodeva. *Grags=yaśas* or *kīrti* and *mtha-yas= ananta* or *amita* or the like."

[2] *CPMDN*, Introduction, p. 6; Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, London, 1811, p. 268; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, 193-94; *CBMC*, table on p. xii.

Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara.[1] This prince is said to have founded the *Hiraṇya-varṇa-mahā-vihāra* at Patan. According to the chronicle of Kirkpatrick the next ruler was Udayadeva ; but all other Vaṁśāvalīs place Baladeva or Balabantadeva, after Bhāskaradeva.[2] As Bhāskaradeva is said by some to have ruled only for 3 years (*c.* 167+3=170 N.E.=A.D. 1049), and as the first known date of Baladeva's successor is 185 N.E. (1064-65 A.D.), Baladeva being assigned a reign of 12 years (185−12=173 N.E.), there is no inherent impossibility in a short reign intervening (170-173 N.E.) between Bhāskaradeva and Baladeva.[3] A MS. of the *Niśvāsākhya mahā-tantra* found in Nepal Durbar Library is dated in 180 *Saṁvatsare* (A.D. 1059-60) in the reign of Baladeva.[4] The next king was Pradyumna-kāmadeva, sometimes known also as Padma-deva.[5] A MS. of the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, Camb. Add. 1684, is dated in *Saṁvat* 185 (1064-65 A.D.) in this king's reign. Bendall refers to another MS., Camb. Add. 2197, dated in the year 186 (A.D. 1065-66), belonging to the reign of the same prince.[6] In the first of these MSS. P(r)adyumna-kāmadeva is given the sovereign title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka.*[7] He is assigned by different authorities a reign of 11 or 7 years.[8] The next ruler, Nāgārjunadeva, is said to have reigned for a short period of 2 or 3 years.[9] For the next ruler, Śaṅkaradeva, who is variously assigned a reign of 11, 15 or 17 years, we have three dated MSS. The dates are 189, 191 and 198 (A.D. 1068-69, 1070-71, and 1077) found on three MSS. of *Dharma-putrikā, Aṣṭasāhas-*

[1] *CPMDN*, Introduction, pp. 29-30.

[2] Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, London, 1811, p. 263; *CPMDN*, Introduction, p. 6; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 194. In *CBMC*, table on p. xii, published before 1905, Baladeva is wrongly called Bāladeva.

[3] This is according to the chronicle of Bendall; others assign to Bhāskara 13 or 7 years. (See table on p. xii in *CBMC*.)

[4] *CPMDN*, Introduction, p. 11.

[5] *CBMC*, Introduction, p. vi; *Le Népal*, p. 194.

[6] *CBMC*, p. 173.

[7] *CPMDN*, Introduction, p. 22.

[8] *CBMC*, table on p. xii.

[9] *Ibid*, *CPMDN*, Introduction, table on p. 22.

rikā, and Prajñākara's commentary, on *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, respectively.[1] Śaṅkara is credited with having established an annual *Yātrā* in honour of *Nava-sāgara Bhagavatī*.[2]

After this reign the Vaṁśāvalīs indicate a change of dynasty. Vāmadeva, said to have been a collateral descendant of Aṁśuvarman and belonging to the Ṭhākuris of Patan, drove away the Ṭhākuris of Nayakot and captured the sovereign power. A MS. of *Seka-nirdeśa-pañjikā* in the Minaev-collection of St. Petersburg is dated in the year 200 (A.D. 1080-81) in the reign of *Rājā* Vāmadeva.[3] An inscription of 5 lines incised on the pedestal of a figure of the Sun-god (*divākara*), discovered by Bendall at Lalitapattana, which is dated in N.E. 203 (A.D. 1083) mentions one Śrī-Vāṇadeva, son of *bhūnātha* Śrī-Yaśodeva, who was identified by Bendall with this prince. Though the date and the similarity of the name would tend to favour such an identification, Lévi has rejected it. To him *bhūnātha* means no more than a prince, or even only a Kṣatriya, while the title *Śrī*, the 'most banal of all titles' clearly brands Vāṇadeva as only a local chief.[4] Vāmadeva is assigned a reign of 2 or 3 years only.[5] He was succeeded by Harṣadeva, who is given a reign of 14, 15 or 16 years. Bendall supplies three dates for this reign, *viz.*, 210 (A.D. 1090), 213 (A.D. 1093), and 219 (A.D. 1098). Two of these are found on MSS. copied during the king's reign. The last date is given by the Vaṁśāvalī of Bendall in the following passage: *Rājā Śrī-Harṣadeva varṣa 14 ūnaviṁśati sambacchara satadvaya parivartamānaṁ.* Commenting on this passage, Bendall says: "Interpreted in the light of the two other dates (given in the MSS.), this rather crudely expressed notice gives good sense if we take it

[1] *CPMDN*, p. 92; *ibid*, Introduction, table on p. 22; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 195.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 196.

[3] *JRAS*, 1891, p. 687.

[4] Bendall, *Journey*, pp. 80-81; *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 76; No. 559; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 196-97.

[5] *CPMDN*, Introduction, table on page 22; *CBMC*, table on p. xii.

to mean that Harṣa died in N. S. 219 current. Lévi agrees with this conclusion.[1]

Between this last known date of Harṣa and the first of his successor Śivadeva or Sadāśivadeva (219-239) there is an interval of 20 years.[2] The Vaṁśāvalī of Bendall describes Śivadeva as the son of Śaṅkaradeva (189-98 N.E.) and gives his date of birth as Āsāḍha 177 (A.D. 1056-57).[3] It thus appears that with this king the power of the old dynasty, the Ṭhākuris of Nayakot, revived again. The disturbances that led to this restoration of the old dynasty appear to have originated in Tirhut, outside the hills of Nepal.

During the reign of the Cāḷukya emperor Someśvara I (A.D. 1040-69), his son Vikramāditya seems to have led successful expeditions into North-eastern India.[4] Accompanying his victorious arms a number of military adventurers came from the south, especially from Karṇāṭa and carved out small principalities. The Sena dynasty in Bengal appears to have been founded in this manner. Its founders claim to be the defenders of the *Karṇāṭa-kula-lakṣmī*, and declare themselves to be southerners.[5] It has been suggested that they were first established on the borders of Bengal by an invasion of the *Cāḷukya emperor Vikramāditya VI.*[6] Another of these adventurers from Karṇāṭa was probably one of the forefathers of Nānyadeva, whose name being apparently a transcription of the Canarese word *nanniya* (affectionate) reveals his southern origin. He established his authority in Tirhut, and from his capital at Simraon launched on a series of campaigns for the conquest of the neighbouring countries. It is not unlikely, as Lévi has suggested, that before

[1] *CPMDN*, Introduction, table on p. 22; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 197.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Bombay, 1875, III, 67-74.

[5] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 305, v. 4; *JASB*, Vol. V, 1909, p. 467 ff.

[6] *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 47; *PTOC*, Calcutta, 1922, p. 347; *JL*, Vol. XVI, 1927, p. 7. But I think that these northern expeditions were undertaken as Bilhaṇa clearly indicates in his father Someśvara's reign (c. 1040-69 A.D.).

he established his sovereign power, he served some local king as a candottieré, and then overthrew his master. But it is significant that from the time that followed the reign of Vikramāditya VI, Nepal suddenly enters into the composition of the ***praśastikāras*** of the kings of Deccan. Thus the Pattadakal stone inscriptions dated in 1162 A.D. enumerates Nepal amongst the vassals of the Cāḷukya emperor Someśvara III Bhūlokamalla, the son of Vikramāditya VI.[1] The Kaḷacuri Bijjala, who overthrew Tailapa III, the son of Someśvara III, is praised in an epigraph dated in *c.* 1200 A.D. for having destroyed the stability of *Nepāla.*[2] In another inscription of about the same time discovered at Managoli, the Yādava Jaitugi (*c.* 1191-1210 A.D.) claims to have defeated the leaders of the armies of *Nepāla.*[3] Under the circumstances it is not unlikely, as I have suggested, that the establishment of the forefathers of Nānyadeva in Tirhut, on the borders of Nepal may have been due to a successful raid of the great Cāḷukya prince to the foot-hills of the Himalayan range.

According to Nepalese tradition, Nānyadeva from his capital at Simraon[4] captured the whole of Nepal and after dethroning two local Nepalese princes, Jayadevamalla of Patan and Katmandu and Ānandamalla of Bhatgaon, established his court at the latter city. The chroniclers have clearly fallen into a blunder by introducing Malla kings into Nepal at this period.[5] It will be seen further on from the dates in the colophon of MSS. that Nānyadeva did not destroy the local princes in the Nepal valley, who continued to rule probably under the hegemony of the Karṇāṭakas of Tirhut. Mr. M.

[1] *JBRAS*, Vol. XI, p. 268.

[2] Inscriptions at Ablur, *EI*, Vol. V, p. 149.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 29. Note also the name of the Nepal prince Someśvara (*c.* 1184-86 A.D.) which is unique amongst the royal names of that country, and which curiously reminds us of the Cāḷukya emperor Someśvara III (*c.* 1125-30 A.D.) who claimed suzerainty over the Valley. See *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 209, 213-14.

[4] Simraon is the same as Sīmaramapūra, mentioned in the introductory verses of the *Kṛtyaratnākara.*

[5] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 199 ff.

Chakravarti has pointed out that the date of Nānyadeva must be placed in about the middle of the 12th century A. D.[1] The successful career of Nānya appears to have ended in disaster, when he came into conflict with the Senas of Bengal. In the Deopara inscription, Vijayasena claims to have defeated and imprisoned Nānya, with several other princes.[2] The epigraphic and literary traditions of Nepal contain lists of the names of his successors. Thus the Katmandu inscription of Pratāpa (Malladeva) dated in (N.) *Saṁvat* 769 (A. D. 1649) gives the following list:[3]

Nānyadeva
Gaṅgadeva
Nṛsiṁha.
Rāmasiṁha
Śaktisiṁha
Bhūpālasiṁha
Harisiṁha.[4]

There is a substantial agreement amongst all the other authorities about these names. Among the minor variations may be mentioned the omission of Śaktikumāra and the

[1] *JASB*, 1915, pp. 408-09. This date of Nānyadeva is based on the synchronism of Malladeva, his son, and the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayacandra (Jayaccandra). In the *Yuddhavīra*, one of the tales of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* of Vidyāpati, Malladeva is said to have served Jayacandra (c. 1170-93 A. D.), king of Kānyakubja and Kāśi, and died at the age of 16. Prof. Kielhorn while editing the Deopara Inscription of the Sena king, Vijayasena, placed Nānyadeva in Śaka 1019 (A. D. 1097). The date is found on a MS. noticed in the *Katalog der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1881, Vol. II, p. 8. See *EI*, Vol. I, p. 313, fn. 57. The discovery in 1923 of a stone inscription of Nānyadeva in Bihar is reported by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. See *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, by R. D. Banerji, 2nd Ed., Calcutta, p. 318, fn. 34.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 309, verses 20-21 and footnote of Kielhorn, No. 57, on p. 313. Kielhorn accepted 1097 A. D. as the date of Nānyadeva. According to some, the assumption of imperial titles by Śivadeva in 1120 A. D. shows that Nānyadeva was killed before that date. See *JASB*, 1921, p. 4.

[3] *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 187-89.

[4] In this inscription the name is given incorrectly as Harayutsiṁha (Harasiṁha); the correct form Harisiṁha is given in other inscriptions. See *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 184-87 and 189-91.

addition of Karmasiṁhadeva in the prologue of the drama *Mudita-Kuvalayāśva* and the addition of Harideva by the chronicles of Wright and Bhagwanlal. Attention may be drawn to the forms of names *Bhāvasiṁhadeva* and *Nārasiṁhadeva* given in the drama, which appear to stand for Bhūpālasiṁha and Nṛsiṁha of the inscription.[1] There is however considerable variation in the order of succession and the years of reign assigned to these princes in the different authorities, though there is again a surprising agreement in the total number of years assigned by them to the princes who ruled before Harisiṁha. The total reign-period given is either 219 or 226 years, which, as we shall see later on, is nearly the exact period that intervened between Nānyadeva (*c.* 1097 A. D.) and Harisiṁhadeva (*c.* 1324 A.D).[2] But all these successors of Nānyadeva who ruled before 1324 appear to us as mere names. Tradition has failed to record any notable achievements in their favour. It is however not improbable that from their capital at Simraon they may have claimed a sort of loose hegemony over the local princes of the Nepal valley.

I have already referred to the overthrow of the Ṭhākuris of Patan, which was most probably caused by the invasion of Nānyadeva. It is not impossible that the Karṇāṭa chief extended his power in the Valley by espousing the cause of Śivadeva, a successful pretender of the Nayakot branch of the Ṭhākuris who were ousted by the Patan branch sometime before 1080-8 A. D. At any rate we find from the colophons of MSS. and some inscriptions an unbroken series of princes, from Śivadeva to about 1200 A. D. We have 3 dates for Śivadeva. An India Office MS. of *Sphoṭikāvaidya*

[1] For a complete list from all the sources see *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 220. Kirkpatrick's Bhadsing Deo and Kurmsing Deo and Sakrasing Deo of Hamilton probably stand for Bhūpālasiṁhadeva, Kārmasiṁhadeva and Śaktisiṁhadeva of the other sources.

[2] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 220-21.

gives him the imperial titles *Rājādhirāja Parameśvara*, and contains the date 240 (A. D. 1120) in his reign. A Cambridge MS. noticed by Bendall supplies the date 243 (A. D. 1123) in his reign, while the Vaṁśāvalī of the same scholar tells us that he constructed a tank named *Mahendrasaras* or *Madanasaras*, after the name of the *Yuvarāja* Mahā-Indra-deva, in 239 (1118 A. D.). According to the modern chronicles, Śivadeva was a great warrior, who conquered the whole of Nepal and carried his arms to the four corners of the horizon. With the rich booty thus acquired he is said to have built a new roof to the temple of Paśupati. He is also credited with the foundation of Kīrtipura and the issuing of the *Suki* coins, made of an alloy of copper and iron and marked with the image of a lion, which continued to be struck till the beginning of the 16th century. He is assigned a reign of 27 years and 5 months. Śivadeva was succeeded by Indradeva, probably his son and no doubt identical with the *Yuvarāja* Mahā-Indradeva. An India Office MS. on astrology (*Jātaka*, No. 2928) which was copied in 249 (1128-29 A. D.) in his reign, gives him the exalted title of *Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara*. He is said to have reigned for 12 years. The next ruler appears to have been Mānadeva. A Cambridge MS. of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* gives the date 259 (A. D. 1139) in his reign.[1] The inscription of Varamtol (near Katmandu), dated in the same year, records the gift of a water-channel (*pannāli*) and a *droṇa* in the victorious reign of *Rājādhirāja-Paramevśara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Śrī*-Mānadeva.[2] He is variously assigned a reign of 10 years or 4 years 7 months, and is said to have retired into the monastery of Cakra-vihāra, built by the ancient king Mānadeva, after abdicating in favour of his eldest son.[3]

[1] *CBMC*, p. 152.

[2] Bendall's *Journey*, pp. 10 and 81.

[3] This Mānadeva was the Sūryavaṁśī Licchavi king of that name; see *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 98 and 206.

This son is probably to be identified with Narendradeva, who under the titles of *Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara* appears as king in a MS. of the *Pañcarakṣā* dated in the year 261 (1141 A. D.)[1] of the same king, which thus appears to be anterior by five years to the last known date of Mānadeva. If the relationship between the two were that of a father and son, it is not impossible that, like the Kashmirian king Ananta, Mānadeva may have resumed the royal power for some time after his abdication.[2] According to the chroniclers, the next king, Ānandadeva, was a son of Sīhadeva. Wright's chronicle gives the name of Narendradeva as Narasiṁha and it is not impossible that Sīhadeva may be the same as Narasiṁha.[3] For Ānandadeva's reign Bendall has given us 6 dates from MSS. which range from 275 to 286 (A. D. 1154-5 to 1166).[4] Tradition assigns to this prince a reign of 20 years. He was succeeded by Rudradeva, to whom is assigned a reign of 8 years and 1 month. This prince is said to have passed his life in pious practices and philosophic studies after confiding the government to the care of his son. It is not surprising therefore that his reign has not left for us any dated literary or epigraphic evidence.[5] The next ruler appears to have been Amṛtadeva (or Mitradeva), who, according to the chronicle of Bendall, was another son of Sīhadeva (Narendrasiṁha = Narendradeva ?). A MS. of the *Daśakarmapaddhati*, copied in his reign, bears the date 296 (A. D. 1176).[6] He is said to have reigned for 3 years 11 months. Next follows the reign of a king named Ratnadeva, who is not mentioned in any of the Vaṁśāvalīs of Nepal. Bendall recovered his name from the tracings of

1 *CPMDN*, p. 62, *Vede-manmatha-bāṇa-nara-netre*...............(*i.e.*, 254).
2 *Rājataraṅginī*, VII, 230-44; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 207.
3 Wright, *History of Nepal*, p. 162.
4 *CPMDN*, Introduction, p. 23.
5 *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 208.
6 *CPMDN*, p. 65; *ibid*, Introduction, p. 23.

a MS. in the Katmandu library which bears the date 303 (A. D. 1183) in his reign.[1] Next follows the shadowy figure of Someśvaradeva, who is said to have been a son of Mahendra (Indradeva ?). Tradition assigns him a reign of 4 years 3 months, but it has not handed down to us any dated records of his time. Lévi has already drawn attention to the abnormal character of the name of this prince, which is unique in Nepalese history, and appears in the Valley at a time when a prince of the Cālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇī bearing the same name was claiming suzerainty over the Valley.[2] After Someśvara follow the names of three princes named Guṇakāmadeva (II), Lakṣmīkāmadeva (II), and Vijayakāmadeva, whose reigns have fortunately left for us some dated records. A MS. of *Jayākhyasaṁhitā* (also called *Jñānalakṣmī*) preserved in the Durbar Library of Nepal is dated in 307 (1187 A. D.) in the reign of Guṇakāma.[3] Bendall's chronicle assigns him a reign of only 3 months. His successor Lakṣmīkāma, who is entirely omitted in the traditional lists, is attested by a MS. of his reign dated in 313 (A. D. 1193).[4] The reign of the next ruler, Vijayakāma, to whom is assigned by the Vaṁśāvalīs a reign of 17 years, is recorded by two MSS. dated in 316 (A. D. 1196) and 317 (A. D. 1197).[5]

After this ruler a new type of royal names appears in the list of Nepalese rulers. The prince who succeeded Vijayakāmadeva was not his son. He was named Arimalladeva, and was the son of Jayaśi(?) malladeva, a chief of unknown origin. Many of the chronicles call him simply Arideva, and explain the term *Malla* in the name of his son by referring to a story

[1] *Ibid*, p. 24. Possibly through a mistake Lévi gives the name as Rudradeva; see *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 208.

[2] *JBRAS*, Vol. XI, p. 268.

[3] *CPMDN*, p. 76.

[4] *Ibid*, Introduction, table on p. 24.

[5] *CPMDN*, p. 113; also *ibid*, Introduction, table on p. 24.

that the latter was born when his father was amusing himself with wrestling. Though this word certainly has the meaning of an athlete or wrestler, Lévi, I think, was right in reading in the word an ethnic significance.[1] The word *Malla* as the name of a tribal group of North-eastern India is well known in Indian historical tradition. At the time of Buddha the Mallas formed a non-monarchical confederacy with the Licchavis of Vaiśālī (mod. Basarh, Muzaffarpur District, Bihar). Kuśinagar and Pāvā, where the two greatest heretical teachers of Hinduism died, were situated in their territory. In the epic and Paurāṇic tradition the Mallas are always associated with Kosala, Videha (Tirhut), and Magadha. The *Manusaṁhitā* mentions the Mallas by the side of the Licchavis in its social organisation and it is not a little surprising to find their name again reappearing with their old confederates of Vaiśālī in the land of Nepal. It is not impossible that threatened by the growth of imperialism in North-eastern India and unwilling to be merged into the empires of the plains, they, like the Gurkhas of a later period, had retired to the safety of the northern hills and carved out independent principalities in the Himalayan range. While good fortune enabled the Licchavis to occupy the central and rich portion of the Valley, the Mallas appear to have settled further west beyond the Gandak.[2] There they became a thorn in the side of the Licchavis. This is evident from the Changu Narayan pillar inscription, which records an invasion of Mānadeva (386 = A. D. 496 ?) beyond the Gaṇḍakī against the city of the Mallas (Malla-

[1] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 210ff. Lévi points out that the title *Malla* assumed by the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmī (*c.* 550-753 A. D.) and Kalyāṇī (*c.* 973-1190 A. D.) was first adopted by the Pallavas of Kāñcī (c. 575-803 A. D.), from which city came, according to Nepalese tradition, Dharmadatta, one of the first kings of the Valley; see *ibid*, pp. 213-14.

[2] The Malla settlements were probably situated in the western portion of the division of modern Nepal which is known as the *Sapt-Gaṇḍakī*; see *supra*, p. 185, One of the principalities of Nepal situated at the foot of Dhaulagiri still bears the name of Mallabhūmi (vulgar Malebhuin), the land of the Mallas; see *Le Népal* Vol. II, p. 210.

purī).[1] The struggles between the Mallas and the Licchavis appear to have continued unabated in the subsequent period. An evidence of this is probably to be found in the Dharampur inscription of the time of Śivadeva and Aṁśuvarman (520 = 630 A. D.?), which refers to the remission of a tax named *Malla-kara.*[2] The Thankot inscription of the time of Mānadeva and Jiṣṇugupta (*Saṁvat* 500......? = 610 + *x* ?) also refers to the collection of a tax of the same name in the Nepal valley.[3] It is not unlikely that *Mallakara* was a tax like the *Turuṣka-daṇḍa* in the inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra (*c.* 1104-54 A. D.)[4] It is possible that in the plains the latter tax was sometimes meant to be a poll-tax on the Muhammadans.[5] But the probability that it was also sometimes a tax for the cost of military defence against the depredations of the Turuṣkas or a tax for raising money to buy off the unwelcome visitors is not entirely eliminated. The latter policy was followed by the Sultāns of Delhi when the terrible Mughul hordes appeared on their frontier, and the British Government even to-day pays subsidies to many of the unruly frontier chiefs of N. Western India to keep them quiet. *Mallakara,* to my mind, was probably a tax of this nature, either to buy them off or to defray the cost of fighting the daring marauders from the western hills. It is not necessary however to agree with Lévi, that the Mallas had established in the 7th century some sort of suzerainty over the Bagmati valley.[6] But later on, in spite of the attempts of the more civilized people of the Valley to keep out these sturdy mountaineers, they appear to have gradually

[1] *JA*, 1907, Tome IX, pp. 49 ff.

[2] *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 67 ff.

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 102 ff.

[4] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 361 ff.; IV, pp. 11 ff., 98 ff., 104 ff., 107 ff, 114 ff., 116 ff.: V, pp. 115 ff.; VII pp. 98 ff.; VIII, pp. 153 ff.; IX, pp. 321 ff.; XI, pp. 20 ff., 155 ff., 156 ff., 158 ff., *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 20 ff.; *JASB*, Vol. LVI, Part I, pp. 106 ff., 113 ff., 118 ff.; XXVII, pp. 241 ff.

[5] EI, Vol. IX, p. 321.

[6] *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 67-68.

succeeded in penetrating into *Nepāla*. Thus the Buddhist Vaṁśāvalī of Wright describes the foundation of Campāpurī, to the south of Patan, in N. S. 111 (=A.D. 991) by two Malla princes. A MS. of the *Devī-māhātmya* is dated in the year 118 (A. D. 998), in the reign of a chief named Dharmamalla. The chronicle of Wright again refers to the conflict of Nānyadeva with the Mallas in Nepal. The Nigliva pillar of Aśoka carries the trace of an inscription of one Śrī-Tapu Malla in *Saṁvat* 1234.[1] From these references it is probably permissible to guess that the Mallas first entered the Valley in considerable numbers by taking advantage of the confusion which prevailed in Nepal immediately before Rāghavadeva (*c.* 879.A.D.). The invasion of Nānyadeva (*c.*1097 A.D.) and the disorders that inevitably follow a foreign invasion possibly allowed their chiefs to increase in power and prosperity till one of them Arimalladeva, seized the royal power in the Valley sometime before *c.* 317 (A. D. 1197).

For Arimalladeva we have 3 dates (327-36 = A. D. 1201-16) from MSS. copied during his reign. A MS. of *Sattvabādhā-praśamana* in the Nepal Durbar Library is dated in 322 (A. D. 1201) in the *vijayarājya* of Arimalladeva.[2] A palm-leaf MS. of the *Karmakriyā-kāṇḍa* of Somaśambhu carries the date 326. (A. D. 1206), in the reign of Arimalladeva-*nṛpa*.[3] A Cambridge MS. of the *Sādhana-Samuccaya* bears the date 336 (A. D. 1216) in the *vijayarājya of Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara Arimalladeva*.[4] In spite of these imperial titles, the instability of the Mallas' power in the Valley is shown by a unique MS. of the *Vidyāvalī* by Aghora in the British Museum which bears the date 342 (A. D. 1221) in the *Pravardhamāna vijayarājya* of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara*

[1] *Le Népal*, Vol. III, pp. 212–13; P. C. Mukherji, *A Report....on the Antiquities in Terai, Nepal*, Calcutta, 1901, p. 34.

[2] *CPMDN*, p. 83.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 95-96.

[4] *CBMC*, pp. 154-5. The number of the MS., Add. 1648. is wrongly given on the table on p. 24, Introduction of *CPMDN*, as Add. 1618.

Raṇaśūra.[1] This prince is utterly unknown to the Nepal chronicles. It is likely that he was one of the local chiefs of the Valley who, as his high-sounding imperial titles show, for a time succeeded in seizing the sovereignty of *Nepāla.* But the Malla power appears to have been restored again before *c.* 344 (A. D. 1223) by Abhayamalla, for whose reign we have a MS. of the *Bhāratīya-nāṭyaśāstra* with this date. The dates found on MSS. copied during this reign range over a period of 30 years, from *c.* 344 to 373 (A. D. 1223-1252). A MS. of the *Devī-māhātmya* was copied in *Saṁvat* 358 (A. D. 1238) in the victorious reign of Abhayamalladeva.[2] A British Museum MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* bears the date 367 (A. D. 1246), in the *vijayarājya* of Abhayamalladeva.[3] A MS. of the *Pañcarakṣā* omitted in H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue but noticed by Bendall has the date 367 (A. D. 1247), in his reign, while a St. Petersburg MS. bears the date 373 (A. D. 1252).[4] According to the chronicles, which assign him different reign-periods, 19 years, 42 years 6 months, or 48 years Abhayamalla's reign was marked by great calamities, a famine and frequent earthquakes.[5] According to some of these Vaṁśāvalīs, he had two sons, *viz.*, Jayadevamalla and Ānandamalla. The younger brother allowed the elder to rule at Katmandu and Patan, and migrating eastward, founded for himself Bhatgaon and seven other cities—Banepur, Panavati, Nala, Dhaukhel, Khadpu, Chaukot, and Sanga, all situated to the east of Bhatgaon outside the Valley.[6] Two MSS. bearing the dates 375 (A. D. 1255) and 377 (A. D. 1257) in the reign of a prince named Jayadeva are noticed by Bendall in his ' historical

[1] *CSMBM*, pp. 212-14. See *infra*, *Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar* for the history of the *Śūra* princes. It is interesting to note that there was also a prince of the name Raṇaśūra in Bengal who probably flourished in *c.* 1021-25 A.D.

[2] *CPMDN*, p. 69.

[3] *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 24; *CSMBM*, 1902, pp. 226-27.

[4] *CPMDN*, Introduction, p. 25.

[5] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 214.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 315 ; Lévi corrects this name to Anantamalla.

introduction' to H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Durbar Library of Nepal.[1] This prince is probably to be identified with Jayadevamalla to whom the chronicles assign a short reign of 2 years 8 months. Next follows the reign of Jayabhīmadeva, who is allotted by Bendall's chronicle a reign of 13 years 3 months. The same scholar has noticed the date 380 (A. D. 1260) in his reign from the tracings of a Katmandu MS.[2] He was succeeded by Jayaśāha (Śīha ? = Siṁha) malladeva, who was probably associated with his predecessor as *Yuvarāja*. To this prince, for whom we have no dated records, the local annals have assigned a short reign of 2 years 7 months. Then came Anantamalla, son of Rājadeva, for whose reign we have dated MSS. extending over a period of 28 years (399-427 = A. D. 1279-1307). A MS. of the *Mahālakṣmīvrata* in the Nepal Durbar Library is dated in *Saṁvat* 403 (A. D. 1279), in the victorious reign of *Rājādhirāja Anantamalladeva*.[3] Two MSS. of the *Ekādaśīvratamāhātmya* were copied in the *Paśupati-sthāna* of the *Nepāla-deśa* in *Saṁvat* 400 (A. D. 1280) in the reign of Anantamalladeva.[4] A MS. of the *Lakṣmyavatāra-stotra* bears the date 403 (A. D. 1283) in the same reign. Another MS. of the Durbar Library, the *Anantavratavidhi*, is dated in 405 (A. D. 1285) of Anantamalla. A MS. of the *Sārāvalī* of Kalyāṇavarman, preserved in the British Museum is dated in *Saṁvat* 406 (A. D. 1286), in the victorious reign of *Rājā-Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara* Anantamalladeva.[5] A MS. noticed by Kirkpatrick and the Vaṁśāvalī of Bendall supply two dates, 408 (N. S.) or (V.) S. 1344 (A. D. 1287) and 417 (1297 A.D.) respectively.[6] A MS. of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra in the Cambridge Library bears the

[1] *CPMDN*, p. 25.
[2] *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 25.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 44; H. P. Śāstri's reading of Anandamalla is wrong; see *ibid*, Introduction, p. 25.
[5] *CSMBM*, p. 182.
[6] Kirkpatrick, *Nepaul*, p. 264; *CPMDN*, Introduction, p. 26.

date 422 (A.D. 1302) while Bendall's Vaṁśāvalī supplies a further date 427 (A.D. 1318) in the same reign. The chronicles assign him a reign of 30 to 35 years. In the latter part of his reign Nepal appears to have been overwhelmed by a series of invasions by the fierce tribes of the western mountains, known as the Khaśas and Magars. Under their leaders Jayatāri and Mukundasena they are reported to have carried fire and sword throughout the Valley, burning villages, massacring its inhabitants, and desecrating its temples. The invasions probably began about the year 408 (A.D. 1287), and appear to have continued beyond 411 (A.D. 1290). According to the chronicles a *mahāmārī* or pestilence at last drove away from the Valley these unwelcome emigrants.[1] It is interesting to note that the region of Palpa, from which these invaders came, was also the stronghold of the Mallas and later on of the Gurkhas before they conquered the Bagmati valley. The period that followed the reign of Anantamalla was also full of troubles. But its outlines are extremely uncertain. From the Vaṁśāvalī of Bendall it appears that the next ruler was Jayānandadeva, for whose reign we have a MS. of the *Nāgānanda* dated in the year 438 (A.D. 1318).[2] He was succeeded by Jayarudramalla, who was the son of Jayatuṅgamalla, and had as his co-regent (*saṁrāja*) one Jayārimalla.[3] According to the dates given in Bendall's Chronicle, Jayarudramalla was reigning in 440 (A. D. 1320), and died in 446 (A.D. 1326).[4] The invasion of the Khaśas however had weakened Nepal so much that it was not long before it saw another invader, this time from the south.

I have already referred to the phantom successors of Nānyadeva (*c.* 1097 A.D.), who for about 200 years held Tirhut and claimed a nominal suzerainty over the valley of Nepal. The Vaṁśāvalīs

[1] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 216 ff.

[2] *CPMDN*, p. 73. The titles of the king are ...*Śrī-Śrī-Rājādhirāja Paramadhārmika-Paramabhaṭṭāraka*.

[3] *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 26.

[4] *Ibid*.

by transferring their contemporary Malla kings of the Valley into the "indefinitely elastic past," treat these Karṇāṭakas as the real rulers of Nepal. Thus Anantamalla for whom we have dates ranging from 1280 to 1307 A. D. is made a contemporary of Nānyadeva, while the latter himself is transferred to *Śaka* 811 (*c.* A.D. 389). According to the chronicles of Wright and Bhagwanlal, Harideva was the last direct descendant of Nānyadeva to rule in Nepal.[1] But we have already seen that two sets of kings ruled continuously and separately in Nepal and Tirhut during this period. In the Katmandu inscription of Pratāpa (malladeva) the name of Harisiṁha comes last in the list of 6 successors of Nānyadeva.[2] The same inscription calls him *Karṇāṭa-cūḍāmaṇi*, "the crest-jewel of Karṇāṭa." Caṇḍesvara, the author of *Kṛtya-ratnākara* and *Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi*, who was a minister of Harisiṁha, designates his master as *Karṇāṭa-vaṁśodbhava* and *Karṇāṭādhipa*.[3] Thus we can readily reject the assumption of the local Vaṁśāvalī, which try to connect him with the indigenous dynasties of the Nepal valley. The foundations for such statements of the local historians however may lie in the fact that Harisiṁha may have tried to pose as the legitimate heir of Nepalese sovereigns after his conquest of the Valley. In the beginning of his reign Harisiṁha appears to have ruled over Tirhut from his capital Simraon. Removed from the great highways of the Islamic armies, the Karṇāṭakas of Tirhut long succeeded in maintaining their independence. But in the reign of Harisiṁha an unexpected move on the part Ghiyāth ud-Din Tughluq Shāh (1320-25 A.D.) brought them into conflict with the Sulṭāns of Delhi. In 1324 Ghiyāth ud-Dīn undertook an expedition to Bengal. On his way back he passed through Tirhut.[4] Firishta supplies the following account of

[1] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 211-20.

[2] *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 184-87. See also *ibid*, 189-91, for the correct name.

[3] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 221-22. Caṇḍeśvara regularly calls his master Harasiṁha; for the other forms of his name see *supra*, p. 205 fn. 4.

[4] Through a mistake the *CHI*, Vol. III, on p. 669 gives 1324 A.D. as the date of Fīrūz Shāh's expedition to Bengal.

the incidents on his journey. "It is related that as the Sultan was passing near the hills of Tirhoot, the Raja appeared in arms, but was pursued into the woods. Finding his army could not penetrate them, the king alighted from his horse, called for a hatchet, and cut down one of the trees with his own hands. The troops on seeing this applied themselves to work with such spirit that the forest seemed to vanish before them. They arrived at length at a fort, surrounded by seven ditches full of water and a high wall. The king invested the place, filled up the ditches, and destroyed the wall in three weeks. The Raja and his family were taken, and great booty obtained, while the government of Tirhoot was left in the hands of Ahmud Khan, the son of Mullik Tubligha, after which the king returned towards Dehly."[1] That this 'Raja of Tirhoot' was Harisiṁha appears to be suggested by the traditional date N.S. 444 (A.D. 1324) of the latter's invasion of Nepal,[2] and the references in contemporary literature to his conflicts with the Musalmans. Thus in the *Dāna-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, he is described as having rescued the earth flooded by the *Mlecchas* while in the *Dhūrta-samāgama*, a two-act comedy played in Harisiṁha's court, he is said to have conquered the *Suratrāṇa* (Sulṭān). His invasion of Nepal however was forced upon him. Unable to meet the Sulṭān's armies in the open field he appears to have fled towards the northern hills. When Simraon, which is probably the 'fort surrounded by seven ditches' fell, he entered Nepal with his followers.[3] I have already shown that the condition of Nepal at this period was such that it could

[1] *TF*, Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 406-07.

[2] *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, p. 220; the date is also given as Śaka 1246. This date is wrong by about a year: see *ibid*, pp. 222-24. *JASB*, 1915, pp. 411-12; also footnotes 4 and 5 on p. 411.

[3] According to a Mithilā tradition, when Harisiṁha abandoned Tirhut and went into Nepal, the emperor of Delhi conferred the kingdom on the Brahman Kāmeśvara Ṭhakkura, who became the founder of the Sugaunā dynasty of Mithilā. King Śivasiṁha of this line was the patron of the poet Vidyāpati. See Grierson in *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 182-96, and Vol. XXVIII, pp. 57-58; also *JASB*, 1915, pp. 415 ff.; *JBORS*, Vol. III, p. 517.

offer no effective resistance to Harisiṁha. The reigning king Jayarudramalla appears to have submitted to the invader, who established his headquarters at Bhatgaon, and gradually extended his power over the whole Valley. The Vaṁśāvalīs describe the successors of Harisiṁha as the legitimate sovereigns of Nepal. Under the designation of the Sūryavaṁśī dynasty of Bhatgaon some of them give us the following list of these princes :[1]

Harisiṁha	...	...	28 years.
Matisiṁha	...	...	15 ,,
Śaktisiṁhadeva	...	...	22, 27, or 33 years.
Śyāmasiṁhadeva	...	...	15 years.

The epigraphic tradition of Nepal of the 17th century, as well as the chronicles of Kirkpatrick and Bendall, however, completely ignore the existence of this line. The MSS. copied in Nepal during this period also engage in a conspiracy of silence regarding these princes. Thus it might seem that the Sūryavaṁśī dynasty of Bhatgaon was, like so many other things, a figment of the imagination of the chronicles of Wright and Bhagwanlal. But the mention by the latter of an embassy sent by Śyāmasiṁha, son of Śaktisiṁha, to the Chinese emperor has led Lévi to examine the Chinese records, with happy results. He thus summarises the results of his enquiry :[2]

The annals of the Ming refer to the renewal of relations between the Empire and the Himalayan kingdom in the 14th century. China took the first steps in opening diplomatic relations. The Emperor Hong-wu had sent in 1384 A.D. a Buddhist priest to Nepal to bring to the king a seal which conferred upon him official investiture. The king of Nepal in return despatched an ambassador who carried to the court 'small pagodas of gold, sacred Buddhist books, fine horses and the produce of his country.' The ambassador arrived in China in

[1] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 226.
[2] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 228.

1387. The name of this king of Nepal was *Ma-ta-na-lo-mo*. In 1390 and 1399 two other embassies came from Nepal. The successor of Hong-wu, Yung-lo imitated the example of his predecessor in returning friendly greetings. As a result of this, another Nepal ambassador came in 1409 bringing tribute. In 1413 the Emperor sent a gift to the new king of Nepal, *Cha-ko-sin-ti,* who returned the compliment in 1414. The Emperor conferred upon this king the title "King of Nepal," and gave him a charter supporting that investiture, also a seal in gold and one in silver, in 1418. In 1427 the Emperor Hiuen-te tried to renew the relations, but without effect. No other ambassador came to the Imperial court.

Lévi has identified *Ma-ta-na-lo-mo* and *Cha-ko-sin-ti* with the princes mentioned as Matisiṁha and Śaktisiṁha. *Ma-ta-na* however corresponds more nearly to Madana, and the Professor offers the plausible suggestion that it was amended by the local annalists into *Mati* on account of its closeness to the next name Śakti. *Lo-mo,* according to this scholar is the Buddhist title *lama* (Tibetan *blama*), which the Ming emperors lavished widely for political reasons.[1] The other difficulty that arises in these identifications is chronological. According to the Chinese account, the first embassy of *Ma-ta-na-lo-mo* arrived in 1387 A.D. while that from *Cha-ko-sin-ti* came in 1414 A.D. According to the chronology of the Vaṁśāvalīs the date of Matisiṁha falls in *c*. 1353-69, and that of Śaktisiṁha in 1368-90, 1368-95 or 1401 A.D. But in view of the artificial character of the chronology of the local annals, we think we are justified in overlooking this and accepting the identifications proposed.

Thus it is clear that between 1387 and 1418 the Chinese documents know and recognise as sovereigns of Nepal the descendants of Harisiṁha, who probably ruled from Bhatgaon. But the colophons of the dated MSS. of Nepal reveal the existence of other princes in the Valley. A MS. of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata-ṭippaṇa*

[1] *Ibid*, p. 229.

preserved in the Durbar library of Nepal, gives us the date 474 (A.D. 135?-54) in the reign of *nṛpati* Jayarājadeva in Nepal.[1] Another MS. preserved in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal bears the date 476 (A.D. 1355-56), while the Vaṁśāvalī of Bendall gives the date 467 (1347 A.D.) as the year of his accession to the throne.[2] According to the last source, this king was the son of Jayānandadeva, for whom we have already noticed the date 438 (A.D. 1318), and was succeeded by his son Jayārjunamalla. A MS. of the *Meghadūta* preserved in the Nepal Durbar library was copied in 484 (A.D. 1363) in the victorious reign of *Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Śrī-Śrī-Jayārjuna-deva.*[3] Another MS. of the *Mudrārākṣasa* in the same collection bears the date 491 (1371 A.D.) in the *Vijayarājya* of *Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka- Paramadhārmika-Śrī-Śrī*-Jayārjuna, while a 3rd MS. of the *Bhojadevasaṁgraha* is dated in 1297 *Saka* (A.D. 1376) in the reign of the same king.[4] Two other MSS. bearing the dates 493 (1372 A.D.) and 494 (1374 A.D.) in the reign of this prince are also noticed by Bendall in the Cambridge Library collection.[5] Thus from 1347 to 1376, and even beyond that, as we shall presently see, there appears a continuous series of kings who claim to rule in Nepal. In view of the fact that the Chinese chronicles neglect them altogether, we are disposed to accept the contention of Lévi that the princes mentioned in the colophons were subordinate to the line of Harisiṁha at Bhatgaon.[6] Though their imperial titles are rather inconsistent with so humble a position, yet it offers the only explanation of the silence of the Chinese annals regarding them. If this was so, then it is likely that while Harisiṁha and his descendants exercised effective control over the whole of the Nepal valley, they

[1] *CPMDN*, p. 71.
[2] *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 27.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 31.
[4] *Ibid*, pp. 88 and 121.
[5] *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 27; *CBMC*, p. 176. Peterson, *Hitopadeśa*, 1887, p. ii.
[6] Bendall, Introduction in *CPMDN*, p. 14; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 230. For another suggestion see Landon, *Nepal*, Constable, 1928, p. 38.

left undisturbed the local rulers, who acknowledged their hegemony, in the possession of the other two capitals, *viz.*, Patan and Katmandu.

During the regime of the line of Harisiṁha, Nepal was again invaded by the Khaśas under Ādit (y) amalla in the winter of 448 (1328 A.D.).[1] According to the chronicle consulted by Bendall, the Malla prince Jayarudra (1320-26 A.D.) died at the time of this invasion. The period that followed is obscure; but it appears from the same chronicle that for a time his daughter Satī-Nāyakadevī held the crown. Then follows a chapter of civil war and court intrigue, till Jayarājadeva(1347-56 A.D.) ascended the throne. He was, as we have seen, succeeded by his son Jayārjunamalla (1363-76 A. D.).[2]

During the period that immediately preceded Jayarājadeva the royal power was usurped for a short time by a Karṇāṭaka prince of Simraon, named Jagatsiṁha who married Nāyakadevī and had a daughter by her named Rājalladevī.[3] In the Katmandu inscription dated in (N.)S. 533 (1412 A.D.) of *Mahārājā-dhirāja* Jayajyotirmalladeva, his descent is traced from Sthitimalladeva, king of the *Nepāla-khaṇḍa* and belonging to the *Sūryavaṁśa*. This Sthitimalla is described in the epigraph as '*Rājalladevyāḥ pati.*' Lévi has rightly suggested the identification of the Rājalladevī of Bendall's Chronicle with that of the epigraph. He has further identified Sthitimalla with Jaya-Sthitmalladeva who appears in an inscription and colophons of MSS. as king of Nepal from 1380 to 1394 A.D. His initial date, 1380, is so close to the last date of Jayārjunamalla

[1] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 226, *CPMDN*, p. 10.

[2] According to Bendall's Chronicle, between Jayarudra and Jayarāja, Nāyakadevī was married in succession to Haricandradeva, a scion of the royal family of Benares, who acted as prince-consort, his brother Gopāladeva, who seized the crown after poisoning his brother, and the Karṇāṭaka prince Jagatsiṁha; see *CPMDN*, Introduction, pp. 10-11.

[3] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 231. This is found only in the Chronicle consulted by Bendall which appears to be more reliable than the rest; unfortunately this Vaṁśāvalī ends with the reign of Jayārjunamalla; see *CPMDN*, Introduction, pp. 10-11.

(1376 A.D.) so far discovered, that it is very likely that he was the immediate successor of the latter. If the identifications of Lévi are accepted, Jaya-Sthitimalla was the grandson-in-law of the Malla prince Jayarudra (1320-26 A.D.) through his daughter Nāyakadevī and son-in-law of Jagatsiṁha, a prince of the Karṇāṭaka line of Harisiṁha. Thus in his person he combined the two royal families, which claimed sovereignty over the Nepal valley for about 300 years (*c*. 1097-1376 A.D.). This latter fact is supported by the combined testimony of all the Nepalese chronicles. But in their attempt to represent Jaya-Sthitimalla as the legitimate successor of the two lines they invent a fictitious genealogy for him. Thus in the Vaṁśāvalī of Wright and Bhagwanlal one Jaya-Bhadramalla is represented as his ancestor, who married the daughter of Śyāmasiṁha the last descendant of Harisiṁha in Nepal. As Śyāmasiṁha had no male issue, Jaya-Bhadramalla succeeded his father-in-law, and his son Nāgamalla thus combined in his person the two lines. According to this chronology Jaya-Sthitimalla is the sixth descendant of Jaya-Bhadramalla in the direct line, being the seventh king after Śyāmasiṁha.[1] But we have already shown from Chinese annals that the two immediate predecessors of Śyāmasiṁha ruled in Nepal from 1387-1418. Jaya-Sthitimalla thus appears almost a contemporary of these later Karṇāṭaka princes, and they cannot be separated by such long periods as is suggested by the tradition of Nepal. It seems likely that Jaya-Sthitimalla captured the throne of the Mallas from Jayārjunamalla by a successful *coup* sometime after February, 1376, and then, as husband of Rājalladevī, claimed to be the legitimate representative of the Mallas and the Sūryavaṁśī Karṇāṭakas.[2] His pretensions were the more readily accepted

[1] *IA*, Vol. XIII, p. 414; Wright, *History of Nepal*, pp. 180-82. The genealogy given in the *Mudita-Kuvalayāśva* and the chronicle of Kirkpatrick is somewhat different, see *Katalog der Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1881. Vol. II, No. 6, pp. 7 ff. *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 232-33; Kirkpatrick, *Nepaul*, p. 266.

[2] On this point see *CPMDN*, Introduction, pp. 12-14.

as he appears to have wielded a powerful sword. His reign ends the long period of feudal anarchy and ushers in a new epoch of peace and good government in Nepal. His authority appears to have been established practically over the whole Valley and his descendants henceforth in regular succession ruled over the three capitals of Nepal.

The chronicles of Nepal assign to this prince a long reign of 43 years. Of this period, as I have already pointed out, dated documents cover only a space of 14 years (1380-94 A.D.). A MS. of the *Mānavanyāyaśāstra* in the Nepal Durbar library bears the date N. S. 500 (A.D. 1380) in the victorious reign of Jaya-Sthitimalladeva, when Jayatavarmaṇa was holding the post of *amātya*.[1] Another MS. of the *Guhyasiddhiśāstra* in the same collection was copied at Bhaktagrāma in (N.) *Saṁvat* 514 (A.D. 1394) in the same reign.[2] Bendall has mentioned 6 other dates for this king from the colophon MSS. which range between these two dates.[3] The same scholar discovered a stone inscription of this king on a slab in in the courtyard of the temple of Śiva Kumbheśvara in Lalitapattana near Katmandu. That 'lofty' temple (*prāsāda*), we are told, was built by one Jayabhīma in fulfilment of a promise made to the god during his wife's illness in N. S. 512, in the reign of *Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka - Śrī - Māneśvarīvaralabdha - prasāda Asura-Nārāyaṇetyādi-vividha-biruda-rājā-valīpūrva...Kriyāsamālaṁkṛta - Mahārājādhirāja - Śrī-Śrīmat-Jayasthiti-rāja-malladeva.*[4] It will be observed that Jaya-Sthiti's reign covered the period when the Chinese were maintaining diplomatic relations with the descendants of Harisiṁha. But Jayasthiti appears to have gradually established his authority over them. Already in 1394 his authority was recognised at Bhaktagrāma (mod. Bhatgaon). In addition to imperial titles, the inscription quoted above gives him

[1] *CPMDN*, p. 43. The name Jayatavarmaṇa is probably a mistake for Jayantavarman.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 87.

[3] *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 28; *CBMC*, table on p. viii, Appendix 1; *Journey* by Bendall, Appendix III, Table I.

[4] *Journey*, pp. 83-87; see also *ibid*, pp. 11-12.

the *biruda Asura-Nārāyaṇa.* In the prologue to the *Abhinava-Rāghavānanda* composed by his court poet Maṇika, he is given the variant title *Daitya-Nārāyaṇa.*[1] According to Nepal tradtion the king was passionately devoted to Rāma, and is said to have caused a stone image of that god with his sons Lava and Kuśa to be made and placed on the bank of the Bagmati, opposite Ārya Tīrtha.[2] Another interesting fact revealed by the king's inscription, is his devotion to the cult of Māneśvarī, who remained after him the guardian of his line. The chronicles of Nepal tell us that Jaya-Sthiti re-established and re-organised the castes in his kingdom, and gave Nepal a system of weights and measures.[3] There is enough evidence in Nepalese tradition to show that this prince was a wise and vigorous ruler, under whose intelligent guidance prosperity and peace again revived in the Valley.

Jaya-Sthiti had three sons by his queen Rājalladevī, *viz.*, Dharmamalla, Jyotirmalla, and Kīrtimalla. Two Cambridge MSS. dated in 519 (A. D. 1398) and 520 (A. D. 1400) show that these three princes held a joint regency in those years.[4] But between the death of their father and their joint rule there occurs the name of a prince Jayasiṁha-rāma in a MS. of the *Daśakarmapaddhati,* with the date 516 (A. D. 1395-96) and the high-sounding titles *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Parama-bhaṭṭāraka.*[5] Lévi has recognised in *rāma* the Chinese title *la-mo* (lama), which was conferred by the Emperor on *Ma-ta-na* king of Nepal.[6] The title *Siṁha* certainly recalls the Karṇāṭaka kings of Nepal; and if we further agree with Lévi in regarding *Jaya* as equivalent to the honorific *Śrī* put before the Indian names,[7] it would appear that this prince was one of the descendants of

[1] *CBMC*, p. 160. MS. No. Add. 1658, Lévi has pointed out that the popularity of these *Nārāyaṇa birudas* in the dynasties of Nepal and Tirhut during this period, see *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 234-35; also Vol. I, p. 366.

[2] Wright, *History of Nepal*, p. 183; see also *CPMDN*, Introduction, pp. 12-13.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 182-87; *Le Népal*, Vol. I, pp. 229, and 298 ff.; Vol. II, p. 234.

[4] *CPMDN*, Introduction, p. 28.

[5] *CPMDN*, p. 31. The date is wrongly given by the *paṇḍit* as 583; see Introduction, p. 28.

[6] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 235.

[7] *Ibid.*

Harisiṁha who still retained some power in the Valley. It is likely that, taking advantage of the death of Jaya-Sthitimalla he had revived the power of his line; and this would explain the reception of embassies by *Cha-ko-sin-ti* in the period 1414-18 A. D.

As the three sons of Jayasthiti resided at Bhatgaon, it seems probable that they had not divided the kingdom.[1] But Dharmamalla appears alone in a Patan inscription dated in N. S. 523 (A. D. 1403), which, though dated in his *vijayarājya*, designates him only as a *Yuvarāja*.[2] Eight years later Jyotirmalla appears alone as the author of a MS. of a work on astrology named *Siddhi-sāra* now preserved in the Cambridge Library, which is dated in 532 (A.D. 1411), and gives him the imperial titles of *Śri-Rājādvi(jādhi?)rājā-Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka*.[3] A year later we find an official inscription of this king at the Paśupati temple at Katmandu.[4] It is incised on a slab of sandstone to the left of the western door inside the court, and records the dedication of a golden *kalaśa* on the temple (*prāsāda*) of Paśupati-*bhaṭṭāraka* at Dedapaṭṭana-*mahāsthāna* by the *Sūryavaṁśaprabhava... Raghuvaṁśāvataṁśa......Māneśvarīvara-labdha-prasāda... .....Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Śrīmat-Śrī-Śrī*-Jayajyotimalladeva. The inscription supplies the following genealogical information :

Sūryavaṁśa
:
Śripaṭṭavanta Sthitimalladeva.

Jaya-Dharmamalla — Jaya-Jyotirmalla (= Saṁsāradevī) — Jaya-Kīrtimalla

Sons of Jaya-Jyotirmalla: Yakṣamalla — Jayantarāja — Jīvarakṣā = Jaya-Bhairava

[1] *CPMDN*, Introduction, p. 15; *CBMC*, p. ix; *Journey*, pp. 15-16.

[2] *JASB*, 1903, p. 15, footnote 2. The name of the prince in the inscription Jaya-Dharmamalla.

[3] *CBMC*, p. 155.

[4] *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 183-84.

This inscription not only revives the high-sounding titles of his father but claims that he laid low at his feet the crests of the diadems of all the neighbouring princes. The dates on the colophon of MSS. which were copied during his reign range from 522 to 547 (1411--1426-27 A.D.).[1] These dates make him a contemporary of Śaktisiṁhadeva, the descendant of Harisiṁha, who according to Chinese annals was ruling in Nepal in 1413-1418 A.D. But his inscription appears to show that after 1418 the descendants of Harisiṁha lost all power in the Nepal valley; and this is consistent with the fact that the Chinese in 1427 got no response from them when the emperor Hiuen-te tried to renew friendly relations. Thus it seems likely that the claims to imperial power made by Jyotirmalla had some basis in fact. Another interesting feature in this inscription is the epithet 'husband of Rājalladevī' applied to his father (Jaya)-Sthitimalla, who is simply referred to without any titles as belonging to the *Sūryavaṁśa*. This probably suggests, as Bendall observed long ago, that "It was through his mother and not through his father that Jyotirmalla had any hereditary claim to the throne." Jyotirmalla was not only a patron of literature as is evidenced by the large number of MSS. of his reign, but was also an author himself. We have already drawn attention to the treatise known as *Siddhi-sāra*, a work on astrology which claims to be composed by this king.[2]

Jyotirmalla appears to have been succeeded by his eldest son, Yakṣamalla, soon after 1426-27 A. D., his last recorded date. This is proved by a MS. of the *Saṁhitāpāṭha* in the Nepal Durbar Library which is dated in *Śaka* 1350 (A.D. 1428-29), when *Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Śrī-Śrī-Jaya-*J(Y)akṣamalladeva was reigning at Bhaktagrama.[3] Already during the lifetime of his father he appeared in the latter's Katmandu inscription

[1] *CPMDN*, p. 36; *ibid*, Introduction, p. 28.
[2] *CBMC*, p. 155, Add. 1619, *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 237.
[3] *CPMDN*, p. 23.

as governor of Bhaktāpurī.[1] In addition to the MS. already noted, Bendall has noticed six others dated from 549 to 594 (A.D. 1428 to 1474) in the reign of this king. His reign thus extended over a period of about half a century. He appears to have been the most powerful of the Malla rulers of Nepal. A MS. entitled *Narapatijayacaryā-ṭīkā*, which gives the name of the Malla prince Jagajjotirmalla as its author and is dated in *Śaka* 1536 gives a description of the victories of Yakṣamalla. He is said to have advanced as far as Magadha, after conquering Mithilā, and set in order the whole of *Nepāla* after subjugating the mountain tribes (*pārvatān*). In the east his power is said to have reached the land of Vaṅga, in the south the Ganges (*Suranadī*), while in the west he conquered the *Gorakhā-pālas* (Gurkha chiefs).[3] According to the chronicle of Kirkpatrick he is said to have waged successful wars against the Tibetans in the north, from whom he took Shikarjong (or Digarchi), and subdued the rebellious nobles of Patan and Katmandu.[4]

Yakṣamalla probably died between 1474 and 1476 A.D.[5] But before his death he took a most unwise step which helped

[1] *Bhaktāpurī-nagara-vāsita-saukhyakārī*; *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 183.

[2] *CPMDN*, pp. 23, 36, 75; *ibid*, Introduction, p. 29; *CBMC*, p. 197.

[3] *CPMDN*, p. 107.

[4] Kirkpatrick, *Nepaul*, p. 266; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 238.

[5] Prof. S. Lévi wrote in his *Le Népal* (Vol. II, p. 238) that Yakṣamalla's death took place towards 1480 A. D. But his death seems to have taken place before 1476 A.D. This is proved by a MS. of *Pañcarakṣā* in private possession, shown to Dr. L. D. Barnett in the British Museum, London. It is dated in *Svasti śrīmat-Paśupati-caraṇa-kamala-dhūli-dhūsarita-siroruha-śrīman-Mānyeśvariṣṭa-devatā-valaradhya*-[lege: *labdha-vara*-] *prasāda-dedīpyamāna* .....*Mahārājādhirājā Rājārājendra-sakara*-[lege: *sakala*-] *rāja-cakrādhīśvara-śrī-śrī-Jaya-Nṛpendra-malla parama-bhaṭṭāraka-devānām sadā samala*-[lege: *samara*-] *vijayinā*... ..*vijayarājye*......*Samvat 596 jyeṣṭha-māse śukla-pakṣe pūrṇṇamāsyām tithau anurādha-nakṣatre siddhi-yoge*........In *Kāṣṭha-maṇḍapanagara*. It is possible that Jayanṛpendramalla (A.D. 1476) was a son of Yakṣamalla who succeeded his father at Katmandu. If this is accepted then the *Pārvatīyā Vaṁśāvalī* consulted by Bhagawan Lal Indraji (*IA*, Vol. XIII, p. 415) which gives the name of Ratnamalla with the date N. S. 611 (A. D. 1491) as the immediate successor of Yakṣamalla at 'Kāṭmaṇḍu' must be wrong.

to dismember his kingdom and ultimately paved the way to its conquest, by the Gurkhas from the west. He divided his dominions between his three sons Rāyamalla, Raṇamalla, Ratnamalla,[1] and a daughter. To the eldest, Rāyamalla, he assigned Bhatgaon with territory which extended on the west up to Bagmati, on the east to the city of Sanga, on the north to the town and pass of Kuti, and on the south to the forest of Medini Mall. The second son, Raṇamalla, got the principality of Banepa, which was bounded on the north by Sangachok, to the west by Sanga, to the south by the forest of Medini Mall, and to the east by the river Dudhkosi. The third son, Ratnamalla, received Katmandu with territories bounded on the east by Bagmati, on the west by the Trisul-Ganga, on the north by the mountains of Nilkanth, and in the south by the dominions of Patan. According to tradition, the last-mentioned city was assigned to his daughter with territory which extended to the forest of Medini Mall in the south, to the mountains of Lamadanda in the west, to the Bagmati in the east, and to the boundaries of Katmandu in the north.[2] A MS. of the *Pāṇḍavavijaya* in the Durbar Library of Nepal has for its author king Jaya-Raṇamalla. It mentions also his wife Nāthalladevī and his son *Kumāra* Vijayamalla.[3] It thus appears that the first king of Banepa was an historical person; but the principality did not last more than a century, and was annexed by the Bhatgaon branch of the family. The principality of Patan, if ever founded, was annexed by the Katmandu branch and remained under their chiefs till the beginning of the 17th century (*c.* 1631 A.D.), when it again became a separate principality.

Thus to all practical purposes the dominions of Yakṣamalla soon became divided into two main principalities, *viz.*, that

[1] This name is probably a mistake for Jayanrpendramalla, see *supra*, p. 227, fn. 5.

[2] *CPMDN*, pp. 107 ff.; Wright, *History of Nepal*, pp. 189 ff.; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 238-39; *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 414 ff.

[3] *CPMDN*, p. 115. Another copy of the same work is noticed on p. 19.

of Katmandu and Bhatgaon. The principalities thus founded were often at variance with each other, and in the course of one of these struggles Raṇajitamalla, king of Bhatgaon (*c.* 1722-54 A.D.) applied for assistance to the Gurkha king Pṛthvī-Nārāyaṇa, who ruled a small principality in the west of the Nepal valley. The introduction of the Gurkhas led to the conquest of the Valley by these sturdy mountaineers in 1768 A.D. The record of this period of about three centuries (*c.* 1480-1768 A.D.) is comparatively modern history and thus lies beyond the scope of the present work.[1]

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

(*Periods assigned are only approximations.*)

I. *The Licchavis* (*c. 350-c. 879 A.D.*).

II. *Period of Ṭhākuri Aṁśuvarman and Ābhīra* (?) *Jiṣṇugupta* (*c. 625-645 A.D.*).

III. *Rāghavadeva and his successors* (*c. 879-1046 A.D.*):

N. S.		A. D.
	Rāghavadeva ...	... *c.* 879
	Jayadeva	
	Vikramadeva	
	Narendradeva	
	Guṇakāmadeva I	
	Udayadeva	
128	Nirbhaya } Rudra } ...	... 1008
135	{ Rudra / Bhoja / Lakṣmīkāmadeva } ...	... 1015

[1] For this period see Bendall's *Journey*, Appendix III, Table II; *CBMC*, Introduction, Appendix III; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, pp. 239-72; *CPMDN*, Table II, on p. 30 of the Historical Introduction. A new date, hitherto unnoticed by any scholar is supplied by a recently acquired British Museum MS. of *Pancarakṣā* (Or. 11124)...*Mahārājādhirāja-rāja-rājendra-sakala-rāja-cakrādhīśvara śrī-śrī-Jaya-Pārthivendra-malla- parama - bhaṭṭāraka-devānāṃ sanā* (*sadā*?) *samara-vijayināṁ prabhu-ṭhākurasya vijaya rājye..... Saṁvat 804 śrāvaṇa-māsi śukla-pakṣa caturdaśyān tithau hasta-nakṣatra.* Written in Katmandu. Spelling corrected. My attention was drawn to it by Dr. Barnett. For inscriptions of this period see *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 184-93. For the coins of the Malla kings, the earliest specimens of which start from N. S. 751 (A.D. 1631), in the reign of Siddhinarasiṁha, see *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 683 ff.; *CCIM*, pp. 284ff. An interesting point in the inscriptions of the successors of Yakṣamalla is their genealogy, which is traced from the Karṇāṭaka Harisiṁha. See *IA*, Vol. IX, pp. 187-89.

N. S.		A. D.
159	Lakṣmīkāmadeva (*sole ruler*)	1039
	Jayakāmadeva (also known as Jaya, Vijaya and Jayadeva).	
	IV. *The Ṭhakuris of Nayakot*:	
167	Bhāskaradeva	1046
	Udayadeva (?)	
180	Baladeva (also called Balavantadeva)	1059-60
185	Pradyumnakāmadeva (also known as Padmadeva)	1064-65
186		1065-66
	Nāgārjuna	
189	Śaṅkaradeva	1068-69
191		1070-71
198		1077
239	Śivadeva	1118
240		1120
243		1123
249	Indradeva	1128-29
259	Mānadeva	1138-39
254	Narendradeva.	1134
261		1141
267	Ānandadeva	1146-47
275		1154-55
278		1158
284		1163-64
285		1165
286		1166
	Rudradeva	
296	Amṛtadeva	1176
[303]	[Ratnadeva]	[1183]
	Someśvaradeva	
307	Guṇakāmadeva I	1187
313	Lakṣmīkāmadeva II	1193
316	Vijayakāmadeva	1196
317		1197
	V. *The Ṭhākuris of Patan*	
200	Vāmadeva	1080-81
203 (?)		1083 (?)
210	Harṣadeva.	1090
213		1093
219		1098

N.S.		A. D.
	VI. *The Mallas*:	
322	Arimalladeva	1201
326		1206
336		1216
342	[Raṇaśūra]	1221
344	Abhayamalla	1223
358		1238
367		1246-47
373		1252
375	Jayadeva(malla)	1255
377		1257
380	Jaya-Bhīmadeva	1260
	Jayaśāha? (siṁha)malladeva	
399	Anantamalla	1279
400		1280
403		1283
405		1285
406		1286
408		1287
417		1297
422		1302
427		1307
438	Jay-Ānandadeva	1318
440	{ Jayarudramalla (son of Jayatuṅgamalla)	1320
446	{ Jayārimalla	1326
[448]	[Invasion of Khaśa Ādityamalla]	[1328]
	(Period of Confusion)	
	Nāyakadevī = Haricandra	
	(d. of Jayarudra)	
	= Gopāla	
	= Jagatsiṁha	
	Rājalladevī	
	|	
467	Accession of Jaya-Rājadeva	1347
	(son of Jay-Ānandadeva)	
474		1153-54
476		1355-56
484	Jay-Ārjunamalla	1363
491		1371
493		1372
494		1374
Saka 1297		1376

N.S.		A.D.

VII. *Dynasty of Jaya-Sthitimalla*:

N.S.		A.D.
500 to 514	Jaya-Sthitimalla = Rājalladevī	1380 to 1394
[516]	[Jaya-Siṁharāma]	[1395-96]
519	Dharmamalla. Jyotirmalla Kīrtimalla	1398
520	Joint Rule.	1400
523	Reign of *Yuvarāja* Jaya-Dharmamalla (*sole ruler*)	1403
532	,, ,, King Jaya-Jyotirmalla (*sole ruler*) = Saṁsāradevī	1411
533		1413
540		1420
541		1421
547		1426-27
Saka 1350	......................Yakṣamalla........................	1428-29 to 1474
549 N.S. to 594 ...		

Rāyamalla (Line of Bhatgaon) — Raṇamalla (Line of Banepa) — Ratnamalla (?) or Jayanṛpendramalla (?) (Line of Katmandu) — Daughter (Line of Patan

[Gurkha Conquest 1768 A.D.]

VIII. *Karṇāṭaka Dynasty*:

Nānyadeva (c. 1097-1150 A.D.)
Gaṅgadeva
Nṛsiṁha
Rāmasiṁha
Śaktisiṁha
Bhupālasiṁha
Harisiṁha (c. 1314-25 A.D.)
Matisiṁha (c. 1387 A.D.)
[Jaya-Siṁharāma] [c. 1395-96 A.D.]
Śaktisiṁha (1413-1418 A. D.)
Śyāmasiṁha

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CHAPTER V

DYNASTIC HISTORY OF ASSAM

Assam lies on the north-eastern border of Bengal, and is situated roughly between 23° 40′ and 28° 16′ N. and 90° and 97°12′ E. It is bounded on the north by the eastern section of the great Himalayan range; on the east by the Patkai Hills and by the Burmese frontier which marches with that of Manipur; on the south by the Chin Hills, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and the State of Hill Tippera; and on the west by the Bengal Districts of Tippera, Mymensingh, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and the State of Cooch Behar. The province falls into three natural divisions: the valley of the Surma, the valley of the Brahmaputra, and the intervening range of hills, which projecting at right angles from the Burmese systems, runs like a wedge from east to west. Assam, under the names Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa, is often mentioned in the Epic, Pauranic and Tantric tradition of India. The *Mahābhārata*, mentions *Kāmākhyā*, near Gauhati, and Bhagadatta, the powerful ruler of Prāgjyōtiṣa. The latter is said to have led a mighty *Mleccha* army of Kirātas and Cīnas in the field of Kurukṣetra. In the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, it is said that the temple of the goddess Kāmākhyā stands in the centre of Kāmarūpa. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the boundaries of Kāmarūpa extended around this temple for 100 *Yojans* or about 450 miles. Allowing for all exaggeration, Sir E. A. Gait has calculated that the area indicated by the *Purāṇa* must have embraced nearly the whole of the old province of Eastern Bengal, Assam and Bhutan.

But more strictly speaking, *Kāmarūpa* and *Pragjyōtiṣa* included Assam proper, *i.e.*, the Brahmaputra valley. According to the *Yoginī Tantra*, *Kāmarūpa* includes the country lying between the Karatoya and the Dikhu from west to east, with the mountains of Kanjagiri in the north and the junction of the Brahmaputra and Lākhyā rivers in the south ; 'that is to say, it comprised roughly the Brahmaputra valley, Bhutan, Rangpur, Cooch Behar, the north-east of Mymensing and, possibly, the Garo Hills.' There is some agreement amongst scholars in identifying Ka-la-tu, the large river, which was crossed by Yuan Chwang when he travelled from the borders of Pun-na-fa-tan-na (Puṇḍravardhana) to Kia-mo-leu-po (Kāmarūpa), with the river Karatoya. The Chinese pilgrim estimated Kia-mo-leu-po to be more than 10,000 *li* or about 1,667 miles in circuit. According to Cunningham this shows that at that time it must have comprised the whole valley of the Brahmaputra river, together with Kusa-vihāra and Bhutan. The ancient capital of the country, which was known as Prāgjyōtiṣapura, probably the same town which was 30 *li* in circuit in the time of the Chinese traveller, is generally taken to have stood somewhere near the modern town of Gauhati.[1]

Amongst the legendary kings of Kāmarūpa mentioned by Paurāṇic tradition the most important are the demons Naraka and his son Bhagadatta. The former, we are told, was born of the earth by Viṣṇu in his Varāha incarnation. He ruled over the country from his capital Prāgjyōtiṣapur. It is interesting to note that the first historical king of Kāmarūpa for whom we have any reliable documentary evidence traces his descent to these mythical heroes. This is king Bhāskaravarman, the contemporary of the Puṣyabhūti monarch Harṣa and identical with *Keu-mo-lo P'o-se*-kie-lo-fa-ma of Yuan Chwang. In the

[1] *Mahābhārata*, II, Chapters 26, 27, 34 and 51; III, Chap. 82, V. 5047; V, Chapter 167, etc.; *IGI*, Vol. VI, 1909, pp. 14 ff.; Vol. XIV, pp. 330-32; *HA*, pp. 10 ff.; *BR*, Vol. II, p. 195; *YC*, Vol. II, pp. 184-87; *AGI*, pp. 572-74 and 729; Dey, *GDI*, pp. 87 and 158; *JRAS*, 1900, p. 25; *IHQ*, December, 1927, pp. 843-44.

Nidhanpur (Sylhet) copper-plates of this king we find the following genealogy.[1]

Cakrabhṛta
|
Naraka
|
Bhagadatta
| [Puṣpadatta] ?
Vajradatta
|
His descendants rule for 3,000 years
Then came—
1. Puṣyavarman
|
2. Samudravarman = Dattadevī
|
3. Balavarman = Ratnadevī
|
4. Kalyāṇavarman = Gandharvadevī
|
5. Gaṇapati = Yajñavatī
|
6. Mahendravarman = Suvratā
|
7. Nārāyaṇavarman = Devavatī
|
8. [Bhūtavarman] Mahābhūtavarman = Vijñānavatī
|
9 [Candramukhavarman] Candramukha = Bhogavatī
|
0. [Sthitivarman or Sthiravarman] Sthitavarman = Nayanadevī
|
11. Susthitavarman *alias* Śrī-Mṛgāṅka = Śyāmādevī

12. Supratiṣṭhitavarman [Susthiravarman]
13. Bhāskaravarman [Kumāra; Bhāskaradyuti]

[1] The seal of the inscription bears the figure of an elephant. *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 65-79; Vol. XIX, pp. 245-50; *JBORS*, Vol. V, pp. 302-04; Vol. VI, pp. 151-52; *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 115-25; *IA*, 1914, Vol. 43, pp. 95-96. The alternative forms of names are given from the *Harṣacarita* and Yuan Chwang. See Beal, *BR*, Vol. II, pp. 196 ff.; *Harṣacarita*, translated by Cowell and Thomas, p. 217. In the Nowgong copper-plate of Balavarman Vajradatta is represented as *anuja* (younger brother) of Bhagadatta. See *JASB*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, pp. 118, 287 ff.

There is no conclusive proof that the Guptas conquered Kāmarupa, but attention may be drawn to the similarity of the name of the second ruler to that of the great Samudra Gupta. Curiously enough the names of the queens of the two rulers were also the same.[1] The discovery of an inscription in Assam dated in the Gupta era and the fact that there appears to be no insuperable chronological difficulties in regarding Samudravarman and Samudra Gupta as contemporaries, seem to strengthen the suspicion that Gupta influence at least must have penetrated in the valley of the Brahmaputra.[2] In the Allahabad *praśasti* of Hariṣeṇa the ruler of Kāmarūpa is included in the list of tributary *Pratyanta-nṛpatis* of the great Gupta emperor.[3] The Damodarpur inscriptions refer to Gupta rule in Puṇḍravardhana, which as we have seen was only separated from Kāmarūpa by the river Karatoya. In the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena, the later Gupta king Mahāsenagupta claims to have defeated the illustrious Susthitavarman on the banks of the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra). This prince has rightly been identified with the father of Bhāskaravarman.[4] The latter ruled at least up to 648 A. D., when he supported the Chinese invasion of Tirhut under Wang Hiuen-t'se.[5]

The history of Kāmarūpa after 648 A. D. is rather uncertain. We have no records, either literary or epigraphic, from the kings who immediately succeeded Bhāskaravarman. But fortunately for us there are references to these princes in the inscriptions of later kings of the Brahmaputra valley. Thus the Tezpur plates of *Māhārājādhirāja* Vanamāla, for whose father

[1] *GI*, pp. 27, 43, 50 and 53.

[2] *JBORS*, Vol. III, pp. 508 ff.; *NKGWG*, 1906, pp. 465 ff., *IHQ*, December, 1927, pp. 837-38. For Gupta inscriptions in North Bengal see *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 113-45.

[3] *GI*, p. 8.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 203.

[5] *JA*, 1900, Tome XV, pp. 308 ff. : 'Le roi de l'Inde orientale Chi-kieou-mo (*Śrī-Kumāra*).'

Harjara we have the date G. E. 510 (A. D. 829), refers to a line of princes beginning with Śālastambha, and ending in *Śrī*-Hariṣa (*Śālastambha-pramukhaiḥ Śrī-Harīṣānta-mahīpālaiḥ...*) who are placed between the descendants of Bhagadatta and Vajradatta and Prālambha, the grandfather of Vanamāla.[1] A stray plate of Harjara, recently discovered appears to mention three princes, *viz.*, Kumāra, Vajradeva, and Harṣavarman of the dynasty of Śālastambha.[2] In the Nowgong copper-plate grant of Balavarman Śālastambha and the princes Pālaka and Vijaya belonging to his line are placed between the names of Vajradatta and Harjara.[3] In the Bargaon copper-plate grant of Ratnapāla we are told that after the descendants of Vajradatta had ruled over Prāgjyotiṣa for some time there appeared a great *Mlecchādhinātha* in the person of Śālastambha. In succession to him there were chiefs 'altogether twice ten in number,' who were well known as Vigrahastambha and the rest. As the last of them, Tyāgasiṁha went to heaven without leaving any heir, his subjects chose Brahmapāla, the father of Ratnapāla.[4] Now on palaeographic grounds the late Dr. Hoernle referred the inscription to *c.* 1010-1050 A. D. As this inscription was dated in the 26th year of Ratnapāla, it would be probably reasonable to refer Brahmapāla to about 1000 A. D. Now Śālastambha was the 21st ruler, counting upwards from Brahmapāla (1000 A. D.). Calculating back from his date and assigning a minimum of 16 years for each king, we can reasonably assign Śālastambha to the middle of the 7th century A. D. In that case it would appear that Śālastambha probably overthrew the line of Puṣyavarman soon after the reign of Bhāskaravarman, who, as we have seen, ruled at least up to 648 A. D. The question whether Śālastambha established a separate line or whether he belonged to a

[1] *JASB*, 1840, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 763 ff.; *NKGWG*, 1905, pp. 465 ff..; *JBORS*, Vol. III, pp. 508 ff.

[2] *IHQ*, December 1927, pp. 838, 841 and 844.

[3] *JASB*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, pp. 285 ff.

JASB, 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 106 ff.

collateral branch of Puṣyavarman's family cannot be easily decided. The fact that Śālastambha is called a *Mlecchādhinātha* while Bhāskaravarman is referred to by Yuan Chwang as belonging to the Brahman caste, is not conclusive.[1] For, as we have seen, the latter in his Nidhanpur inscription traces his descent to Bhagadatta, who is described in the *Mahābhārata* as '*Prāgjyotiṣādhipaḥ śūro mlecchānām adhipo balī.*' If there is any historical fact in the description of the Great Epic, then it is reasonable to regard Bhagadatta as a prince of the non-Aryan Tibeto-Chinese races referred to as Cīnas and Kirātas in ancient Indian Literature. As early as the time of the battle scenes of the Great Epic the leaders of these tribes had come into contact with Aryan culture. By the middle of the 7th century the process of Aryanisation of the land beyond Karatoya had advanced to such an extent as to delude a foreigner into the belief that its rulers were themselves Brahmans. From the fact that the Chinese pilgrim says that a thousand generations elapsed between Bhāskaravarman and the founder of his dynasty, it would appear that there was a general belief that the dynasty was reigning in Kāmarupa in unbroken succession from the time of Bhagadatta. But as we have seen, the officer in charge of the royal grant discovered at Nidhanpur could not trace the descent of his master beyond Puṣyavarman, leaving a gap of 3,000 years between him and Vajradatta. It appears that the lines of Puṣyavarman and that of Śālastambha were closely related, inasmuch as both were of Mongolian origin. Though there is sufficient looseness in the expressions of the Tejpur plates of Vanamāla and the Nowgong plates of Balavarman to suggest the descent of Śālastambha from Bhagadatta,[2] yet it would probably be safer to regard the two dynasties as separate Mongoloid groups who each accepted Aryan culture and sought to establish their blue blood by claiming descent from that great

[1] *BR*, Vol. II, p. 196. See also *supra*, pp. 5-6, fn. 5.
[2] *JASB*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, p. 119.

Epic hero. Very few historical facts are known of the reign of these princes. From the fact that in the Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla Vigrahastambha is mentioned as the next ruler after Sālastambha, Hoernle supposed that *Stambha* was the distinguishing name of this line of rulers. But it should be observed that *Stambha* is not a portion of the names of the other successors of Sālastambha mentioned above. Of these successors, *Śrī*-Hariṣa, the last prince in the line, according to the Tejpur plate of Vanamāla, is probably the same as Harṣavarman of the stray plate of Harjara.[1] *Śrī*-Hariṣa has been identified by Kielhorn with the *Gauḍ- Oḍrādi-Kaliṅga-Kosalapati-Śrī-Harṣadeva* of the Paśupati inscription (153+595=748 A. D. ?) of the Nepal Licchavi king Jayadeva Paracakrakāma.[2] This Harṣadeva's daughter Rājyamatī, who was married to the Nepal king, is referred to in the same inscription as *Bhagadatta-rājakulajā*.

The line of Sālastambha appears to have been followed in Kāmarūpa by the dynasty of Prālambha. The Tejpur inscription of Vanamāla mentions Prālambha of the line of Bhagadatta, after the group of kings ' which began with Sālastambha and ended with Śrī-Hariṣa.' In the Nowgong plates of Balavarman, though Prālambha is omitted, the latter's son Harjara occupies the same position, *i.e.*, he is mentioned after the descendants of Sālastambha. In the Bargaon Grant of Ratnapāla, however, as I have elsewhere pointed out, the whole group of successors of Sālastambha up to Tyāgasiṁha is jointly mentioned as numbering 20. Hoernle had already demonstrated that it was not possible to identify Srī-Hariṣa with Tyāgasiṁha, and that they must be accepted as the last kings of two distinct groups of princes.[3] But the relationship between these two groups, *viz.*, Sālastambha—*Śrī*-Hariṣa (Harṣa ?) and

[1] *IHQ*, December, 1927, p. 841, fn. 1.

[2] *IA*, 1880, Vol. IX, p. 179, line *15*; *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 384-85. See also *Dynastic History of Nepal*, *supra*, p. 192.

[3] *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 108 ff.

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Prālambha—Tyāgasiṁha is again uncertain. Gait in his *History of Assam* follows Hoernle in treating the line of Prālambha as distinct from that of Śālastambha.[1] But recently an Indian scholar has tried to show that they belonged to the same family. His arguments are as follows: [2] (1) Nowhere do the copper-plates distinctly say that Prālambha belongs to a new line. (2) The grants of Ratnapāla, evidently show that all the 21 kings, starting from Śālastambha, belong to his line. (Hoernle's translation of vs. 9-10.) (3) In Balavarman's Nowgong grant verses 9-10 clearly show that Harjara (Prālambha's son) belonged to the *vaṁśa* of Śālastambha; (4) In Vanamāla's grant Prālambha's list of predecessors starts with Śālastambha and ends with *Śrī*-Hariṣa, who was probably his brother, as can be inferred from verse 9. In the present state of our knowledge of some of the inscriptions, which this scholar himself admits are 'full of mistakes,' it would be perhaps wise to defer our judgment on the point till they are re-edited by some competent scholar; but I should point out that a claim to Bhagadatta lineage should no more be treated as a serious evidence of kinship in Assam than a claim to lunar or solar origin in other parts of India.

For Prālambha, the first king of this group, we have no records. But in the Tejpur plates of his grandson Vanamāla he is called *Prāgjyotiṣeśa*, and the name of his queen (*rājñī*) is given as Jīvadā.[3] If Major Jenkins' version of the inscription can be relied upon, then it also refers to his hostility to the Śālastambha—Hariṣa group of princes. From the fact, however, that the Nowgong grant of Balavarman omits him from the dynastic table it would seem that he was not a prince, who enjoyed any great degree of power. As his son's inscription is dated in 829 A.D., he can reasonably be referred to the beginning

1. Second Ed., 1926, pp. 30-31.
2. Prof. Padmanath Bhattacharyya in *IHQ*, December, 1927, pp. 844-45.
3. *JASB*, 1840, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 766 ff.

of the 9th century. The same inscription of Vanamāla mentions *nṛpenda Śrī*-Harjara and his *Agramahiṣī Mahādevī Tārā*. Harjara was the son and successor of Prālambha, and was probably the first ruler of this group to wield any considerable degree of power. This is confirmed by the fact that in the Nowgong copper-plate Balavarman omits Prālambha and traces his descent from Harjara. Of the reign of this prince we have the following inscriptions :—

(1) *Tezpur Rock Inscription.*—A short inscription of 9 lines in ungrammatical Sanskrit incised on a big boulder of granite, lying on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra, about one mile below Tezpur (Darrang district). The rock, which from a distance resembles the head of an elephant, is locally known as Dhenkanal. Above the first line, near the middle, there is the figure of a *Triśūla* or trident. Immediately below the 9th line is given the date G.E. 510, corresponding roughly to A.D. 829. The characters agree with the date and belong to the northern class of alphabets of about the 9th century A.D. The inscription refers itself to the *Vardhamāna vijayarājya* of *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Paramamāheśvara Śrī*-Harjjaravarmmadeva living in Harūppeśvara-pura. The inscription records the settlement of a dispute between the local *Kaivarta-nau-k(u)kṣi-sva-bhakṣa-sādhanī,*[1] the *naurajjaka*[2] and the *Nākkajosī*[3] for tolls. The settlement was made with the arbitration of the local military commanders and *pañcakula* Brahmans. It was decided that the vessels, which henceforth failed to steer by the mid-stream were to pay a fine of five *buṭṭikas.*[4] The dispute

[1] Literally 'eater of property in the interior of boats,' *i.e.*, 'collector of taxes on merchandise carried on the keel of boats' belonging to the Kaivarta caste.

[2] Towers ; *naurajja* taken in the sense of towing rope ; here probably means a class of officers who were in charge of piloting the laden boats by means of rope attachments, etc., to the local harbour.

[3] Local Zamindars (?).

[4] 100 cowries, Bengali 5 burhis = 100 cowries.

occurred in the administration (*adhikāradine*) of *Mahāsāmanta Senādhyakṣa* Sucitta.[1]

(2) *A stray plate.*—Probably the middle one; very much obliterated. It contains the names of Kumāra, Vajradeva and Harṣavarman, belonging to the Śālastambha group of princes, and refers to an order by *Yuvarāja* Vanamāla, the son of Harjara.[2]

It is clear from these inscriptions that king Harjara was a worshipper of Śiva. After the shadowy figure of his father, his imperial titles come as a confirmation of our suggestion that he was the first sovereign ruler of this group. Hārūppeśvara-pura, the place of residence of Harjara, was probably also his capital.[3] The reference to the order of *Yuvarāja* Vanamāla in his father's inscription may indicate that during the latter part of Harjara's reign his son was associated in the government of the kingdom. This finds a parallel in the history of the Gāhaḍavālas,[4] where king Vijayacandra (*c.* 1155-70 A. D.) was associated with his son the *Yuvarāja* Jayaccandra (*c.* 1170-93 A. D.) Harjara was succeeded by his son Vanamāla. In his inscription he claims to belong to the line (*anvaya*) of the lords of Prāgjyotiṣa. He is further described as a moon *in the* sky of *Kṣiti-tanaya-nṛpati-vaṁsa*, and is said to have made gifts of gold, elephants, horses, lands, wives (brides ?), silver, and jewels. The river *Lauhitya-Sindhu*, which was as a friend to him, continually washed the sides of Mt. *Kāmakūṭa*, the tops of which were inhabited by *Kāmeśvara* (Śiva) and *Mahāgaurī*, and which apparently lay within his dominions.

[1] The inscription was first brought to public notice by Gait in the 8th paragraph of his *Report on the Progress of Historical Progress in Assam*, 1897. It was then mentioned by Sir J. Marshall in *ASI*, 1902-03, p. 229. Kielhorn read the first 3 lines in *NKGWG*, 1905, pp. 465-71; fully edited by H. P. Śāstrī in *JBORS*, Vol. III, pp. 508-14. Dr. Barnett suggests : *Sādhanī* = controller ? *Rajjaka* in meaning of clerks or the like (*cf. rajjaka*) ?

[2] Noticed by Prof. Padmanath Bhattacharyya in the *IHQ*, December, 1927, pp. 838, 841 and 844. Not yet edited.

[3] Kielhorn read the name of the city as *H(a)ppeśvara-pura*, and suggested as a possible reading *Hullappeśvara*.

[4] *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 118 ; *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 7, etc.

Of Vanamāla's reign we have only one inscription, the *Tezpur plates,* which were dug up near the station of that town in the Darrang district. It consists of three plates which are connected by a large copper ring. The seal contains within a raised rim a figure of Gaṇeśa. Below this figure runs the legend: *Svasti Śrīmān Prāgjyōtiṣādhipānvayō Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Vanamālavarma-deva.* The inscription opens with an invocation to *Lauhitya-Sindhu* (Brahmaputra) and *Pinākapāṇi* (Śiva). Then begins the genealogy of the donor. From Ādivarāha and the Earth was born Naraka. The latter has two sons, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta. The former got the lordship of Prāgjyotiṣa after the death of his father at the hands of Kṛṣṇa, and his posterity has ruled there ever since. In his line was born *Kṣitipāla-mauli-māṇikya kṣata-vairi-vīra* Prālambha, the lord of Prāgjyotiṣa. He was hostile to the princes *Śālastambha-pramukhaiḥ Śrī-Hariṣāntair mahīpālaiḥ,* who preceded him and were enemies of his ancestors. Prālambha's son through the queen Jivadā was Śrī-Harjara. The latter begot king Vanamāla by his *Agramahiṣī Mahādevī* Tārā. This king granted to Indoka, a Yajurvedī Brahman, the village Abhīśūravāṭaka, with its eight boundaries, situated on the west of Trisrotā (Tistā) in *Saṁvat* 19 (*Regnal*).[1]

From his seal and invocation to Śiva it appears that like his father he was also a worshipper of Śiva; but it is curious that he had dropped his father's title of *Paramamāheśvara.*[2] He reigned at least for 19 years, and if his *praśastikāra* is to be trusted, was master of the territories 'as far as the *Vanamālā* of the sea shore' and 'his footstool was borne by crowns of numer-

[1] The inscription with a translation by Paṇḍit Saradaprasad Chakravarti was communicated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and published in its Journal in 1840, Vol. IX, pp. 766 ff. The inscription requires re-edition. The translator takes *Trisrotā* to mean 'the Gaṅgā river' evidently a mistake, *ibid*, p. 775. See *JASB*, 1875, Vol. XLIV, p. 283.

[2] In the Nowgong grant of Balavarman, Vanamāla is referred to as devoted to the faith of Bhava (Śiva), *JASB*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, pp. 287 ff.; but he is also called *Vanamāla*, an epithet of Viṣṇu, indicating devotion to that god.

ous *rājās*.' It is not known how long he ruled; but a verse in the Nowgong inscription of Balavarman refers to him as one 'who for a long time was king in the land.'[1] Hoernle referred his Tezpur grant on palaeographic grounds to about 925 A.D.[2] According to the Nowgong copper-plate grant of Balavarman, Vanamāla was succeeded by Jayamāla. According to Hoernle's reading, Jayamāla again was succeeded by his son Vīrabāhu, who married Ambā; but Kielhorn has rejected this reading. He takes Vīrabāhu to be another name of Jayamāla, both referring to the same person.[3] Jayamāla-Vīrabāhū is said to have contracted a disease while distinguishing himself in war, and after abdicating in favour of his son and having bravely endured the rite of religious suicide through starvation 'became absorbed in the light of the divine being.' This son, named Balavarman, was born to him, by his queen Ambā.

The *Nowgong grant* is the only known inscription of the reign of Balavarman. It consists of three copper-plates, and is said to have been found by a cultivator of Sūtargāo, a village in Mauza Khātoālgao, on the right bank of the Kalang, opposite Puranigudam, in the Nowgong district in Assam. The ring, seal, and the general appearance of the inscriptions are very similar to those of Gauhati plates of Indrapālavarman. The heart-shaped seal contains in relief the figure of an elephant. Below this runs the legend: *Svasti Śrī-Śrī-Prāgjyotiṣādhipānvayō Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Balavarmadevaḥ*. After invocation of Rudra and Lauhitya, the inscription as usual refers to the birth of Naraka from Upendra and Vasumatī. Naraka conquered Kāmarūpa and founded the city of Prāgjyotiṣa. He had two sons, *viz.*, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta. After the reign of their descendants there ruled Śālastambha and his descendants,

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid*, p. 120. But Kielhorn referred the 5 kings from Prālambha to Balavarman to the period 800-925 A.D.; see *NKGWG*, 1905, p. 470.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 470; *JBORS*, Vol. III, p. 509; *JASB*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, p. 287 ff. In *HA*, no reference is made to Kielhorn's reading. The author repeats Hoernle's

Pālaka, Vijaya, (?), and others. Then arose the great king Harjara, his son Vanamāla, his son Jayamāla-Vīrabāhu, who had through his queen Ambā, the *Paramesvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī*-Balavarmadeva. The donee was the Yajurvedī Brahman Devadhara. The gift consisted of a piece of land known as Hēmsivā in the Dijjinnā-*Viṣaya* in the *Dakṣiṇakula* (of the Brahmaputra ?), producing 4,000 (measures) of rice (*dhānya-catussahasrōtpattimatī*). There appears to have been a date at the end of the inscription, but it is illegible. An interesting feature of the plate appears to be the numerous plagiarised passages from Kālidāsa's well known *Raghuvaṁśa*. The grant was given from the 'ancestral camp' of Hāruppeśvara. Palaeographically the inscription has been referred to by Hoernle to a period not later than 975 A.D.[1] Kielhorn however placed Balavarman in about the first quarter of the 10th century A.D. It is difficult to say how long this dynasty lasted, or whether there were any more princes after Balavarman and before Tyāgasiṁha who, according to the Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla, immediately preceded Brahmapāla.[2] We have already seen that, according to Hoernle's calculations, based on the palaeographic evidence of the grants of Ratnapāla, Brahmapāla is to be placed in the neighbourhood of 1000 A.D.[3] If Tyāgasiṁha, as seems not improbable, belonged to the line of Prālambha, then this dynasty appears to have reigned in Kāmarūpa from *c.* 800 to 1000 A.D. During this period Kāmarūpa sovereigns seem to have come into contact with the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. In the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla we are told that Jayapāla, at the command of his cousin, king Devapāla,

[1] The inscription was first read and discussed in a local vernacular weekly named *Āsām* by Paṇḍit Dhīreśvara Kaviratna of Kāmarūpa. Gait sent the plates to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Hoernle edited them in its *Journal*, Vol. LXVI, 1897, pp. 121, 285-97; see also Vol. LXVII, 1898, pp. 103 ff.

[2] *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 99 ff.

[3] For a different view of the dates of the Pāla grants of Assam, see *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 290.

undertook various expeditions 'for the conquest of the quarters.' The king of Prāgjyotiṣa 'enjoyed peace at last surrounded by friends, only when he bore on his exalted head the command (of Jayapāla) that set at rest all talk of warfare.'[1] As Devapāla is usually referred to the period *c.* 815-54, it was probably Harjara or his son Vanamāla[2] who was the contemporary of Jayapāla. The Pālas appear to have grown very powerful under Dharmapāla and Devapāla. It is therefore not at all unlikely that Pāla arms really crossed the Karatoya and forced the princes of the Brahmaputra valley to acknowledge their hegemony.

As the names of the next group of princes who ruled in the Assam valley uniformly end in *pāla*, it is convenient to designate them as the Pālas of Kāmarūpa. The transition of the royal power from Prālambha's successors to this new group is mentioned in the Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla. We are told that when Tyāgasiṁha the twenty-first sovereign of Kāmarūpa, counting from Śālastambha, departed from this world without leaving any of his race to succeed him, "his subjects thinking it well that a *Bhauma* (*i.e.* one of Naraka's race) should be appointed as their lord, chose Brahmapāla, a kinsman of the deceased ruler, on account of his fitness to undertake the government of the country." Thus, if the *praśastikāra* is to be believed, the new king was elected by his subjects, an incident which finds a parallel in the history of the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar.[3] Brahmapāla, the founder of this new group of princes, apparently belonged to a collateral line of the same family as that of his predecessor,

[1] *IA*, 1886, Vol. XV, p. 305, verse 6; also *ibid*, p. 308; *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 66, footnote. For a different interpretation of the verse see Hultzsch in *IA*, 1886, Vol. XV, p. 308, footnote 24.

[2] *JASB*, 1921, Vol. XVII (N. S.), pp. 1-6. See also *infra*, *Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar*.

[3] *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, p. 106 ff.; verse 10. See also Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla; *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 243.

both tracing their descent from Narak's line (*anvaya*). Both the dynasties certainly belonged to non-Aryan stock, as the sound of the name Harjara is distinctly non-Hindu.[1] But the names of his immediate successor and those of the Pālas show that they were speedily assimilated into the Hindu fold. They were right, however, in tracing their descent from Bhagadatta, the lord of the *Mleccha* Cīnas and Kirātas, inasmuch as they appear to have belonged to that great hive of Mongolian peoples which lies in the north, and east, of the Indian sub-continent. Both peaceful penetration and armed invasions by this stock, though never seriously affecting the general currents of Indian life, were nevertheless regular features in the history of this frontier. The invasion of the Ahoms, an offshoot of the Shan race in the 13th century, and of the Burmese in the 19th century, are only later episodes in this development. The Mongoloid physiognomy of the peoples of Assam and some of the districts of Northern and Eastern Bengal clearly shows the substantial accuracy of this conclusion.[2]

Of Brahmapāla's reign no records survive. He was succeeded by his son Ratnapāla who was begotten by his queen Kuladevī. In the inscriptions of his son, Brahmapāla is only called *Mahārājādhirāja*, while Ratnapāla has the full imperial titles: *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja*.[3] It is likely that Ratnapāla was the first vigorous ruler of his line who had imperial pretensions. This is confirmed by the fact that in his Bargaon grant Ratnapāla claims to have come into hostile contact with the *Gurjarādhipa*, the *Gauḍendra*, the *Keraleśa*, the *Bāhikas*, the *Tāikas*, and the *Dākṣiṇātya-kṣōṇipati*. The *praśastikāra* thus refers to these incidents in his description of the king's capital:—

[1] *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, p. 105.

[2] H. H. Risley, *Peoples of India*, pp. 9-10, 40-43, etc. Consult also *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, by the same author.

[3] In this connection note that Indrapāla in his Gauhati grant calls his grandfather Ratnapāla, his predecessor, *P. Pb. M.*, see *JASB*, 1897, p. 126.

Crowded with a dense forest, as it were, of arms of his brave soldiers, who were hankering after the plunder of the camps of all his enemies, yet was fit to be inhabited by wealthy people (merchants)......the disk of the sun was hidden (from view) by the thousand of its plastered turrets, ...adorned by learned men, religious preceptors and poets, it resembled the *parameśvara-ādhiṣṭhānam* (Kailāśa)..,...its boundaries were encompassed by a rampart furnished with a fence strong like that used for the game-birds of the Śakas, fit to cause chagrin to the *king of Gurjara*, to give fever to the heads of the untameable elephants of the *chief of Gauḍa*, to act like bitumen in the earth to the *lord of Kerala*, to strike awe into the *Bāhikas and Tāikas*, to cause pulmonary consumption to the *master of the Deccan* country.........It is rendered beautiful by the Lauhitya. Such is the town in which the *lord of Prāgjyotiṣa* took up his residence, and which he called by the appropriate name of the *Impregnable one* (*Prāgjyotiśeṣa-Durjayākhyapuram adhyuvāsa*).[1]

It is not unlikely that much of the above is merely the vapourings of the poet's brain. But, as is usual in such cases, there may have been in it some grains of facts of contemporary incidents which conveniently gave rise to such pretensions. Now taking for granted that Hoernle was correct in assuming the date of Ratnapāla to be *c.* 1010-1050 A. D.,[2] the two kings from the peninsular portion of India who invaded Northern India about this time were the Coḷa king Rājendra I (*c.* 1013-44 A.D.)[3] and the Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI (*c.* 1076-1126 A. D.). They might conveniently be described

[1] *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 115-118.

[2] *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 102, 105, etc.

[3] The Tirumalai inscription dated in the 13th year of his reign refers to his northern conquests. He ascended the throne in *c.* 1013 A. D. and as his inscription dated in his 9th year does not contain any reference to these victories I assume that the expedition probably occurred between his 9th and 12th regnal years (*c.* 1021-25 A. D.). For the Tirumalai inscription see *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 232 ff.

as *Keraleśa* and *Dākṣiṇātya-kṣoṇipati*. It is interesting to note that the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* actually refers to an invasion of Kāmarūpa by Vikramāditya during the reign of his father Someśvara I (*c.* 1040-1069).[1] By *Bāhikas* and *Tāikas* (Tājikas?) the author probably meant the Turkish invaders who under their leaders Maḥmūd of Ghazni and his son Mas'ūd harried a considerable portion of Northern India during the period 1000 to 1037 A. D., and are reported to have come as far east as Benares. The *Gurjarādhipa* referred to here may have been Rājyapāla (*c.* 1018-19), or even Trilocanapāla (*c.* 1019-27), the contemporaries of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The presence of the Gurjaras in Magadha and North Bengal probably made them familiar to the Kāmarūpa poets. As to the *Gauḍendra,* he certainly belonged to the dynasty of the Pālas, who, as we have seen, were the neighbours of the princes of the Brahmaputra valley from the 9th century A. D. onwards.[2]

This capital of the king, which baffled and struck terror into so many princes, was called *Śrī*-Durjayā. It would perhaps be wrong to accept this name as an *alias* for Prāgjyotiṣapura, as Hoernle has done from the fact, that the Pālas refer to themselves in their inscriptions as 'lords of Prāgjyotiṣa.'[3] For the line of Prālambha, who ruled from Hārūppeśvara, also described themselves as *Prāgjyotiṣādhipas*. It therefore appears that the epithet had by this time become a conventional title of all rulers of the Brahmaputra valley as *Trikaliṅgādhipati* became during this period amongst the rulers of Orissa and the Central Provinces. This does not of course preclude the possibility of the identity of all the three cities; but at present there are no facts to warrant this conclusion. It is not unlikely however that these capitals may have been situated in the neighbourhood of the

[1] Ed. by Bühler, Bombay, 1875, III, 74.

[2] Hoernle suggested that the rulers intended were perhaps: the Western Cālukya Jayasiṁha III or Someśvara I, the Coḷa Rājarāja, and the Pāla king Mahīpāla or Nayapāla. *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, p. 105.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 103.

modern town of Gauhati, not far from which stands the sacred temple of Kāmākhyā, undoubtedly an ancient site.

For the reign of Ratnapāla the following two inscriptions have so far been found ;—

(1) *Bargaon Grant.*—The findspot of the inscription is unknown, but it was found in the possession of a cultivator of the Mauza Bargāon, in the Tejpur subdivision of Darrang district. It is written on three plates in Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse. The composition is very laboured and the mechanical execution very slovenly and inaccurate. A curiosity of the inscription is the existence of plagiarisms, or at least imitations from Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita.* The seal is exactly like that of the Gauhati grant of Indrapāla and bears the legend. *Prāgjyotiṣādhipati-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Ratnapāla-varma-devaḥ.* On palaeographic grounds Hoernle placed it in the earlier half of the 11th century A. D. The inscription opens with two verses in praise of Śīva's *Tāṇḍava* dance, Śaṅkarī, and Lauhitya-Sindhu. Then is given the usual genealogy from Naraka, born to Hari, in the form of a boar, and Dharā. His two sons were Bhagadatta and Vajradatta. After their descendants had ruled for a long time there appeared the *Mlecchādhinātha* Śālastambha. Twenty chiefs, Vigrahastambha, and the rest, succeeded him. When the last amongst them, Tyāgasiṁha, died without issue, the subjects elected his relative Brahmapāla of Bhauma's race. His queen was Kuladevī. Their son Ratnapāla ascended the throne of the *Narakānvayas.* The object of the grant is to record that *P.Pb.M.-Śrī*-Ratnapāla-varma-deva gave the village (*pāṭaka*) of Vāmadeva, situated in the Trayodaśa-grāma-*Viṣaya* in the Uttarakula (of the Brahmaputra ?), producing 2,000 (measures of) rice, to the Vājasaneyaka Brahman Vīradatta on the Viṣṇupadī Saṁkrānti in the 25th year of his reign.[1]

(2) *Sualkuci Grant.*—Found in the village of Sualkuci in the Gauhati subdivision of Kamrup district. It originally consisted

[1] Edited by Hoernle in *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 99 ff.

of 3 plates, but the first is missing. The contents of the inscriptions, which is in a very bad state of preservation, appear to be almost identical with the Bargaon grant, the only difference being in the statements referring to the land and the donee. The workmanship is still more slovenly and inaccurate than in the other grant. Palaeographically they are exactly similar. The object of the grant is to record the gift of some land to the Vājasaneyaka Brāhmaṇa Kāmadeva by the king in the 26th year of his reign.[1]

From the invocation of his inscriptions it appears that Ratnapāla was a worshipper of Śiva. The description of his capital, that in it 'eating of flesh is only found in wild beasts'[2] affords an interesting insight into the form of Śaivism professed by him. Another interesting fact about his faith is the title 'illustrious *Varāha*' applied to him in the Gauhati plates of Indrapāla.[3] This seems to indicate that he equally divided his devotion to the two gods. It is not known how far his reign extended beyond the 26th year recorded in his Sualkuci inscription, but scholars are generally agreed that he had a long reign. It appears from the Gauhati plates that Ratnapāla had a son named Purandarapāla, who married Durlabhā and had a son named Indrapāla, through her. Purandarapāla is described as a good poet, a great huntsman, and a successful warrior. It appears however that he did not rule, and perhaps died before his father. Though the mutilation of verse 16 of the inscription makes the point a little doubtful, the fact that Indrapāla omits his father's name and describes himself as 'meditating on the feet' of Ratnapāla, his grandfather in that portion of the inscription which usually contains the donor's father's name, should be taken as conclusive.

So far the following two inscriptions have been found for the reign of Indrapāla :

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 120-25.
[2] *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, p. 117.
[3] *Śrī-Varāha*, *ibid*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, p. 118.

(1) *Gauhati Plates.*—Discovered in a field in course of cultivation in the village of Bar Panara, Mauza Pati, Darrang district. The grant consists of three plates, held together by a massive pear-shaped seal, bearing on it the figure of an elephant. Below this figure is the legend : *Svasti Prāgjyotiṣādhipati Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Indrapāla-varma devaḥ.* The execution is very slovenly and inaccurate. According to Hoernle, palaeographically, it has close similarity to the Badal pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla.[1] Though it is not dated, the same scholar refers it 'with some probability' to the middle of the 11th century A.D. It begins with an invocation to Śambhu and the Lauhitya, then repeats the usual genealogy from Naraka, born of Mahāvarāha and Dharaṇī, to Vajradatta. Then after an undefined interval flourished Brahmapāla in the latter's family. His son was Ratnapāla ; his son Purandarapāla married Durlabhā ; his son was *P.-Pb.-M.-Śrīmad-Indrapāla-varma-deva.* The inscription records a grant by the king of some land bearing 4,000 (measures of) rice to the Yajurvedī Brahman Devapāla, and refers to his capital, full of elephants, horses, and jewels, and impregnable to the attacks of any royal dynasty, named *Śrī*-Durjayā-*nagarī*. Dated in the 8th year of his reign.[2]

(2). *A Second Copper-plate Grant.*—Reported to be in fair condition, except the portion dealing with the boundary of the land granted. It does not supply any important historical fact in addition to what we know from (1).[3]

That the dynasty of the Pālas did not end with Indrapāla, appears to be probable from the copper-plate grant of Dharmapāla.[4] This king refers in his inscription to his father Harṣamāla

[1] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 160.

[2] Edited by Hoernle, *JASB*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, pp. 113-32.

[3] To my knowledge, not yet edited. Referred to in *IHQ*, December 1927, p. 839.

[4] An article on this inscription was published in *Raṅgpur-Sāhitya-Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1312 B.S., No. 9. Also referred to in *Prācīna-Kāmarūpa-Rājāvalī*, in *Baṅgīya-Sāhitya Pariṣat-Patrikā*, 1320 B S., No. 3, p. 189. *IHQ*, 1927, December, pp. 839 and 842.

?(pāla ?) and grandfather Gopāla. In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to decide whether Gopāla, if he really belonged to the line of Brahmapāla, was an immediate successor of Indrapāla. Another prince apparently of this family was the *Kāmarūpa-nṛpati* Jayapāladeva, referred to by the recently discovered Salimpur stone inscription of the Brahman Prahāsa. This inscription is incised on a slab of blackstone and was found in the Mauza Salimpur, Police Station Kethal, of the Bogra District in Bengal. The object is to record the erection of a temple wherein the above-mentioned Brahman set up an image of Amara-nātha. As in the Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva,[1] we have here a record not of kings and ministers but the history of a Brahman family rendered illustrious by the birth of great scholars. Prahāsa traces his descent to a family which originally lived in Tarkāri within Śrāvasti and then in Bālagrāma in Varendrī. From Prahāsa upwards to Paśupati the *praśasti* mentions seven generations. In verse 22 of this inscription we are told that Prahāsa, 'though excessively solicited, did not by any means accept 900 gold coins (*hemnām Śatāni nava nīrbharam...*) and a grant of land (*Śāsana*) yielding an income of a thousand (measures of rice) from Jayapāladeva, king of Kāmarūpa, when the latter was making a *Tulāpuruṣa* gift.[2] As the characters of the inscription are a variety of Northern alphabet which was used especially in Bengal and Magadha in the 11th century, and show close resemblance to the letters of the inscription of the Pāla king Nayapāla (c. 1040-55 A.D.), it is impossible to identify him with Jayapāla, the cousin of Devapāla (c. 815-50 A.D.)[3] In view of the proximity of the findspot of this inscription to the frontier of Kāmarūpa and the similarity of its characters to

[1] *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 203-07.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 283-95.

[3] See Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, *IA*, 1886, Vol. XV, pp. 304-10 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 55-69. On the relationship of Devapāla and Jayapāla, see *infra*, *Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar*.

those used in the inscriptions of the Pālas of Kāmarūpa it will perhaps be reasonable to accept this prince as belonging to that line. But his position in the order of kings is less certain. Mr. Basak, the editor of the inscription, has proposed to place him somewhere after Indrapāla ; but it is not certain whether he should come after or before the Gopāla-Dharmapāla group. It was probably during the reign of these later Pāla rulers that the Varmans of Eastern Bengal invaded the Brahmaputra valley. The Belava grant of Bhojavarman informs us that his grandfather Jātavarman invaded Kāmarūpa. If the identification of Viraśrī, the queen of this ruler, with a daughter of the Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇa (*c.* 1041-70 A.D.) be accepted, Jātavarman was a contemporary of Vigrahapāla III of Bengal (*c.* 1055-81 A.D.).[1]

For the period that follows, the records of Kāmarūpa supply us with no connected account. But the possibility that a line of kings still ruled in the Valley is revealed by the *Kamauli grant* of Vaidyadeva.[2] This inscription, written on three copper-plates, is supposed to have been dug out in the course of cultivation, in the village of Kamauli, near the confluence of the Barna and the Ganges at Benares. The seal contains the figure of Gaṇeśa, and is formed like a spoon. The characters resemble those of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (*c.* 1097-1159 A.D.).[3] It was issued by *Paramamāheśvaraḥ-Paramavaiṣṇavo Mahārājādhirājaḥ Parameśvaraḥ Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Śrīmān* Vaidyadeva in year 4 (of his reign) from the Haṁsākoñcī-*Samavāsita-Śrīmaja-jaya-Skandhāvāra.* It records the grant of two villages named Śāntipāṭaka and Mandarā with a revenue of 400 (*catuḥśatikam*) and situated in the *Viṣaya* of Bāḍā, in the *Maṇḍala* of Kāmarūpa and the *Bhukti* of *Prāgjyotiṣa*. The donee is the Brahman Śrīdhara, son of

[1] *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 37 ff. For details see *infra, Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar.*
[2] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 347-58; *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 127-46.
[3] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 305-15; *JASB*, 1921, p. 16.

Yudhiṣṭhira and Pālī his wife, and grandson of Bharata; he was born in the *gotra* of Viśvāmitra, in the village of Bhāva in Varendrī. Incidentally the inscription refers to the ancestors of the donor, who served as ministers of the Pāla kings of Bengal. He himself was the favourite minister of king Kumārapāla. The following chart illustrates the relationship[1]:—

Vigrahapāla (*c.* 1055-81 A.D.).........Yogadeva.
| |
Rāmapāla (*c.* 1084-1126 A.D.) ... Bodhideva
| | = Pratāpadevī.
Kumārapāla (*c.* 1126-30 A.D.).........Vaidyadeva.

We are further told that the *Gauḍeśvara* Kumārapāla, having heard of the disaffection (*vikṛtiṁ*) of Tiṅgyadeva, who had been formerly treated with high honour, appointed Vaidyadeva, as a ruler (*nareśvaratve*) in his place. The latter thereupon marched with his younger brother Budhadeva against that ruler (*Avanipati*), and after defeating and killing him occupied his throne. Now who was this Tiṅgyadeva[2]? In the inscription itself he is described as a prince who ruled in the east (*Hari-harid-bhūvi*) of the Pāla dominions. As the land granted was situated in Kāmarūpa-*Maṇḍala* and Prāgjyotiṣa-*Bhukti*, and as the family of the donee belonged to Varendrī, *i.e.*, North Bengal, which bordered on Kāmarūpa, it is likely that he was a ruler of at least a portion of the Brahmaputra valley, which adjoined the kingdom of the Pālas on the west. It is also probable that he acknowledged the hegemony of his Western neighbours. Sir E. Gait has suggested that Vaidyadeva conquered Kāmarūpa and nominally remained a feudatory of the Pālas.[3] It has recently been suggested that the Pālas conquered only a portion of the great

[1] For the dates, which are not given in the inscription, see *infra, Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar.*, pp. 281-82.

[2] Through a mistake the name is given as Tishyadeva, in *HA*, p. 35 The regnal year of Vaidyadeva is also wrongly given as '9th year.' Verse 16 makes it clear that Tiṅgya was killed; see *EI*, Vol. II, p. 356.

[3] *HA*, p. 35.

kingdom of Kāmarūpa bordering on Gauḍa, wherein Tiṅgya was placed as a vassal ; on his rebellion, Vaidyadeva defeated him, and was appointed a feudatory ruler in his place.[1] If this suggestion is accepted, it is likely that Tiṅgyadeva was placed in Kāmarūpa by Rāmapāla, who is credited with its conquest in the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī.[2] In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to decide what was the exact position of Tiṅgyadeva in relation to the two dynasties of the Pālas ruling in Bengal and Assam or what were the boundaries of his dominions. He certainly appears to have been a ruler of at least a portion of the Brahmaputra valley, in which he was supplanted by Vaidyadeva in the first half of the 12th century A.D.[3] It is rot impossible that Vaidyadeva was succeeded in his dominions by his brother Budhadeva, who so ably assisted him in gaining his throne; but of this we have no evidence.

Another inscription of this period which refers to a king of Kāmarūpa is the Deopara stone inscription of Vijayasena.[4] Umāpatidhara, the composer of this *praśasti*, tells us that Vijayasena in the course of his victorious career 'defeated Nānya and Vīra, impetuously assailed the lord of Gauḍa, and put down the prince of Kāmarūpa.' Who was this 'prince of Kāmarūpa'? It has been shown elsewhere that Vijayasena was a contemporary of Madanapāla (*c.* 1130-50 A.D.), who is probably to be identified with the defeated Gauḍa monarch. It is also very likely that Vijayasena (*c.* 1097-1159 A.D.) established his dominions in North Bengal after overthrowing this Pāla king, about 1130 A.D.[5] This victory may have led Vijayasena into conflict with Vaidyadeva or one of his descendants. Vaidyadeva certainly

[1] *IHQ*, December, 1927, p. 842.
[2] *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 50 ; III, 47.
[3] Haṁsakoñci, the place from which Vaidyadeva issued his Kamauli Inscription, has not yet been identified.
[4] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 305-15.
[5] *JL*, 1927, pp. 9-12; *JASB*, 1921, pp. 1-15.

appears as a friend, if not a vassal, of Kumārapāla in his Kamauli grant. There is no inherent impossibility in the friendship between the two families continuing till the reign of Madanapāla. But of this there is no actual proof. A more likely suggestion is that this 'prince of Kāmarūpa' is one of the rulers mentioned in the *Assam Plates of Vallabhadeva.*[1] The latter inscription consists of five plates of copper, and was presented to the Bengal Asiatic Society by Mr. W. Wincler, Assistant Executive Engineer of Tezpur. "The characters of the inscriptions belong to a variety of the Northern alphabet which was used in the 12th century A.D......in most eastern parts of Northern India," closely resembling those of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena. It belongs to a prince named Vallabhadeva, for whom the following genealogy is given :—

In the *Candravaṁśa*
Bhāskara
|
Rāyārideva — Trailokyasimha
= Vasumatī ?
,, Udayakarṇa — Niḥśaṅkasiṁha.
| = Ahiavadevī
|
Vallabhadeva — Śrī-Vallabha.

The last prince in the *Śaka* year 1107 (1184 or 1185 A.D. as the year is taken as current or expired), at the command of his father and for the spiritual welfare of his mother, founded an almshouse (*bhaktaśālā, anna-sattra*) near a temple of the god Mahādeva to the east of Kīrtipur in the Hāpyachā-*Maṇḍala*, and endowed it with the revenues of certain villages and hamlets. The localities mentioned have not yet been identified. The lack of any imperial titles suggests that these princes were not very important. But the close similarity of the script of this

[1] First edited by Hultzsch in *ZDMG*, 1886, Band XL, pp. 42-47; then by Kielhorn in *EI*, 1898-99, Vol. V, pp. 181-88.

inscription and that of the Deopara inscription, as also its date points to the contemporaneity of Vijayasena and these rulers; and it is therefore not impossible that either Udayakarṇa or his father Rāyārideva may have been 'the prince of Kāmarūpa' who according to Umāpatidhara was defeated by his patron. It was again probably one of these princes, possibly Vallabhadeva, who was defeated by Vijayasena's grandson Lakṣmaṇasena.[1] A remark has recently been made, that, though discovered at Tezpur, 'this grant and the donor seem to have belonged to Eastern Bengal very close to Kāmarūpa.'[2] But this assertion is, to my knowledge, not yet supported by any proof, and so the exact area over which this line ruled must remain for the present uncertain.

If the identification proposed above be accepted, Vallabhadeva was probably contemporary with Muḥammad ibn Bakhtyār, when the latter after his conquest of Lakhaṇavatī undertook his disastrous expedition to 'Tibbat' through Kāmrūd (Kāmarūpa). *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, the almost contemporary history of the period, supplies the following interesting account of this expedition: After his conquest of North Bengal (*c.* 1198 A.D.), about the middle of the year 1205 A.D., Muḥammad formed the ambition of seizing the country of Turkistān and Tibet, the mountain tracts which lay to the east of Lakhaṇavatī. In those days three races of people, *viz.*, the Kūnch (or Kūch), the Mej (or Mech), and the Tihārū (mod. Tharu), lived in the different mountain parts that separated Tibet from Lakhaṇavatī. All of them had 'Turkish countenances,' and 'a different idiom too between the language of Hind and Turk (or "Tibbat").' One of the chiefs of these tribes, who had fallen into the hands of Muḥammad, and was known as 'Ali the Mej' after his adoption of the Muḥammadan faith, agreed to conduct Muḥammad

[1] See the Madhainagar grant of Lakṣmaṇasena, *JASB*, 1909, Vol. V (N.S.), pp. 467 ff.

[2] *IHQ*, December, 1927, p. 843.

ibn Bakht-yar into those hills and act as guide. Under his guidance Muhammad and a body of about 10,000 horse were conducted either from Lakhanavatī or from Dīw-kot (Damdamah, near Gangarampur, south of Dinajpur), the northern Musalman military outpost in these days, to Burdhan-koṭ (Vardhanakūṭī, north of Bogra, close to Govindganj in Long. 89°28′, Lat. 25°8′ 25″ on the Karatoya). 'A river of vast magnitude,' which our author calls Begmatī (*i.e.*, Vegamatī, which Blochmann identified with the Karatoya) lay in front of this place. For 10 days the Muslim army marched along the right bank of the river towards the mountains. Blochmann has pointed out that before 1784 the Karatoya was connected by branches with the Tistā (Trisrotā), which flowed west of the Karatoya and, joining the Atrai, fell into the main branch of the Ganges. Thus, it is likely that the ten days' march extended along the Karatoya and the Tistā, which latter of all the rivers of Bengal extends furthest into Tibet. There is little doubt that the Musalmans marched along the frontier of the territory of the Rājā of Kāmarūpa. Before the tenth day was over the Musalman army reached mountainous country and a bridge of hewn stone, consisting of upwards of twenty arches. It is difficult to say where this bridge was situated; but Blochmann has suggested that it was probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of Darjeeling. Anyhow it would appear from the subsequent account that it was not far from, if not actually within, the territories of the "Rāe of Kāmrūd." The Muslim army passed over the bridge, and Muhammad installed at the head of the bridge two of his own Amīrs, one a Turk slave, and the other a Khalj with troops, in order to guard it until his return. When the 'Rāe of Kāmrūd' became aware of the passage of the Muslim troops, he is said to have despatched trustworthy persons, saying: "It is not proper, at this time to march into the country of Tibet, and it is necessary to return and to make ample preparations, when in the coming year I, who am the Rāe of Kāmrūd agree that I will embody my own forces, and

will precede the Muḥammadan troops, and will cause that territory to be acquired." But Muḥammad did not accept this salutary advice and turned his face towards the mountains of Tibet. The troops made their way, unmolested apparently, through defiles and passes and lofty mountains, till on the 16th day they reached the open country of Tibet. The whole of that tract was under cultivation, with tribes of people and populous villages. When they reached a place where there was a fort and began plundering the country around, the people of the fort and the town engaged the invaders in a fierce contest which raged from 'daybreak to the evening prayer,' and killed and wounded a great number of the Musalman troops. At night Muḥammad heard of the approach of an army of about 50,000 'valiant Turk horsemen, archers.' After a consultation with the Amīrs, he ordered the fatigued and worn out troops to retreat. But when they retreated, 'throughout the whole route, not a blade of grass, nor a stick of firewood remained, as they (the inhabitants) had set fire to the whole of it, and burnt it, and all the inhabitants of those defiles and passes, had moved off from the line of route. During those fifteen days, not a pound of food nor a blade of grass did the cattle and horses obtain, and all the men were killing their horses and eating them, until they issued from the mountains into the country of Kāmrūd, and reached the head of that bridge. The distress of the army was changed into bewilderment and desperation when they found, that, taking advantage of the discord and consequent neglect of duty of the two Amīrs left to guard the bridge, 'the Hindus of the Kāmrūd country' had come and destroyed it. As boats were not procurable, there was no way of crossing the river. Thinking it necessary to halt in some place, in order to build 'boats and floats,' Muḥammad ordered the army to occupy a neighbouring temple, which is described as 'of exceeding height, strength and sublimity,' and 'very handsome.' When sheltered in this temple "the Rāe of Kāmrūd became aware of the reverses and helplessness of the Musalman army. He issued commands to

the whole of the Hindus of the country, so that they came pouring in crowds, and round about the idol-temple were planting spiked bāmbūs, in the ground, and were weaving them together, so that it was appearing like unto walls." When Muḥammad realised his danger, he ordered the army to make a sortie and break through the palisade. This, the troops succeeded in doing, not without considerable difficulty, and they reached the open plain, closely pursued by the Hindus. The Musalmans were driven into the river, where they all perished with the exception of Muḥammad ibn Bakht-yār and 'a few horsemen, a hundred more or less....The rest were drowned.' With the assistance of the relatives of 'Ali the Mej, Muḥammad reached Dīw-koṭ; but such was the extent of the disaster, that he could not even ride his horse in the open for 'all the people, from the housetops and the streets (consisting) of women and children, would wail and utter imprecations against him and revile him.' Commenting on this expedition, Blochmann has said: "It is difficult to say what motives Muḥammad Bakht-yār had to invade Tibbat. It was perhaps, as Minhāj says, ambition, but if we consider how small a part of Bengal was really in his power, his expedition to Tibbat borders on foolhardiness." But an explanation is probably to be found in the fact that in those days commercial traffic between Bengal and Tibet was very extensive. Minhāj speaks of no less than thirty-five roads into Tibet between the bend of the Brahmaputra and Tirhut. 'The traffic consisted chiefly in gold, copper, lead, musk, yak tails, honey, borax, falcons and hill ponies.' The motive behind the expedition was probably to plunder and if possible control the rich commercial marts of Tibet.[1]

The Musalman invasion of the Brahmaputra valley was repeated on several occasions in the period of about 450 years

[1] For the account of the expedition see *TN*, Trans. by Raverty, Vol. I, pp. 560-72, *Riyaz us-Salāṭīn*, Trans. by Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1904, pp. 66-68; *JASB*, 1875, Vol. XLIV, pp. 282-85.

which extended from A.D. 1205 to 1662. But most of these met with disasters, and Islam never succeeded in making any headway in the Valley. In about 1226-27 Sulṭān Ghiyāth ud-Dīn of Bengal appears to have led an expedition into 'Kāmrūd and Bang' but on the approach of an army under Maḥmūd son of Iltutmish he had to retreat hastily to save his territory.[1] In about A.D. 1258 Malik Ikhtiyār ud-Dīn Yūzbak-i-Tughril Khān, marching from Lakhaṇavatī, crossed the river Begmatī (Karatoya) and invaded the territories of the 'Rāe of Kāmrūd.' At first the Hindu prince was defeated and his capital was occupied by the Musalmans; but when the Khān rejected the request of the 'Rāe' to be allowed to continue as a feudatory of Lakhaṇavatī, the 'Rāe' attacked and destroyed him and his army.[2] There were other expeditions. But the last of them was led by Mīr Jumla, the famous general of Aurangzīb, whose triumphant march to Ghargaon on the Brahmaputra ended in disastrous retreat and death from the effects of the hardships of the campaign (1663 A.D.).[3]

But though we have these accounts of the conflicts of the princes of the Brahmaputra valley with the Musalmans, we have very few or no records to work out a connected account of the history of Assam from the 11th and 12th centuries onwards. Some light on this period of Assam is however thrown by the *Buranjis* of the Ahoms, a section of the great Shan tribe, who crossed the Patkai hills and settled in and about the Lakhimpur district of Assam in the 13th century. From these it appears that there existed a kingdom of the Hinduised Chutias, a tribe of mixed Bodo-Shan stock, in Sadiya (or Vidarbha). There were frequent wars between them and the Ahoms till they were completely conquered by the latter in the 16th century. The western part of the Brahmaputra valley, the area formerly known as

[1] *TN*, Raverty's Trans., Vol. I, pp. 594-95.
[2] *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 761-69.
[3] Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 205; *JBORS.*, Vol. I, pp. 179-96.

Kāmarūpa, was known as Kāmata, and the only dynasty of which we have any connected account is that of the Khyan or Khen kings. The few representatives of this tribe now claim to be Kāyasthas, and their first king, Nīladhvaja, is said to have overthrown the last degenerate Pāla king of Assam. The last of the Khens, Nīlāmbar, was overthrown by Husain Shāh in A.D. 1498. Their territory sometimes extended from the Karatoya to the Barnadi. After his fall there was a period of confusion, which ended when the Koch ruler Biśva Siṁha established a kingdom with Koch-Bihār (mod. Cooch-Behar) as his capital in about 1515 A.D. King Naranārāyaṇa of this tribe, which is certainly Mongoloid in origin, was a powerful prince, ruling practically over the whole of Assam. During his reign Kālāpāhār, the general of Sulaymān Karnānī, appears to have invaded Kāmarūpa, and advanced as far as Tezpur (*c.* 1568 A.D.). Naranārāyaṇa, according to the local Vaṁśāvalīs, is said to have assisted Akbar in destroying the 'Pādshāh of Gaur' (Sulṭān Dā'ūd) about 1576 A.D. There is no reference to this incident in the Musalman accounts. According to the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, on the other hand, Naranārāyaṇa 'renewed in 1578 A.D. his demonstrations of obedience to the Imperial Throne.' In about 1581 A.D. the Koch king was compelled to create a principality for his nephew Raghudev by ceding to the latter the region east of the river Sankosh (mod. Gadadhar river ?). This led to the foundation of two rival Koch kingdoms, which the Muslims call Koch Bihār and Koch Hājo. The capital of the principality founded by Raghu was probably situated near the modern town of Hājo, a few miles north of Gauhati. The hostilities of these two kingdoms led to the interference of the Musalmans and the Ahoms. In 1638 A.D. the western and the eastern states became vassals of the Musalmans and the Ahoms respectively.[1]

I have already referred to the migration of the Ahoms into Assam in the 13th century. It appears from their *Buranjis*

[1] For recently discovered silver coin of Naranārāyaṇa (*Śaka* 1477 = 1555 A.D.), see *IHQ*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 614 ff.

that a section of the great Shan tribe left Maulung in the upper Irrawaddy valley about 1215 A.D. under the leadership of Sukāphā and established a small principality near the Dikho valley. Their power steadily increased, and by the year A.D. 1638, as we have seen, extended practically over the whole Brahmaputra valley up to Dhubri. From this time onwards they stood face to face with the Mughul emperors of Delhi but the latter never succeeded in conquering them. Even the brilliant campaign of Mīr Jumla was in the end but only a Pyrrhic victory. The Ahoms remained unconquered till the Burmese invasion in the 19th century.[1]

I have not said anything so far about the Surma valley because, strictly speaking, it should not be included in Assam proper. It was only administrative necessity that led the British Government to include it within the jurisdiction of the Chief Commissioner of Assam in 1874. Though it is possible that the Surma valley may have been conquered occasionally by some powerful rulers of Kāmarūpa, yet for all practical purposes it appears to have remained outside the general currents of the history of Assam proper. Attempts have recently been made to show that even the Nidhanpur inscription of Bhāskaravarman, though discovered in Sylhet, record a grant of land near Karṇasuvarṇa, and that it was subsequently carried to its place of discovery by some descendant of the donee who migrated from his original home.[2] For the history of the Surma valley of this period we have very few authentic documents. Two copper-plate grants of a line of kings were dug up from a brick mound in Bhāṭerā in Sylhet, and were first edited in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1880.[3] From

[1] For the history of the 13th century onwards, see *HA*, Chapters IV to IX; *CHI*, Vol. III, Chapters XI and XXI. Consult also *History of the Shans*, by Ney Elias. For coins, *CCIM*, pp. 294 ff., and plate XXIX.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XIX, July 1927, pp. 115 ff.

[3] *PASB*, 1880, pp. 144-53. The first plate opens with '*om namaḥ Śivāya*' and the second '*om namo Nārāyaṇāya*.' One of these plates has been re-edited under the name 'The Bhāterā Copper-plate of Govinda-Keśavadeva' by K. M. Gupta in *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 277-86.

these we get the following statement of the genealogy of Keśavadeva and Īśānadeva, the donors of these grants :

In the Lunar family

Kharavāṇa (*alias* Navagīrvāṇa ?)
(Founder of the kingdom of Śrīhaṭṭa.)
Gokuladeva (Golhaṇa ?)
|
Nārāyaṇa
|
Keśavadeva *alias* Ripurāja-Gōpī-Gōvinda.
|
Īśānadeva.

According to Dr. R. L. Mitra, the editor of the inscriptions, the grant of Keśavadeva is dated in *Pāṇḍavakulādipālābda* Saṁ. 4328 (*Kali Yuga* = A.D. 1245). The reading and interpretation of this date are not free from doubt, but it agrees with the date 703 A.H. (A.D. 1303) which is given as the date of the conquest of Srīhat (Sylhet) by Sikandar Khān Ghāzī in the reign of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, in a stone inscription, discovered in Sylhet and now lying in the Dacca Museum.[1] If the date for Keśavadeva is correct, it would appear that the Musalmans conquered Sylhet after, or in the reign of, his successor Īśānadeva.[2]

I would conclude by referring to the Kāchāris, who established a powerful kingdom in the 13th century. It extended ' along the south bank of the Brahmaputra from the Dikhu to the Kallang or beyond and included also the valley of the Dhansiri and the tract which now forms North Cachar sub-division.' Their struggles with the Ahoms led to the

[1] *JASB*, 1922, Vol. XVIII (N. S.), p. 413. First noticed in the *Dacca Review*, August 1913.

[2] But recently the reading of the date has been questioned. It has been suggested that the date on the grant is 4151 and not 4328. This would give 1049 A.D. [4151 – 3102 (B.C., the beginning of the Kali era)] as the date of Keśava and about 975 A.D. as that of Kharavāṇa, the founder of the line in Śrīhaṭṭa. The identification of some of the place-names in the grant seem to show that Keśavadeva's rule extended over a considerable portion of Sylhet and probably also some portions of Hill Tippera and Cachar. See *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 278.

decline of their power, but the Kāchāri princes known as 'Kings of Hiḍamba' continued to rule till the 19th century, when their principality was annexed by the British.[1]

Genealogical Tables.[2]

(Dates approximate.)

I. *Dynasty of Puṣyavarman (c. 350-650 A.D.).*

II. *Sālastambha and his Successors (c. 650-800 A.D.).*

III. *Prālambha and his Successors (c. 800-1000 A.D.):*

Prālambha (c. 800)
| =Jīvadā.
Harjara (829 A.D.)
| =Tārā.
Vanamāla (c. 875 A.D.).
|
Jayamāla—Vīrabāhu (c. 900 A.D.)
| =Ambā
Balavarman (c. 925 A.D.)
:
Tyāgasiṁha (c. 1000 A.D.)

IV. *The Pālas (c. 1000 A.D.—1100 A.D.):*

Tyāgasiṁha (died childless) ?
:
Brahmapāla
| =Kuladevī
Ratnapāla
|
Purandarapāla
| =Durlabhā
Indrapāla
:
Jayapāla
:
Gopāla
|
Harṣamāla (pāla ?)
|
Dharmapāla.

[1] For details see *HA*, Chapters X and XIII. A new silver coin of the Cachar king Yaśonārāyaṇa (*Śaka* 1507 = 1585 A.D.) has been noticed in *IHQ*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 615 ff. See also *Heḍamba Rājyer Daṇḍavidhi*, Ed. by MM. Padmanāth Vidyāvinod. For the Rajas of Jaintia who probably establised their kingdom in c. 1500 A.D. see *ibid*, Chapter XIII; see also *IHQ*, December 1927, pp. 847-49, and *JASB*, Vol. XXV (N.S.), pp. 165-69. (The Satak Copper-plate grant of king Rāma Siṁha II, *Śaka* 1781.)

[2] Princes whose names are in italics did not reign. Uncertain relationship is shown by vertical dots.

V. Tingyadeva (c. 1100 A.D.).

VI. Line of Bodhideva:

Bodhideva [Minister of Rāmapāla[1] (c. 1084-1126 A.D.)]
=Pratāpadevī

Vaidyadeva (c. 1125 A.D.) | Budhadeva ?

VII. Dynasty of Bhāskara (c. 1150-1206 A.D.):

Bhāskara.
|
Rāyārideva—Trailokyasiṁha.
| =Vasumatī ?
Udayakarṇa—Niḥśaṅkasiṁha.
| =Ahiavadevī.
Vallabhadeva—Srī-Vallabha (c. 1184-85).

VIII. Dynasty of Kharavāṇa:

Kharavāṇa (*alias* Navagīrvāṇa ?)
|
Gokuladeva (Golhaṇa ?)
|
Nārāyaṇa.
|
Keśavadeva *alias* Ripurāja Gōpī Gōvinda (A.D. 1245 ?)
|
Īśānadeva.

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5. ***Harṣacarita of Bāṇa***, Trans. by Cowell and Thomas.
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[1] Belonging to the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar.

7. *Peoples of India*, by Sir H. Risley, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1908.
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CHAPTER VI

DYNASTIC HISTORY OF BENGAL AND BIHAR

The connection of the peoples of the alluvial plains of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, with those living lower down in the deltaic regions, which form the greater part of modern Bengal and Bihar, has always been of a more or less intimate character. As early as the later Vedic literature we find the *Prācyas*, 'the dwellers in the east' differentiated from the westerners, who lived in the upper valley of the Ganges and the Jumna. It is not known exactly which tribes were included in this term. It is likely that the Kāśis, Kosalas, Videhas, Magadhas and other eastern tribes known at that time to the Aryans are meant. But the fact that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to their mode of making tombs and disapproves of that custom makes it possible that there were cultural, if not also ethnic, differences between the peoples of the upper and lower Ganges valley. The epic story which makes Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra, and Sumha the *kṣetraja* sons of the *asura* Bali by his wife Sudeṣṇā through the agency of the Brahman sage Dīrghatamas, seems to indicate at least the popular belief that these peoples formed a compact ethnic group. The physical measurements of the peoples of a large portion of Bengal and Bihar convinced Risley that they were mainly Dravido-Mongolian, with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood, which is more prominent in the west and in the higher groups. In the western half of Bihar the Aryo-Dravidian features predominated, while in the east of Bengal the Mongolian type was more common. This theory has been criticised. But the opponents admit that 'the people of the lower Ganges valley belong to a different Aryan stock from those who composed the Vedic hymns.' Whatever may be the ethnic and cultural

affinity of the peoples of Bengal and Bihar, it is certain that the political relationship between them was sufficiently intimate. Thus when we enquire into the history of the different political and geographical divisions of this region, such as Magadha, Videha, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Samataṭa, Puṇḍra, Gauḍa, Rāḍha Sumha, etc., we find that from the beginning of imperialism in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., excepting periods of political disintegration, they have been generally under the administration of one government. The absorption of Aṅga by Magadha in the reign of Bimbisāra was the first important step in the development which culminated in the establishment of the Nandas as rulers of the Prasii and the Gangaridae. Perhaps earlier still is the epic tradition of the unification of these tracts under Jarāsandha of Magadha and Karṇa of Aṅga. The Mauryas certainly ruled over these regions; and the recent discovery of the Damodarpur plates makes it clear that the Guptas did the same up to the beginning of the 6th century A.D. Again the Pālas of our period, though known to their contemporaries as kings of Vaṅga (*Vaṅgapati*), issued most of their earlier inscriptions from Bihar. It will thus be not improper to group together in one chapter the accounts of the dynasties that ruled over the lower valleys of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra.[1]

It is now generally agreed that the Gupta empire survived the shock of the Hūṇa invasions and continued up to the beginning of the 6th century A.D. There is evidence to show that at least in the east its disintegration began soon after that time. Thus the absence of the word Gupta, in *Mahārāja-Rājaputra-Deva Bhaṭṭāraka*, the name of the governor in the fifth Damodarpur plate may indicate that he was the son of a local *rājā* of Northern Bengal who in 543 A.D. perhaps acknowledged only a

[1] See *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 46; *Mahābhārata*, I, 104; Risley, *Peoples of India*; *Census Report* for 1901 by the same; *IGI*, 1907, pp. 292 ff.; Chanda, *Indo-Aryans*, *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 40 ff.; *Carmichael Lectures*, Calcutta University, 1918, pp. 42 ff.; *JASB*, 1923, pp. 366 ff.; *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.

nominal suzerainty of the Gupta sovereigns.[1] The discovery of the Faridpur plates, which are referred to the 6th century A.D. reveals the presence of a line of independent rulers in Southern Bengal,[2] while the Vappaghoṣavāṭa inscription of Jayanāga [3] seems to indicate the presence of another line of independent rulers in Karṇasuvarṇaka in the latter half of the 6th century A.D. Whether they had any connection with the Gupta governors of Northern Bengal referred to above is a question that cannot be answered in the present state of our knowledge. But that there grew up an independent power in Bengal side by side with the decadent Gupta power in Magadha is shown by the references to the clash of the Maukharis and the 'Gauḍas living on the seashore' in the Harāhā inscription of Īśānavarman (554 A.D.).[4] It remained for Śaśāṅka to extend the power of the Gauḍas from Kanauj in the west to Ganjam in the south.[5] But his empire was short-lived. Attacked on both flanks by Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman, he appears to have retreated into the hill-tracts of Orissa. The former annexed Magadha, while the latter to judge from the position of his victorious camp at Karṇasuvarṇa, overran North and West Bengal.[6] During the reign of Harṣa, the rest of Bengal and Bihar appears to have been divided into a number of independent and semi-independent states. These were (1) *I-lan-na-po-fa-to* (Hiraṇyaparvata?, country round the hill of Monghyr), (2) *Chan-p'o* (Campā, Bhagalpur District), (3) *Ka-chu-wēn* (?) *k'i-lo* (Kajaṅgala, area round Rajmahal), (4) *Pun-na-fa-tan-na* (Puṇḍra-vardhana, North Bengal to the west of

[1] *EI*, Vol. XV. p. 142; *The Early History of Bengal*, by Prof. R. C. Majumdar, Dacca University, 1924, pp. 14-15.

[2] *IA*, 1910, Vol. 39, pp. 193-216 ; *JASB*, August 1910, pp. 429-36 ; 1911, pp. 289, 308 and 475-502. I think Pargiter has successfully proved that these grants are genuine.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 60-64.

[4] *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 117, verse 13.

[5] *GI*, pp. 283-84 ; *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-46 ; *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 178 ff. ; *BR*, Vol. I, pp. 210 ff. ; *YC*, Vol. I, pp. 343 ff.

[6] *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 65 ff. ; Vol. XIX, pp. 115 ff. ; *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 216 ff.

the Karatoya), (5) *San-mo-ta-t'a* (Samataṭa, Bengal delta between the Hugli and Hill Tippera), (6) *Tan-mo-lih-ti* (Tāmralipti, portions of Midnapore and the 24-Parganas) and (7) *Kie (ka)-lo-na-su-fa-la-na* (Karṇasuvarṇa, probably portions of Nadia, Burdwan, Birbhum and Murshidabad districts).[1] A critical study of Yuan Chwang's account seems to indicate that though Harṣa sometimes passed through these tracts in the course of his invasions, they did not form a part of his empire.[2] After the death of Harṣa, the troubled state of the Ganges valley appears to have helped the extension of Tibetan power in the south. The Chinese and Tibetan documents however never tell us whether Tibet actually held Bengal and Bihar; and it seems likely that whatever influence Tibet had over these tracts, came to an end about the year 703 A.D., when, according to the T'ang annals, Nepal and India threw off the suzerainty of Tibet.[3] During the second half of the 7th century, we have the records of two important lines of princes ruling in Bengal and Bihar. These were the Guptas of Magadha[4] and the Khadgas of Samataṭa.[5] As the Shahpur image-inscription of Ādityasena gives for him the date A.D. 672-73, and as a Deoghar epigraph preserves the memory of his performing '*Aśvamedha* and other great sacrifices' and of having ruled 'the whole earth up to the oceans,' it is not unlikely that it was this Gupta sovereign who was instrumental in throwing off the yoke of Tibet in 703 A.D. The extent of the rule of these later Guptas is not exactly known. All their inscriptions have been so far discovered in the districts of Gaya, Patna, Bhagalpur and Shahabad of Bihar. But their conflict with the Maukharis

[1] *BR*, Vol. II, pp. 186-204; *YC*, Vol. II, pp. 178-93. Watters restores *I-lan-na*, the first part of the name in no. (1), as *Irana* 'which denotes a piece of wild or barren land.'

[2] *JBORS*, September-December 1923, pp. 3 ff.

[3] *Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, p. 133.

[4] *GI*, pp. 200-18.

[5] *MASB*, Vol. I, No. 6; *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 357-39; *JASB*, 1923, Vol. XIX (N.S.), pp. 375-79; 1914, Vol. X (N. S.), pp. 85-91; *YC*, Vol. II, p. 188; Chavannes, *Les Religieux Éminents*, Paris, 1894, p. 128.

of the U. P., their wars on the banks of the Lauhitya, and the possible identification of Mādhavagupta of the Aphsad stone inscription with the Malwa prince Mādhavagupta of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita,* would indicate a wider extent of power than the distribution of their inscriptions suggests.[1] In this connection it is interesting to note that the *Kumārāmātya* Lokanātha of the recently discovered Tippera grant dated in year 44 (Harṣa era?=A.D. 650) has been referred to by some scholars as a feudatory of this Gupta prince Ādityasena.[2] But he was more probably a vassal of the Khaḍgas. The inscriptions of the Khaḍgas have been so far found in the Dacca and Comilla districts in Bengal. The possible identification of Rājabhaṭa,[3] king of Samataṭa at the time of Seng-Chi's visit to India (*c.* 650—700 A.D.) with Rājarāja of the Ashrafpur plate (B) and the suggested reading of the date in the same plate as 73 or 79 (=679 or 685 A.D.), which has now been found to be not inconsistent with the palaeographic data of the records, would tend to place these rulers in the periods *c.* 650-700 A.D.[4] Karmanta, the place of residence of these princes has been identified with modern Kamta near Comilla.

Neither of these dynasties however appears to have succeeded in establishing a united and strong government in Bengal and Bihar. The result was that these rich tracts remained for about

[1] *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 119-21 ; *GI*, p. 203; *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 100 ff.; Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd Ed., 1927, pp. 371 ff.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XV, p. 304.

[3] *Life*, pp. xxx-xxxi; but Chavannes seems to give the name as *Ho-louo-che-po-tch'a* (Harṣabhaṭa), see his *Religieux Éminents*, p. 128.

[4] The editor of the Ashrafpur plates placed them "in the 8th or 9th centuries A.D." This view is still held by some scholars, see *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, by R. D. Banerji, 2nd Ed., pp. 164 ff., 233 ff. But see *JASB*, 1923, pp. 376 ff. The date proposed above is also supported by the suggested identification of "roi de l'Inde Orientale qui s'applle *T'i-p'ouo-po-mo* (Devavarman)," the contemporary of king Ādityasena (*je-Kium*=l'armée du soleil) mentioned by Hoei-luen (*c.* 650-700 A.D.) with Devakhaḍga of the Ashrafpur plates and Ādityasena of the Shahpur image inscription; See Chavannes, *Les Religieux Eminents*, pp. 81 and 83; *Life*, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

50 years (*c*. 700—750 A.D.) a constant prey to foreign invaders. The first invasion so far recorded appears to have been that of the princes of the Śaila family. The Ragholi (Balaghat district, C.P.) plates of Jayavardhana II inform us that his grandfather took Kāśi after killing its 'self-conceited and cruel king,' while the elder brother of this grandfather took the whole country of Puṇḍra after destroying its ruler. As the script of the inscription 'very much resembles those of the Paithan plates of Govinda III, dated in the year 794 A.D,' it is probably not unreasonable to refer the events recorded above to *c*. 725 A.D. [1] It is not improbable that the prince referred to as a Pauṇḍra king in this inscription was Jīvitagupta or one of the successors of Ādityasena. The invasion of the Śailas was followed by that of Yaśovarman, who is described in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, as lord of "the land of Kanyakubja from the bank of the Yamunā to the Kālikā." [2] Stein has identified this prince with 'the king of Central India, *I-cha-fon-mo*, who in A.D. 731 sent an embassy to the Chinese Court.' [3] It appears from the Chinese annals that he was on his throne at least between 731 and 736 A.D., and it was probably during these years that he undertook a triumphal procession of *digvijaya* for the conquest of the countries all round his dominions, which is recorded in the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja.[4] In the course of his eastern expedition he seems to have met the king of Gauḍa, who is also called *Magadhādhipa*, not far from the 'Vindhyā region,' and defeated him in a fierce battle, in which the vassals and nobles of the eastern king appeared "like sparks of light issuing from a shooting-star." After the battle the *Magadhādhipa* was pursued and slain by

[1] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 41-47. I have accepted a comparatively earlier date for the events, as the conquests apparently took place during the reign of the great-grandfather of the donor. The conquerors having died during the life-time of their father, the next king mentioned in the inscription is the father of the donor.

[2] IV, 132-46.

[3] Stein's Eng. Trans., *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, pp. 88-89.

[4] *Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series*, No. XXXIV, Re-edited by N. B. Utgikar Poona, 1927, verses 192-688.

Yaśovarman, who then proceeded eastwards and compelled the Vaṅga king though 'powerful in the possession of a large number of warlike elephants' to acknowledge him as his suzerain.[1] It is not certain who this ruler of Magadha-Gauḍa was ; but that he was a powerful sovereign is clear from the fact that his dominions extended from the borders of Vaṅga (Eastern Bengal) to the Vindhyas. Possibly he was one of the Śaila rulers referred to above who conquered Kāśi and Puṇḍra in about the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. It is significant that the Śaila prince Śrīvardhana, who is probably not far removed from the 2nd quarter of the 8th century, is called 'the lord of the Vindhya' (*Vindhyeśvara*), the very mountain not far from which the two armies met for the first time. It is not improbable that the Vaṅga (Samataṭa) king defeated by Yaśovarman was one of the Khaḍga rulers referred to above. The success of Yaśovarman was however short-lived, and not long after 736 A.D., he fell a victim to the ambition of the Kārkoṭa king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, probably known to the Chinese as *Mu-to-pi*.[2] We are told by Kalhaṇa that after annexing the dominions of the Kanauj king, Lalitāditya 'proceeded with ease to the eastern ocean' and reached the "Gauḍa land."[3] Another invasion of Bengal-Bihar was probably undertaken by the Kāmarūpa king Śrī-Harṣa (Hariṣa?), who is referred to in the Paśupati inscription of his son-in-law Jayadeva of Nepal (153=153+595=748 A.D?) as the ruler of *Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga, Kosala* and other lands.[4] This appears to have been followed by the invasion of the Kashmirian king Jayāpīḍa, who is reported by Kalhaṇa to have visited the lands east of Prayāga in the course of his adventures in the early part of his reign (*c*. 762-63 A.D.). We are told that Jayāpīḍa

[1] *Ibid*, verses 354, 414-20.

[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Stein's Trans., Vol. I, pp. 88-89.

[3] *Ibid*, IV, 145 48. Specially note the verses 323-30 which describe the treacherous murder of the Gauḍa king by Lalitāditya and the bravery of the 'dark-coloured' servants of the Gauḍa prince, which when contrasted with the conventional details of the *digvijaya*, have an historical appearance.

[4] *IA*, Vol. IX, p. 179, line 15. See also *supra*, pp. 192 and 241.

reached 'the city of Pauṇḍravardhana, subject to the king of Gauḍa and at that time protected by a prince called Jayanta.' The Kashmirian monarch married Kalyāṇadevi, the daughter of Jayanta, and after conquering 'the chiefs of the five Gauḍas' (*Pañca-Gauḍ-ādhipān*), made his father-in-law their sovereign. Though it is not impossible that there may be some grain of historical fact in the stories of the adventures of Jayāpīḍa, all attempts to identify Jayanta must remain problematical.[1] As a result of all these invasions the lower Ganges valley must have been reduced to a chaotic condition. The Lama Tāranātha, referring to the condition of this region just before the election of Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, says: "There was no longer any member of it (the royal family of the Candras) a king; in Oḍiviśa, in Bengal and the other five provinces to the east, each Kṣatriya, Brāhman, and merchant (Vaiśya?) constituted himself king of his surroundings, but there was no king ruling the country."[2] The anarchic condition is more vividly expressed by the expression *Mātsyanyāya* which is applied by the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla to describe the condition of North-eastern India before the election of Gopāla.[3]

In the last paragraph I have indirectly placed Gopāla in the beginning of the second half of the 8th century. There has been recently much discussion on the chronology of the Pālas. We do not propose here to enter into a detailed examination of this question. It will be sufficient if we remember the foundation stones on which all schemes of Pāla chronology must inevitably rest. In the case of the nine kings from Gopāla to Mahīpāla,

[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 421-68; Kalhaṇa places the reign of Jayāpīḍa in 751-782 A.D. As the adventures in *Gauḍa-Puṇḍra* are placed by Kalhaṇa in the beginning of his reign, and as Stein has shown that we must correct these dates of the local historian by adding a period of about 12 years, I have placed Jayāpīḍa's possible visit to the lower Ganges valley in c. 762-63 A.D. As to the identification of Jayanta, I would point out that in my chronology he is placed sufficiently near Gopāla to raise the suspicion of their identity.

[2] *IA*, Vol. IV, 1875, pp. 365-366.

[3] *EI*, Vol. IV, verse 4.

these are: (1) The date Śaka 705 expired (783-84 A.D.) supplied by the *Jaina Harivaṁśa* for Indrāyudha, who must be identified with the Mahodaya ruler Indrarāja of the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, who was dethroned by Dharmapāla. (2) The synchronism of Dharmapāla with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III (793-814 A.D.) established by the identification of Dharma and Cakrāyudha, mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa as surrendering themselves to Govinda III, with the Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha of the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla. (3) The *Vikrama* year 1083 (A.D. 1026) given in the Sarnath inscription for Mahīpāla (I). (4) The synchronism of Rājendra Coḷa and Mahīpāla established by the former's Tirumalai inscription, which records an attack made by the Cola king upon the lower Ganges valley in about 1021-25 A.D. (5) And the synchronism of Nāgabhaṭa (*c.* 807-33 A.D.) and Cakrāyudha established by the Sagartal (Gwalior) inscription of Bhoja (v. 9). The year 1026 A.D. for Mahīpāla is usually taken by scholars to mark the end of his reign. Accepting that hypothesis for the time being, and counting backwards from that date, we arrive at the date 769 A.D., for Dharmapāla (1026—257 =769 A.D.). In this calculation we have two uncertain factors, *viz.*, the year 1026 A.D. may not have been the last year of Mahīpāla, and the period of 257 years which is the total of the reign-period so far known of the rulers from Dharmapāla to Mahīpāla does not take into account the unkuown reign-period of Vigrahapāla (II). Again it is not certain that the reign-periods so far known were the last years of the reign of the respective sovereigns. Within these limitations, the dates of the rulers from Gopāla to Mahīpāla may be shown as follows:

1.	Gopāla	... *c.* 765	A.D. (reign-period not known).
2.	Dharmapāla	... *c.* 769-801	,, (reign-period so far known 32 years).
3.	Devapāla	... *c.* 801-840	,, (,, ,, 39 ,,).
4.	Vigrahapāla (I) or Śūrapāla	... *c.* 840-843	,, (,, ,, 3 ,,).

5.	Nārāyaṇapāla	... c. 843-897 A.D.	(reign-period so far known ,, 54 years).
6.	Rājyapāla	... c. 897-921 ,,	(,, ,, 24 ,,).
7.	Gopāla (II)	... c. 921-978 ,,	(,, ,, 57 ,,).
8.	Vigrahapāla (II)	... c. 978- ? ,,	(,, ,, not known).
9.	Mahīpāla (I)	... c. 978-1026 ,,	(,, ,, 48 years).

The chronology proposed above is open to the obvious criticism which I have already pointed out. But the fact that any considerable increase in the reign-periods would push Dharmapāla into the period 700-50 A.D., seems to indicate that the possible total excess of reign-periods cannot be large. A little elasticity in the chronological scheme may however be introduced if we place the date 1026 A.D. in the middle of Mahīpāla's reign. The arguments so far advanced to prove that Mahīpāla was dead before 1026 A.D. do not appear to me to be at all conclusive. Even assuming that Mahīpāla died before 1026 A.D., his reign can only be moved back from that date by a few years, for any big gap would place Dharmapāla in the period 750-60 A.D. The division of Gauḍa into five divisions in c. 762-63 at the time of Jayāpīḍa, is not consistent with what we know of Dharmapāla's reign. But in view of the synchronism of Dharmapāla with Govinda III (c. 794-814 A.D.) and Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 815-33 A.D.) it would, I think, be safer if we push forward the period of Dharmapāla's reign by another 14 years and place the last date of Mahīpāla in c. 1040 A.D. This would give Dharmapāla a reign of 46 years (769-815 A.D.), which is not at all impossible in view of the fact that Tāranātha assigns him a period of 64 years. The reign-periods assigned by this historian sometimes, as in the case of Mahīpāla (I) and Rāmapāla, have been found to be approximately in agreement with the known dates of those princes. Thus unless there is some mistake in the ascription of the dates found on inscriptions or colophons of MSS. the above table *with this correction* should serve as the nearest approximations of the reign-periods of the first nine Pālas. As to

the eight later Pālas who followed Mahīpāla I, we have to take into consideration the known reign-periods of these princes, which is 106 years. This however does not include the unknown reign-periods of three princes, and includes 4 years for Kumārapāla, which, as we shall see is an uncertain quantity. In this connection we must bear in mind the synchronisms between Nayapāla and Vigrahapāla (III) and the Tripurī Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇadeva (*c*. 1041-70 A.D.) and that between Rāmapāla, and Nānyadeva (*c*. 1097-1150 A.D.). The argument that since in a MS. dated in 1120 A.D. the Nepal king Sadāśivadeva is styled *Rājādhirājā-Parameśvara*, the supremacy of Nānyadeva over the Bagmati valley must have been over by that date, cannot be accepted as conclusive, for we have already shown elsewhere that Nepal rulers appear to have continued to assume imperial titles in spite of their subservient position.[1] Thus the theory based on this supposition that Vijayasena must have conquered North-Bengal and Tirhut in about 1120 A.D. from Madanapāla and Nānyadeva loses its force. I have elsewhere shown reason to suppose that Nānya's reign may have continued even up to about the middle of the 12th century A.D.[2] Again, in view of the fact that the Pālas appear to have lingered on in Magadha till the middle of the 12th century there is nothing impossible in supposing that Madanapāla may have continued to rule for some time in Bihar even after he lost North-Bengal. Within the limitations which we have already pointed out, we can then propose the following table for the last eight Pāla kings :

10.	Nayapāla, *c*. 1040-1055 A.D.	(reign-period so far known, 15 years).	
11.	Vigrahapāla (III), *c*. 1055-1081 A.D.	(reign-period 26 years).	
12.	Mahīpāla (II), *c*. 1082-?	,, (,, ,,	not known).
13.	Śūrapāla (II), *c*. 1083-?	,, (,, ,,	not known).

1 See *supra*, *Dynastic History of Nepal*, pp. 206-209 and 220-21.

2 See *supra*, pp. 204-205 and fn. 1 on p. 205.

14.	Rāmapāla,	c. 1084-1126	A.D.	(reign-period	42 years).
15.	Kumārapāla,	c. 1126-1130	,,	(,, ,,	4 years ?).
16.	Gopāla (III),	c. 1130-?	,,	(,, ,,	not known).
17.	Madanapāla,	c. 1130-1150	,,	(,, ,,	19 years).
?	Govindapāla,	c. 1150-1162	,,		
?	Palapāla,	c. 1162- ?	,,		

We can introduce a little more elasticity in the chronological frame by placing Madanapāla a few years later, for we do not know how long Govindapāla ruled. A Gayā inscription gives the date V. E. 1232 as the 14th year, counting from the end of his reign. (*Śrī Govindapāladeva-gata-rājye-caturdaśa-saṁvatsare.*) His reign thus ended in *c.* 1162 A.D. But he may have ascended the throne of Magadha a few years after 1150 A.D.[1] Palapāla of the Jaynagar image inscription may have reigned for a few years after Govindapāla.

Turning now to the details of Pāla history, we are first confronted with the question of their origin. In their inscriptions the Pālas never claim any descent from any mythical or epic hero, which is such a common feature in the genealogical tables of many other dynasties of India. In the earliest grant of the dynasty, the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla, we are simply told that the family sprang from Dayitaviṣṇu, who is called *Sarva-vidyāvadāta* (sanctified by ~~all~~ sorts of knowledge). His son Vapyaṭa (Bappaṭa ?) is described as *Khaṇḍitārāti*; and the latter's son Gopāla was forced to accept the hands of the Goddess of Fortune in order to put an end to the condition of anarchy (*mātsyanyāya*) then prevailing in North-eastern India. In the commentary of the *Rāmacarita*, the Pālas are said to have sprung from the sea, while in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva they are said to have been born in the family of the sun

[1] For Pāla chronology, see *IA*, 1909, Vol. 38, pp. 233-248; *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 4 ff.; *JBORS*, December, 1928, pp. 489-538, September-December, 1929, pp. 64?-50; *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, by R. D. Banerji, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 179 ff.; *IA*, 1920, Vol. 49, pp. 189-93; *JASB*, 1921, Vol. XVII (N.S.), pp. 1-6; *IHQ*, September, 1927, pp. 571-91. Excepting his name there is at present nothing to show that Palapāla belonged to the Pāla dynasty.

(*vaṁśe Mihirasya*). In the commentary of a Nepal MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* written by Haribhadra in the reign of Dharmapāla the latter is described as *Rājabhaṭādi-vaṁśa-patita*. In the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* the Pālas are described as a 'Kāyeth family.'[1] These are the facts on which must depend any discussion on the origin of the Pālas. Of these we may reject the testimony of the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* as very late. The statements of the *Rāmacarita* and the Kamauli grant are also separated from Gopāla by more than three hundred years. From the Khalimpur grant it appears that Dayitaviṣṇu belonged to an educated plebeian family, which was probably neither Brahman nor Kṣatriya. In the troublesome days that then prevailed in North-eastern India during the first half of the 8th century, the family must have soon found the sword to be more profitable than the pen. This transformation may have led to the foundation of the fortunes of the family. Vapyaṭa and then Gopāla appear to have met with considerable success in their new profession, to be deemed able to save the country from the grip of anarchy. Attempts have been made to show that the statement of Haribhadra means that Dharmapāla was a descendant of Rājabhaṭa, the son of Devakhaḍga of the Ashrafpur plates.[2] Though the fact that the Pālas and the Khaḍgas were both Bauddha families, may be considered favourable to such an identification, and there is no inherent difficulty about the chronological position of the two families, yet I think it is better not to push this theory too far. For it is doubtful whether *Rājabhaṭādi-vaṁṣa-patita* can really mean scion of Rājabhaṭa. Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī took it to mean 'the

[1] See *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 243 ff., verses 1-4; *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 20-21; *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 347 ff.; *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 145; *JASB*, 1923, Vol. XIX (N.S.), p. 379 and fn. 2. The verse in Haribhadra's commentary is as follows:

"*Rājye Rājabhaṭ-ādi-vaṁśa-patita-śrī-Dharmapālasya vai*
Tattvāloka-vidhāyinī viracitā Sat-pañjik=eyam mayā."

See also Bangad grant of Mahīpāla, V. 2, *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 324 ff. and p. 329 fn. 1.

[2] *JASB*, 1923, p. 379; *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 164 ff.

descendant of a military officer of some king.' Then it is curious that if the two predecessors of Gopāla were really sprung from a royal dynasty they should be referred to as plebeians in the Khalimpur grant. It would require very strong proofs to show that a reigning family which could trace its descent to kings of the past would have remained silent about that connection in their genealogical tables. It is so unusual in India.

Tāranāth informs us that Gopāla first began to reign in Bengal and then brought Magadha under his power. Though mixed up with stories, the account of the Tibetan historian about the election of Gopāla is in agreement with the Khalimpur grant. The statement that Gopāla was first raised to the throne of Bengal appears to be also supported by the commentary of the *Rāmacarita* which refers to Varendrī as the *janakabhū* of Rāmapāla. The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva also refers to the recovery of the *janakabhū* by Rāmapāla, which is taken by some scholars to mean Varendrī.[1] The Monghyr grant of Devapāla informs us that Gopāla conquered the world up to the sea (*vijitya yenā jaladhe vasundharām*).[2] From the fact that his son was able to undertake extensive military campaigns it is not improbable that Gopāla fully consolidated his position before he died. The Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla compares him with *Lokanātha Daśabala* (Buddha), both being said to have overcome the *Kāmakāris*.[3] In the Khalimpur record of his son he is given the epithet *parama-Saugata*. According to Tāranāth 'he built the Nalandara temple not far from Otantapura and reigned for 45 years.'[4] We have no dated colophons of MSS. or inscriptions of his reign.

[1] *IA*, Vol. IV, 1875, p. 366; *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 243-54, verse 4; *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 31, I, 38; *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 347-58; *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 127 ff.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 304.

[3] *IA*, 1886, Vol. XV, p. 304.

[4] *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 366.

Gopāla was succeeded by Dharmapāla, his son by Deddadevī.[1] The Khalimpur grant of this king refers to his extensive conquest in Northern India. We are told that "with a sign of his gracefully moved eyebrows he installed the illustrious king of Kānyakubja, who readily was accepted by the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kīra kings, bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling, and for whom his own golden coronation jar was lifted by the delighted elders of Pañcāla." (V. 12.) In connection with this statement, there is in the preceding verse (V. 11), a veiled reference to Mahendra being terrified at the movements of his armies. The political events hinted at in these two verses are partly indicated by verse 3 of the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, which runs as follows: "This mighty one (*i.e.* Dharmapāla) again gave the sovereignty which he had acquired by defeating Indrarāja and other enemies, to the begging Cakrāyudha, who resembled a dwarf in bowing; just as formerly Bali had given the sovereignty (of the three worlds) which he had acquired by defeating Indra and his other enemies (the gods) to the begging Cakrāyudha (Viṣṇu), who had descended to the earth as a dwarf."[2] The three verses when read together seem to imply that Dharmapāla, after having extended his power over a large portion of Northern India, dethroned one Indrarāja of Kanauj and installed in his place a feudatory of his named Cakrāyudha. If this Indrarāja is identified with the Indrāyudha of the Jaina *Harivaṁśa*, the ruler of the north (calculated from Vordhamāna-Wadhwan in Kathiawar), who was ruling contemporaneously with Vatsarāja of Avanti, the ruler of the east, evidently the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king of that name then, it would appear that Dharmapāla achieved considerable military and diplomatic success in Northern India sometime after 783-84 A.D. To Kielhorn, when editing the Khalimpur grant in 1896-97, the

[1] *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 243 ff.; Kielhorn suggested that Deddadevī was 'the daughter of the Bhadra King'; but his interpretation has been opposed in *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 12.

[2] *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 307.

name of Cakrāyudha, king of Kanauj was a mystery. But since then the discovery of other inscriptions of contemporary reigning families of India has solved the difficulty. These are in brief as follows: verse 80 of the Radhanpur grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III (*Śaka* 730 = 808 A.D.) tells us that Dhora (Dhruva) drove into the trackless forest Vatsarāja 'who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of Gauḍa,' and 'took away from him, not merely the two Gauḍa umbrellas of state but also his fame.'[1] As the Wani grant of the same king (*Śaka* 730 = 807 A.D.), which contains the same verses as the Radhanpur grant, does not contain verse 15 of the latter, which refers to defeat of the 'Gurjara' by Govinda,—a victory so decisive that the Gurjara king's whereabouts were not known to any—it is possible that the final defeat of the Gurjara may have occurred between the two dates of the grants (807-808 A.D.).[2] The identity of this Gurjara king is probably revealed by the Sanjan grant of Amoghavarṣa (*Śaka* 793 = 871 A.D.), which, besides referring to the victory of (Dhruva) Dhārāvarṣa over the Gauḍa king, tells us that Govinda III defeated in battle Nāgabhaṭa, and as the former advanced to the springs of the Himalayas "those (kings) Dharma and Cakrāyudha surrendered of themselves."[3] Line 12 of the Baroda grant of Karka II (*Śaka* 734 = 812-13 A.D.) seems to refer to a conflict of Dhruva and the Gauḍa king between the Ganges and the Jumna.[4] Verse 9 of the Sagartal (Gwalior) inscription of Bhoja tells us that his grandfather Nāgabhaṭa (*c.* 815-33 A.D.)[5] defeated 'Cakrāyudha whose lowly demeanour was manifest from his dependence on others,'[6] while the next verse of the same inscription refers to the defeat of the lord of Vaṅga (*Vaṅgapati*) at

[1] *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 239 ff.

[2] *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 156 ff.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 235 ff., verses 14, 22-23.

[4] *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 158 ff., lines 22-23; on p. 168. Fleet's translation referred the conflict to Govinda III; but see *JL*, 1923, Vol. X, p. 35 and fn. 2; also *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 239, fn. 4.

[5] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 199-200; *ibid*, Vol. XIV, pp. 179, fn. 3.

[6] *Ibid*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 99 ff.

the hands of the Gurjara king. Without going into details we may say that the statements of the Pāla records are substantially borne out by the Gurjara and Raṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions. It seems likely that after the fall of Yaśovarman (c. 731-36 A.D.) there was no effective government in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Kanauj prince Indrāyudha (c. 783-84 A.D.), Dharmapāla invaded Northern India and placed his own nominee on the throne of Kanauj. But he had soon to meet other rivals in the persons of the Gurjara Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa II, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas Dhruva and Govinda III. The struggle for the possession of the rich lands of the upper Ganges was thus trilateral and may be represented by the following table :—

Dharmapāla	**Vatsarāja (c. 783-84 A.D.)**	**Dhruva (779-94 A.D.)**
(c. 769-815 A.D.)	**Nāgabhaṭa (c. 815-33 A.D.)**	**Govinda III (c. 794-814 A.D.)**

The success of the Pālas appears to have been of short duration. At any rate if the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records are to be believed, both Cakrāyudha and Dharmapāla were in distress evidently due to the attack of Nāgabhaṭa sometime before 814 A.D. Thus Dharmapāla's imperial position in Northern India had vanished, and if the Sanjan plates mean anything, he tried to form an alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III for checking Nāgabhaṭa II. As verse 22 of the same inscription shows, the alliance probably resulted in the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa about 807-08 A.D.;[1] but the advance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army up to the Vindhyas was probably not favourable to the re-establishment of Pāla hegemony in Northern India.[2]

[1] *JL*, Vol. X, p. 44.

[2] The Monghyr grant of Devapāla tells us that Dharmapāla in the course of his campaigns advanced up to *Kedāra-tīrtha*, *Gaṅgāsāgara* and *Gokarṇa* while according to the Badal *praśasti* of Gurava Miśra, Garga is said to have made Dharma the *sovereign of the East*. See *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 304; Vol. II, pp. 160 ff. The places mentioned by the Monghyr grant may have marked the extreme limits of Pāla hegemony.

According to the Bhagalpur inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla and the Badal *praśasti* of Gurava Miśra, Dharmapāla was assisted in his military campaigns by his younger brother Vākpāla and his Brahman minister Garga.

Dharmapāla married Raṇṇādevī, the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Parabala, who has been identified with a prince of the same name whose Pathari (Long. 78°15′, and Lat. 2 .°56′, Bhopal Agency, C.P.) pillar inscription is dated in V.E. 917 (*c.* 861 A.D.).[1] If this Parabala was really the father-in-law of Dharmapāla, his inscription must have been incised very late in the life of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief. From his seal as well as his title *Parama-saugata,* it is clear that Dharmapāla was a Buddhist. But it is a curious commentary on his Buddhism that the Monghyr grant of his son should give him the credit for making the castes (*varṇān*) conform to their proper rules (*svadharme*). According to Tibetan tradition it was Dharmapāla who built the celebrated Buddhist monastery of Vikramaśilā on a hill situated on the bank of the Ganges.[2] We have the following records of the reign of Dharmapāla :

(1) *Bodhgaya stone inscription.*—Discovered by Cunningham in the south of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgaya. It is a short inscription of 9 lines incised on a stone bearing the figure of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, and Śrī (Bhairava ?). It records the installation at Mahābodhi of a four-faced (image) of Mahādeva (*Mahādevaścaturmukhaḥ*) and the construction of a *puṣkariṇī* at a cost of 3,000 *drammas* by Keśava, the son of the sculptor (*śilābhit*) Ujjvala in the 26th year of king Dharmapāla.[3]

(2) *Khalimpur grant.*—Purchased from a cultivator of the village of Khalimpur, near Gaur in the Malda district. Single

[1] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 248 ff.; in this connection see *JASB*, 1921, p. 5; *Gauḍarājamālā*, by Canda, p. 25; *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 195-96.

[2] *JBTS*, Calcutta, 1893, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 11 and 17.

[3] Dr. R. L. Mitra first tried to give the reading of the inscription in the *PASB*,1880, p. 80; first properly edited by Prof. N. Chakravarti in *JASB*, Vol. IV (N.S.), pp. 101 ff.; then by A. K. Maitra in *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 29 ff., under the name *Keśava-praśasti*. Preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

plate (written on both sides, 33+29 lines) surmounted by a highly wrought ornament soldered on the top of it. The main part of the ornament is a seal formed by five concentric rings. On the upper part of the seal is a *wheel* on a pedestal with a deer facing on either side. Immediately below we have the legend *Śrīmān-Dharmapāladevaḥ*. Then comes the genealogy of the donor. The inscription was issued from *Pāṭaliputra-samāvāsita-Śrīmaj-jayaskandhāvāra* by *Paramasaugato-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrīmad-Dharmapāladevaḥ*. The grant which is dated in his 32nd year, records the gift of the three villages of Krauñcaśvabhra, Māḍhāśālmalī and Pālitaka in the *Viṣaya* of Mahantāprakāśa, attached to the *Maṇḍala* of Vyāghrataṭī in the Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti* and the village of Gopippalī in the Āmrasaṇḍikā-*Maṇḍala* attached to the *Viṣaya* of Sthālīkkaṭa to the temple of Nanna-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka, established by *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Nārāyaṇavarman. The grant was made at the request of this officer, and the *Dūtaka* of the grant was the *Yuvarāja* Tribhuvanapāla. The description of the camp at Pāṭaliputra, beginning with *Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha pravartamāna* and ending with *pādāta-bhara-namad-avaneḥ* first occurring in this inscription after verse 13, became the stereotyped description of the *Jaya-skandhāvāras* of the Pālas in all subsequent grants.[1].

(3) A MS. of the *Haricarita-kāvya* by Caturbhuja, containing the statement that one of his ancestors, Svarṇarekha, got the village of Karañja in Varendrī as a *Śāsana* from *Nṛpa* Dharmapāla. Suvarṇarekha is described in the passage as *Śruti-smṛti-purāṇa-pada-pravīṇaḥ*, and was apparently a Brahman (*vipra*).[2]

(4) *Clay Seals.*—Recently in a mound at Paharpur, District

[1] The inscription was first discovered and published with a translation and a small but clear photo-etching in *JASB*, Vol. LXIII, Part I, pp. 39 ff. Then edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 243 ff.; re-edited in *Gauḍalekhamālā* by A. K. Maitra, pp. 9 ff. The inscription is reported to be in the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[2] *CPMDN*, p. 131.

Rajshahi, North Bengal, clay seals have been discovered bearing the name *Śrī-Dharmapāla-deva.*[1]

The evidence of these records shows that Dharmapāla ruled at least for 32 years, and held sway over territory extending from Pāṭaliputra to Rajshahi. I have already discussed the reasons for thinking that he reigned for a longer period which according to my calculation is 46 years (769-815 A.D.), and it is likely that he ruled directly over a more extensive area than the evidence of the inscriptions at present indicates. In his Khalimpur plate the *Yuvarāja* Tribhubanapāla is mentioned as the *Dūtaka* of the grant. Though not explicitly mentioned as such, he is usually taken by scholars to have been the eldest son and heir of Dharmapāla. As in the subsequent inscriptions Devapāla is mentioned as son and successor of Dharmapāla, it is supposed that he must have died during his father's lifetime. This is a possible explanation, though the likelihood of an Aśoka or Aurangzīb ousting their elder brothers who were de-facto *Yuvarājas* is not entirely eliminated. It should also be noticed that in Indian history a *Yuvarāja,* unless it is established on other evidence, should not necessarily be taken as the eldest son. In the case of Devapāla however the suggestion of any violence at the time of his accession appears to be contradicted by verse 12 of his Monghyr grant, which tells us that he succeeded to his father's dominions without any trouble (*nirupaplavam*), even as the Bodhisattva got *Saugataṁ padam.*

In the Pāla records Devapāla appears as a mighty conqueror. We are told in his Monghyr grant that during his victorious expeditions his war-elephants reached the Vindhyas, while his cavalry roamed about in the Kāmboja country (V. 13). In another verse of the same inscription, the *praśastikāra* tells us that

[1] *Calcutta Review*, May, 1928, p. 240. Also '*A Brief Account of Excavations at Paharpur* by N. K. Dikshit,' Sir John Marshall in *Illustrated London News* of 29th January 1927. Also *ASI*, 1922-23, pp. 115 ff., 2 Plates, Nos. XV and XVI.

this king enjoyed the whole region bounded on the north by the Himalayas, in the south by Rāma's bridge (*ā-setoḥ prathita-daśāsya-ketu-kīrteḥ*), and by the abodes of Varuṇa and Lakṣmī (*i.e.*, the oceans), on the east and the west (V. 15). In the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla Jayapāla, a son of Vākpāla and grandson of Gopāla, claims to have undertaken successful expeditions at the direction of Devapāla. We are told that at his approach the lord of Utkala took fright and fled from his capital, while the king of Prāgjyōtiṣa only continued to rule in his kingdom in safety when he agreed to hold the commands of Jayapāla on his proud head (V. 6). The Badal pillar inscription of the time of Guravamiśra also supplies interesting information on the victories of Devapāla. From this inscription we find the names of three ministers of Devapāla :

	Devapāla	...	Darbhapāṇi = Sarkarā-devī.
	,,	...	Someśvara = Rallā-devī.
(*Gauḍeśvara*)	,, ?	...	Kedāra Miśra = Vavvā.

We are told by the composer of this *praśasti* that, aided by the diplomacy (*nīti-kauśala*) of his minister Darbhapāṇi, Devapāla made tributary the whole region from Revā's father (Vindhyas) to the father of Gaurī (Himalayas) and from the eastern to the western ocean whose waters are red with the rays of the rising and setting sun' (V. 5). Thanks again to the wise counsel of the third minister Kedāra Miśra, 'the *Gauḍeśvara* long ruled the sea-girt earth, having eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūṇas, and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Draviḍa and Gurjara.'[1] Following Kielhorn, scholars usually identify this king of Gauḍa with Devapāla. No doubt many of these claims are much too extravagant to be taken seriously ; but apart from these statements, there appears to be

[1] It is interesting to note that Tāranātha also represents Devapāla as having greatly increased the power of the Pālas. He is said to have 'brought into submission the kingdom of Varendra in the east and afterwards the province of Oḍiviśa.' See *IA*, 1875, Vol. IV, p. 366.

sufficient evidence to show that Devapāla really had some military success. The chief rivals of the Pālas at this period were the Gurjaras and the Raṣṭrakūṭas. The contemporary princes may be arranged in the following tabular form :

Devapāla (c. 815-854 A.D.)	Nāgabhaṭa (c. 815-833 A.D.) Rāmabhadra Bhoja (c. 836-90 A. D.)	Amoghavarṣa (814-77 A.D.)

In describing the career of Dharmapāla we have already noticed how his preliminary success appears to have been ended by the vigorous attack of Nāgabhaṭa II, who may have even captured Kanauj by ousting Cakrāyudha. But the success of the Gurjara combined the other claimants for Kanauj against him. If we are to believe the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, the Gurjaras were defeated and the triumphant Deccani army advanced up to the Himalayas. What happened after this is not clear. Whether Nāgabhaṭa still held Kanauj, or whether Cakrāyudha was restored to his throne, is uncertain. But it is likely that the alliance between Govinda and Dharmapāla which is hinted at in the Sanjan plates did not last long; for the Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarṣa tells us that Govinda III fettered the Gauḍas.[1] But the death of Govinda III in c. 814 A.D. and the internal dissensions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas which followed must have come as a welcome relief to the Pālas.[2] The death of Nāgabhaṭa II in about 933 A.D. and the accession of the weak Rāmabhadra further helped Devapāla to realize his ambition.[3] He may have again recovered the same position in Northern India which was enjoyed by his father Dharmapāla for some time. But as the Barah grant of Bhoja, dated in 836 A. D., tells us that it was issued from Mahodaya, it must be assumed that either Devapāla lost ground during the latter part of his reign or that Kanauj remained under the Gurjaras since the time of Nāgabhaṭa II and could not be recovered

[1] *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 103, line 8.
[2] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 402 and 409.
[3] *JL*, Vol. X, pp. 45 ff.

by the Pālas.[1] Indeed verse 18 of the Gwalior inscription which refers to Bhoja's victory over Dharmapāla's son appears to indicate a Gurjara success over Devapāla.[2]

The recent discovery of the Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla has thrown an interesting sidelight on the history of Bengal and Bihar of this period. The plate records the grant of five villages in the *Viṣayas* of Rājagṛha and Gayā by the Pāla king at the request of *Suvarṇadvīpādhipati Mahārāja Bālaputradeva*, grandson of a Śailendra king of *Yava-bhūmi*. The land was intended for the upkeep of a Buddhist monastery built by the Śailendra king at Nālandā.[3] As Yava-bhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa have been identified with the islands of Java and Sumatra this record is an evidence of intercourse between the lower Ganges valley and the islands of the East Indian Archipelago in the middle of the 9th century. There may have been a regular pilgrim-traffic, possibly by sea, between these islands and the mouths of the Ganges.

The following records of Devapāla's reign have so far been discovered :

(1) *Monghyr grant.*—Discovered in Monghyr in 1780. Single plate of thick copper written on both sides (28+29 lines). On the top of it is soldered a seal; in the central panel of this is the well-known Sarnath device, the *dharma-cakra*, with two antelopes at the sides. Underneath is the royal name *Śri-Devapāladevasya*. The inscription opens with a verse in praise of Buddha, and then gives the genealogy of the donor from Gopāla. It was issued from *Śrī*-Mudgagiri-*samāvāsita-Śrīmaj-jayaskandhāvāra* by *Ps.-P.-Pb.-M.-Śrī*-Dharmapāladeva-*pādānudhyāta Ps.-P.-Pb.-M.*[4] *Śrimad*-Devapāla, and records

[1] *EI*, Vol. V, p. 211.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. XVII, pp. 99 ff.

[3] For the Śailendras see *JBRAS*, 1887-89, XVII, Part II, pp. 1-10; *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 316 ff. See also in this connection *The Yupa Inscriptions of King Mūlavarman from Koetei* (East Borneo), edited by Dr. Vogel, pp. 202 ff.

[4] Henceforth these titles will be represented in abbreviation as follows : *Paramasaugata* = *Ps.*, *Parameśvara* = *P.*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* = *Pb.*, *Mahārājādhirāja* = *M.*

the gift of Meṣikā-*grāma*, in Krimilā-*Viṣaya* and Śrī-Nagara (mod. Patna district)-*Bhukti*, to the Bhaṭṭa-pravara Vīhe-karāta Miśra in the year 33 of the king's reign. The *Dūtaka* of the inscription was the son of the donor, *Yuvarāja* Rājyapāla.[1]

(2) *Nālandā grant.*—Unearthed at Nālandā in 1921. Single plate: 42 lines (obverse), and 24 lines (reverse). The seal is the same as in the Monghyr grant. The introductory portion (first 25 lines) is identical with the same portion of the Monghyr plate. This record was also issued from Mudgagiri, but is posterior to the other record by six years, being dated in year 39. Genealogy same as in the Monghyr grant. It records that Devapāladeva, at the request of *Suvarṇadvīpādhipati Mahārāja-Śrī-V(B)ālaputradeva*, granted five villages, four of which lay in Rājagṛha-*Viṣaya* of Śrīnagara-*Bhukti* while the other lay in Gayā-*Viṣaya*. The grant was made for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nālandā by the said king of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra ?). The endowment is entirely Buddhist. The 2nd side of the plate introduces the *Dūtaka* of the grant, who is referred to as *Dharmādhikāre'smin.*[2] Śrī-V(B)alavarmā-Vyāghrataṭī-*Maṇḍalādhipati.*[3] Then follows an account of Bālaputradeva. We are told that there was a king of Yava-bhūmi who was a *Śailendra-vaṁśatilaka*. He had a son. As Paulomī was to Indra, so was Tārā the *agramahiṣī* to this son. Tārā was the daughter of the great ruler Dharmasetu (Varmasetu ?) of the lunar race (*Rājñaḥ Soma-kulānvayasya*

[1] The plate was first published in 1788 in Vol. I, pp 123 ff. of the *Asiatic Researches*. The inscription then mysteriously disappeared. In 1892 Kielhorn published a text and translation of the record from its lithographic representation in the *Asiatic Researches*. See *IA*, Vol. XXI, pp. 254 ff. This text was published with notes in the *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 33 ff. It was one of the romances of Indian history when the grant was discovered a few years back in Kenwood House in England in the course of some repairs. It has been now edited by Dr. Barnett with an excellent photographic facsimile from the original plate in *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 304 ff.; the grant now belongs to Kenwood Estate.

[2] In this religious function according to the editor; but could it mean in this Department of Law ?

[3] Vyāghrataṭī is in the Khalimpur grant included in the *Bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana.

mahataḥ Dharmasetoḥ). As the son of Śuddhodana was born of Māyā, so was born of her the illustrious Bālaputra. Having realised the transitoriness of wealth and attracted by the excellences of Nālandā he built a *vihāra* in that place. Though the inscription is Buddhist, it is significant that in the last verse a hope is expressed for the continuance of the grant in the following words: "as long as the Ganges has her limbs agitated by the extensive plaited hair of Hara,"—etc.[1]

(3) *Ghośrawa stone inscription.*—The stone was discovered 7 miles south of the town of Bihar in the village of Ghosrawa in 1848. It has 19 lines of Sanskrit verse, and records the establishment of a *Vajrāsana* by a Buddhist monk, Vīradeva. The inscription opens with verses in praise of *Vajrāsana* (Buddha), and then gives an account of Vīradeva. In Nagarahāra (near mod. Jalalabad), the ornament of the countries of *Uttarāpatha*, there was born *Rājasakha-dvijavara* Indragupta, who married Rajjekā. Their son Vīradeva after reading the Vedas and having finished other studies (*Śāstras*) went to *Kaniṣka-mahā-vihāra* (near modern Peshawar), and became a disciple of *ācārya* Sarvajñaśānti. After some time Vīradeva came to Mahābodhi in order to worship Vajrāsana. From that place he went to Yaśovarmapura[2] to see *sahadeśī-bhikṣus*. There he remained for a long time and received worship from the *bhuvanādhipa*-Devapāla, and later on was appointed as the director of the Nālandā (modern Baragaon) monastery. He there built a *bhavana* as high as Kailāsa peak for Vajrāsana.[3]

(4) *Nālandā image-inscription.*—The inscription is incised on a metallic image of Saṁkarṣaṇa excavated at Nālandā.[4]

[1] The inscription was discovered by Hīrānand Śāstrī at Nālandā in 1921; mentioned in the *ASI*, Central Circle, 1920-21, pp. 37 ff. It was edited by N. G. Majumdar from the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, in April 1926 and in *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310 ff. by H. Śāstrī.

[2] Bihar according to Cunningham; according to Hultzsch Ghosrawa.

[3] First published in *JASB*, 1848, Vol. XVII, Part I, pp. 492 ff.; edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 307 ff. The same text has been published with notes in *Gauḍalekhamālā* with a plate, pp. 45 ff. It is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

[4] *ASI*, 1920-21, p. 35.

The evidence of these records show that like his father Devapāla at least retained his hold on Bihar and North Bengal. As we have already suggested, there is evidence that he wielded greater power than the distribution of his inscriptions would suggest.[1] We have again no means of knowing his exact reign-period. Tāranātha assigns him 48 years, while his inscriptions so far discovered give us his 39th year. Though it is not unlikely that he may have reigned for some time after this, the years c. 815-54 A.D. assigned to him in our chronology may be taken as a rough approximation of his reign-period.[2] The Pāla records are silent about the names of any queen of Devapāla, and mention only one son, the *Yuvarāja Rājyapāla*, who was the *Dūtaka* of the Monghyr grant issued in the 23rd year of his reign. As he is not mentioned in any subsequent Pāla records, it has been usually assumed that he died during the reign of his father.[3] As nothing indicates that the next ruler succeeded to the throne peacefully, and, on the contrary, there appears to have been a palace revolution, the arguments applied in the case of Tribhuvanapāla[4] apply with more force in his case. But if it is to be supposed that he died before his father, I would suggest that the event may have taken place before the 29th year of Devapāla and this would explain the rather unusual procedure of appointing an officer of North Bengal to serve as

[1] The statements in the Badal *praśasti* that Devapāla always stood at the gate awaiting the leisure of his Brahman minister Darbhapāṇi and that he sat on his throne trembling before him should not be coupled with the election of Gopāla, as in *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 79 fn. Though it is possible that the ministers enjoyed great power it would be perhaps going too far to represent them as King-makers. The passages referred to above occur in a private inscription of the ministerial family, which naturally tried to praise its members in the orthodox style of the *praśastikāras*.

[2] If, as seems not unlikely, the Gauḍeśvara, the master of Kedāra Miśra, be taken as Devapāla, then 3 generations served him as ministers, an undoubted evidence of the king's long reign. As Kedāra Miśra was also the minister of the next king, he may be accepted as a young contemporary of Devapāla.

[3] For a different view see *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 40 fn., where Maitra suggests the identification of Rājyapāla with Vigrahapāla I. But as there is sufficient reason to believe that the latter was not the son of Devapāla his argument falls to the ground.

[4] See *supra*, p. 290.

Dūtaka in a grant of land in Bihar, executed in Monghyr. In any case the Pāla inscriptions always represent Vigrahapāla I as the successor of Devapāla. In the Badal *praśasti* king Śūrapāla is placed between Devapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla. Thus it is likely that Vigrahapāla I and Śūrapāla were names of the same person. The relationship of this Vigrahapāla-Śūrapāla with Devapāla has however given rise to considerable differences of opinion. In the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Dr. Hoernle stated : ' It seems clear from this (Amgachi) grant that Vigrahapāla was not a nephew, but a son of Devapāla; for the pronoun " his son " (*tat-sūnuḥ*) must refer to the nearest preceding noun which is Devapāla. In the Bhāgalpur grant this reference is obscured through the interpolation of an intermediate verse in praise of Jayapāla, which makes it appear as if Vigrahapāla were a son of Jayapāla.'[1] Mr. Maitreya held that, since in both these grants Devapāla is distinctly called Jayapāla's *pūrvaja*, they must be brothers.[2] Dr. Kielhorn on the other hand expressed the opinion that Vigrahapāla-Śūrapāla was the son of Jayapāla, and the grandson of Vākpāla, the second son of Gopāla I.[3] This view seems to be supported by the fact that the names of Vākpāla and Jayapāla are entirely omitted from the inscriptions of Dharmapāla and Devapāla, and regularly appear in the inscriptions of the descendants of Vigrahapālā I, which is explained only by assuming that they were the grandfather and father of that king.[4] It is also significant that in the inscriptions which follow Vigrahapāla I the victories of Devapāla's reign are mainly ascribed not to Devapāla himself but to Jayapāla, which finds a parallel in the Badal *praśasti*, which ascribes the victories to the ministerial family. But the latter is a private inscription the main object of which was to praise the family of Garga. The praise of Vākpāla and Jayapāla

[1] Part II, Appendix II, p. 206.
[2] *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 65-66 f., notes.
[3] *EI*, Vol. VIII, Appendix I, p. 17, fn. 6.
[4] *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 218.

in the official records of Vigrahapāla's successors appears to be meaningless unless we assume that they were specially connected with Vigrahapāla I in the way that Kielhorn has suggested.

Vigrahapāla I appears to be a rather shadowy personality. Though it is sometimes said of him that he was the cause of infinite trouble to his enemies, or that he was a veritable enemy-destroying Indra, no definite victories are ascribed in any inscription to him. Our suspicions seem to be confirmed by V. 17 of the Bhāgalpur grant of his son Nārāyaṇapāla, which runs as follows: "Let asceticism be mine and the kingdom thine. Thus two men have spoken to two others, Vigrahapāla to him and Sagara to Bhagīratha." This appears to be a clear hint that Vigrahapāla I abdicated in favour of his son. Another hint of his peaceful disposition seems to be contained in V. 7 of the same inscription, which compares him with Ajātaśatru, which was a name of the elder Pāṇḍava Yudhiṣṭhira.[1] The same verse informs us that Vigrahapāla married Lajjā, the ornament of the Haihaya race (*Haihaya-vaṁśa-bhūṣā*). The Badal *praśasti* informs us that Śūrapāla often attended the sacrificial ceremonies of his Brahman minister Kedāra Miśra, and with bent head and his soul bathed in the waters of faith, received the holy waters (V. 15). To this king are ascribed two inscriptions incised on the pedestal of two images of Buddha. These are said to have been found somewhere in Bihar and are supposed to contain the name of Uddaṇḍapura (mod. town of Bihar). The inscriptions record that the images were installed by Pūrṇadāśa, a Buddhist monk of Sind, in the 3rd year of Śūrapāla.[2]

[1] *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 67 fn. I think Maitreya is right in taking this sense. A comparison with the Nāga (Haryaṅka?) king Ajātaśatru of Magadha is most improbable.

[2] These inscriptions are apparently the same which are edited by Prof. N. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1908, pp. 107-08; Mr. Chakravarti was of opinion that the inscriptions belong to Śūrapāla II. Mr. R. D. Banerji on palaeographic grounds referred them to Śūrapāla I. See *MASB*, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 57. He is supported by Mr. Bhattacharyya in the *IHQ*, September 1927, pp. 586-87, who rightly points out that the date on the plate published by Chakravarti is 3 and not 2.

Vigrahapāla I was succeeded by his son Nārāyaṇapāla. Though very few political facts are known for his long reign, yet from the number and distribution of his records he appears to have been a more substantial figure. The following records are known for his reign :

(1) *Gaya stone inscription.*—At present lying in the courtyard of the Viṣṇupāda temple at Gaya. It contains 16 lines of 'very incorrect Sanskrit, like that of the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. of Nepal ;' very carelessly incised. The purpose of the inscription is to record the erection of a monastery for Brahmanical ascetics by a man named Bhāṇḍadeva in the 7th year of king Nārāyaṇapāla.[1]

(2) *Indian Museum stone inscription.*—Two lines incised on 'a long piece of carved stone, probably a portion of a pedestal. Most probably it came with other sculptures from the Behar Museum.' Its find-place is not definitely known. The inscription records the creation of an image in the 9th year of *Parameś-vara*-Nārāyaṇapāladeva by the *Andhra-vaiṣayika Śākya-bhikṣu Sthavira* Dharmamitra.[2]

(3) *Bhagalpur grant.*—Discovered in Bhagalpur, in Bihar. Single plate written on both sides; 54 lines (front side 29 and back 26). The usual seal contains the legend *Śri-Nārāyaṇapāla-devāsya*. The inscription begins with a verse in praise of *Lokanātha Daśabala* (Buddha), then gives the genealogy of the Pālas from Gopāla to the donor. Verse 3 contains the famous passage about the relationship of Dharmapāla with Indrarāja and Cakrāyudha of Kanauj. From this inscription onwards Vākpāla and Jayapāla regularly appear in the genealogical tables of Pāla inscriptions, and the victories of Devapāla's reign are ascribed to Jayapāla. The *Śāsana* was issued from the *Jayaskandhāvāra* at Mudgagiri, and records the

[1] Discovered and noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 120, No. 6, Pt. XXXVI; re-edited in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 60-61.

[2] First noticed by Paṇḍit Vidyāvinod in the *Baṅgīya Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā*, Vol. XV, p. 13. Then edited in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 62.

grant of Mukuṭikā-*grāma* in *Kakṣa-Viṣaya* in Tīra-*Bhukti* (mod. Tirhut) by *Ps.-M.* Vigrahapāladeva-*pādānudhyāta P.-Pb-M.* Nārāyaṇapāladeva, to the temple of *Śiva-bhaṭṭāraka* and *Pāśupata-ācārya-pariṣad* at Kalaśapota. The gift was made in the 17th year of the king. In lines 38-39 the king boasts of having built 1,000 temples for the said Śiva in the same locality. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was *Bhaṭṭa* Gurava "who knew the meaning of the idea of Brahman...was extremely well-read in all the *Śrutis* together with their *aṅgas*, and performed great *yajñas*.' The record was incised by Maṅkhadāsa, who is described as *Sat-Samataṭa-janmā*. It is to be noticed that the title *Paramasaugata* does not occur here among the titles of the king.[1]

(4) *Badal pillar inscription.*—Found incised on a stone monolith at a distance of 3 miles from Badal in Dinajpur district, Northern Bengal. It contains 29 lines. Characters are well engraved and skilfully formed. The first 28 lines are in Sanskrit verse. The proper object of the inscription was to record in verses 27-28 the erection of a *Garuḍa-stambha, i.e.*, a pillar bearing on its top a figure of the mythical bird Garuḍa, by the Brahman Gurava Miśra, who was a minister of Nārāyaṇapāla. But the epigraph is really a panegyric on Gurava Miśra and his ancestors, who served as counsellors and ministers of the Pālas from Dharmapāla to Nārāyaṇapāla. Kielhorn had suggested that this Gurava is identical with the *Bhaṭṭa* Gurava mentioned as the *Dūtaka* of the Bhagalpur grant. The inscription was incised by *Sūtradhāra* Viṣṇubhadra. The upper part of the pillar with the figure of "the foe of the serpents' is broken off and is now missing.[2]

[1] First edited by Dr. R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XLVII, Part I, p. 384. It was re-edited by Hultzsch in *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 304 ff. The text is reprinted in the *Gauḍalekhamālā* with notes. It is now preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[2] Discovered in 1780 by Charles Wilkins. He published a translation of the epigraph in 1788 in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, pp. 131-44. In 1874 a mutilated and careless transcript of the inscription with a translation was published by P. C. Ghosh in *JASB*, Vol. XLIII, Part I, pp. 356-63. Properly edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 160-67. Re-edited in *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 70ff. under the name *Garuḍa-stambha-lipi*.

(5) *Uddaṇḍapura image-inscription.*—The inscription is incised on a brass image of Pārvatī. It is a votive inscription, and runs as follows: "The pious gift of Ṭhāruka, son of Rāṇaka Ucha (Utsa), resident of Uddaṇḍapura (mod. town of Bihar), in the 54th year of the reign of the illustrious Nārāyaṇapāladeva."[1]

From these records it is clear that Nārāyaṇapāla ruled for at least 54 years, and must have held a large portion of Bihar. In his case too, though we have plenty of vague praise, there is no evidence of his military activity or success. Even the Badal *praśasti* fails to note any such victories for Gurava Miśra, the minister of Nārāyaṇapāla, as it mentions in the case of Garga, Darbhapāṇi, or Kedāra Miśra, the ministers of Dharmapāla and Devapāla. The reason for this becomes clearer when we look to the following table of the most important contemporary kings who had relations with the Pālas :—

Vigrahapāla I (*c.* 854-57 A.D.)	Bhoja (*c.* 836-90 A.D.)	Amoghavarṣa (*c.* 814-77 A.D.)
Nārāyaṇapāla (*c.* 857-911 A.D.)	Mahendrapāla I (*c.* 890-910 A.D.)	Kṛṣṇa II (*c.* 888-915 A.D.)

The Nilgund stone inscription of Amoghavarṣa (866 A.D.) informs us that the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Magadha worshipped him.[2] This statement is also found in the Sirur stone inscription (866-67 A.D.) of the same king.[3] In the Deoli grant of Kṛṣṇa III, Kṛṣṇa II is said to have initiated the Gauḍas in *Vinayavrata* and received worship from Aṅgas, Magadhas and others.[4] Bhoja was already in the possession of Mahodaya as early as 836 A.D. His Gwalior inscription, dated in 876 A.D.,

[1] Not yet properly edited. Noticed in *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 225. The text is given on the same page, fn. 57; also in *IA*, 1918, Vol. 47, pp. 109-110. The image is said to be now in the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya-Pariṣad. The inscription is as follows: *Śrī-Nārāyaṇapāladevarājye Saṁvat*, 54. *Śrī-Uddaṇḍapura-vāstavya Rāṇaka-Uchaputra Ṭhārukasya.*

[2] *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 103, line 8.

[3] *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 218, line 6.

[4] *EI*, Vol. V, p. 193, V. 18.

informs us that he was bent upon 'conquering the three worlds.'[1] During the remaining years of his reign and his son's rule there is unquestionable epigraphic evidence to show that the Gurjaras held the whole of Northern India from the Karnal district in the Punjab to the Kathiawar peninsula in the south,[2] and the borders of the Pāla dominions in the east. In the Sagartal (Gwalior) inscription Bhoja claims to have burnt in the fire of his rage the powerful people of Bengal (*bṛhad-vaṅgān*).[3] The success of the Gurjaras against the Pālas is shown by a series of inscriptions discovered in Bihar. A slab of stone bearing the figures of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu in the walls of a modern temple of Śiva at Ramgaya (just opposite the temple of Gadādhar at Gaya on the other side of Phalgu) bears a short inscription, which tells us that it was a gift of a certain Sahadeva in the 8th year (from) the *abhiṣeka* of Mahendrapāla.[4] Another image-inscription of the same king was discovered at Gunariya, near the Grand Trunk Road in the Gaya district. It is dated in year 9 of the same king.[5] A third inscription of the same king was recently discovered at Itkhori in the Hazaribagh district, on an image of Tārā.[6] Another image inscription is reported to have been seen by Captain Kittoe[7] while two other inscriptions said to have been discovered in Bihar and belonging to the reign of Mahendrapāla are preserved in the British Museum.[8] It is thus clear that a large slice of Bihar including

Ibid, Vol. I, p. 156, V. 22.

EI, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff., 186 ff., 244 ff.; Vol. IX, p. 3; Vol. V, pp. 208 ff. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 151; *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 112; *Elliot*, Vol. I, pp. 4, 21.

ASI, 1903-04, pp. 282, V. 21. In *EI*, Vol. XVII, p. 109, *Vaṅgān* is read as *Vaṁśān*.

Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 123; *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 63-64.

Ibid, p. 64; Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 124.

ASI, 1920-21, p. 35.

MASB, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 63.

NKGWG, 1904, pp. 210-11. It should be noted that of these two records one is an image-inscription dated in *Saṁvat* 6, while the other contains 8 verses and is dated in *Saṁvat* 2. The statement that they were discovered in Magadha is made by Mr. R. D. Banerji in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 64, and *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 227, fn. 69. Kielhorn, who notices the two inscriptions, does not say where they were originally found, and I do not know Mr. Banerji's authority for his assertion.

at least Gaya and Hazaribagh districts passed under the control of the Gurjaras. Bhoja had already obtained some successes against Devapāla. The pressure was continued in the subsequent period; but it appears that up to the 7th year of Nārāyaṇapāla, the Pālas succeeded in holding Magadha against the Gurjaras, who were now at the head of a mighty empire. As I have already shown, Vigrahapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla appear to have been rather men of peace, and were no match for their powerful rivals. Their position seems to have grown worse when they also became the targets of the attacks of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns. It is indeed significant that during this long period of more than half a century (*c.* 854-911 A.D.) there is not a single allusion in the Pāla records to a victory over the Gurjaras or the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The silence of the *praśastikāras* bears eloquent testimony to the decadent state of Pāla power during these years. Our conclusion is remarkably confirmed by the recent discovery of a stone pillar-inscription of the 13th year of Mahendrapāla in the northern *Maṇḍapa* of the Paharpur *vihāra* in Rajshahi district (North Bengal).[1] The Dighwa-Dubauli plate of this Gurjara emperor, dated in V. S. 955 (A.D. 898), records his grant of land in Śrāvastī-*Bhukti* (Gonda and Bahraich districts in U.P.).[2] So it seems that some time after the 17th year of Nārāyaṇapāla (*c.* 874 A.D.) the Gurjaras gradually advanced eastward along the Northern bank of the Ganges, till in the 13th year of Mahendrapāla they annexed the whole of Tirhut and Northern Bengal. If the Uddaṇḍapura inscription of the 54th year of Nārāyaṇapāla has been correctly read we must suppose that the districts of Patna, Monghyr, Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas, all on the southern bank of the Ganges in Bihar still remained under the Pālas, who possibly also ruled over portions of west, east and south Bengal. But as the Gurjara inscriptions show, their

[1] Not yet edited. Discovered in the recent excavations by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Circle. Noticed in *ASI*, 1925-26, p. 141.

[2] *IA*, 1886, Vol. XV, p. 112. For the correction of the date wrongly read by Fleet as 155, see *JBRAS*, Vol. XXI, 1902-04, pp. 405 ff.

western rivals had crossed the Gandak and the Son in an enveloping movement to strangle their precarious existence in Bihar and West Bengal.

Nārāyaṇapāla was succeeded by his son Rājyapāla. The Bangad grant of Mahīpāla informs us that this king constructed many temples with lofty halls and dug numerous tanks deep as the sea (V. 7).[1] The same inscription informs us that he married Bhāgyadevī, the daughter of Tuṅgadeva, 'the moon in the family of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas' (V. 8).[2] Kielhorn suggested that this Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince was Jagattuṅga II, the son of Kṛṣṇa II, while N. Vasu suggested that he is to be identified with the latter prince, who had the *biruda* Śubhatuṅga. A third suggestion is that he is the same as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Tuṅga-Dharmāvaloka whose stone inscription was discovered in Bodhgaya.[3] Only one inscription has so far been discovered of this Pāla king. This is the *Bargaon pillar-inscription* of his 24th year. It was found at Bargaon, near Bihar (Patna District) on the site of old Nālandā. The pillar and the record appear to have belonged to the ruins of an ancient Jain temple. The inscription consists of five lines of incorrect Sanskrit, and records the visit of one Vaidanātha (Vaidyanātha), son of Monoratha, of the *Vaṇika-kula*, to a temple in the month of Mārga[śīrṣa], in the 24th year of the reign of the illustrious Rājapāla (Rājyapāla).[4] This inscription shows that the Pālas still held the Patna district, and possibly also Monghyr, Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas. The Gurjaras probably were in possession of the region now known as Shahabad district, and having crossed the Son

[1] This is also found in V. 7 of the Amgachi grant of Vigrahapāla III, and the Manahali grant of Madanapāla (V. 7).

[2] This is found also in V. 8 of the Amgachi grant of Vigrahapāla III and the Manahali grant of Madanapāla (V. 8).

[3] *JASB*, 1892, Vol. LXI, p. 80, fn. 9; N. Vasu, *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihās (Rājanya-Kāṇḍa)*, p. 168; Dr. R. L. Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, p. 195, Pl. XL, lines 8-9; *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 226.

[4] *IA*, 1917, Vol. 47, p. 111. The pillar is now in a modern Jain temple at Bargaon; see also *JBORS*, December 1928, p. 489.

somewhere near Dehri, occupied Gaya and Hazaribagh districts, while in the north they overran the whole of Tīra-Bhukti and Varendrī. But there is reason to conclude, as we shall see further on, that the Gurjara success was short-lived and their occupation of Gaya was not permanent. Rājayapāla ruled at least for 24 years (*c.* 911-35 A.D.), and was succeeded by his son Gopāla II. From the number and distribution of the records of this prince it is reasonable to conclude that there was probably a revival of Pāla power under his rule. The following dates and records of his reign have so far been discovered :

(1) *Bodhgaya stone image-inscription.*—Discovered in Bodhgaya. The inscription is incised on the pedestal of an image; it begins with a verse in praise of the Jina (Buddha), and then records the erection of an image of the Muni (Buddha) by Dharmabhīma, who describes himself as *Sindhūdbhava* (native of Sindhu ?) and also as Śakrasena. In the last line we have ..'*Śri-Gopāla-deva-rājye.*' No year is mentioned. But as the script shows a resemblance to the Badal *praśasti* and may therefore be referred to the 10th century A.D., the inscription has rightly been ascribed to Gopāla II.[1]

(2) *Nālandā Vāgīśvarī stone image-inscription.*—Discovered in the ruins of Nālandā. The inscription is incised on the pedestal of the image and records the erection of a statue of *Vāgīśvarī-bhaṭṭārikā* at Nālandā in the 1st year of the reign of *Pb.-M.-P.* Gopāladeva. As the script of the record is later than that of the inscription of Dharmapāla, it is now generally regarded as belonging to Gopāla II. It has been suggested that the word *Suvarṇavrīhisaktā* occurring after the name of the

[1] Dug out by Cunningham in 1879; see plate XXVIII, No. 2 in his *Mahābodhi*; also *ibid*, p. 63. Edited by Prof. N. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1908, Vol. IV (N.S.), pp. 102-05; see also *JASB*, 1909, pp. 103-04. Text reprinted in *Gauḍalekhamālā* with notes, pp. 88 ff. According to H. P. Sāstrī *Sindhūdbhava* should signify Dharmabhīma's racial origin. This epithet according to the Pandit therefore makes Sakrasena a relative of Dharmapāla. The image is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

goddess indicates the custom of encasing the statues in gold plates.[1]

(3) A MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* was copied in the *Vikramaśīla-deva-vihāra* in the year 15 of *P.-Pb.-Ps.-M. Gopāladeva.*[2]

(4) A palm-leaf MS. of the *Maitreya Vyākaraṇa* bears the date year 57 of Gopāladeva's reign. The characters of the MS. are described as *Kuṭila* of the 10th century A. D. The treatise gives in the form of a prophecy the life of Maitreya, the future Buddha, and his teachings. The work was thrice translated into Chinese, for the first time by Kumārajīva (384-417 A.D.).[3]

From the records cited above it appears that Gopāla II probably ruled for at least 57 years. This is in harmony with the statement found in the Bangad grant of Mahīpāla and all subsequent grants that Gopāla II ruled this earth 'for a long time' (*cirataram avaner ekapatnyā*, etc.). The reappearance of Pāla inscriptions in Gaya district appears to indicate a revival of Pāla power during this period (*c.* 935-92 A.D.) and synchronises with the rapid decline of their western rivals, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. In the Deoli inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, Kṛṣṇa II is said to have defeated an unnamed Gurjara sovereign, possibly Bhoja II.[4] This Rāṣṭrakūṭa victory was followed by another crushing defeat of the Gurjaras. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV inform us that Indra III's cavalry crossed the unfathomable Yamunā and devastated the city of Mahodaya

[1] First discovered by Buchanan. See Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. I, Plate XV, figure 4. Cunningham noticed it in *ASR*, Vol. I, Plate XIII, p. 120. The inscription was fully read by H. P. Śāstrī and properly edited by Prof. N. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1908, Vol. VI (N.S.), pp. 105-06. The same text is printed in the *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 86-87.

[2] *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 150-51.

[3] *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Government Collection* by H. P. Śāstrī, Vol. 1 (Buddhist MSS.), Calcutta, 1917, pp. 14-15. Mr. R. D. Banerji has recently challenged Śāstrī's reading of the date; *JBORS*, December 1928, pp. 490 ff. He suggests that the date is 17 while D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that it is 11. Śāstrī still maintains that it is 57. I have given Śāstrī's reading pending my personal examination of the date of the MS.

[4] *EI*, Vol. V, p. 193, verse 13.

(916-17 A.D).[1] The Kanarese poet Pampa tells us that Narasiṁha, a Cāḷukya feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, put to flight the army of the *Ghūrjjara-rāja* and terrified Mahīpāla so much that the latter fled in consternation ' not stopping to eat or sleep or rest.' The Rāṣṭrakūṭa general, who was a contemporary of Indra III, claims to have ' bathed his horse at the junction of the Ganges and the sea.' [2] It thus appears that the Gurjaras were for a time completely overwhelmed by their southern rivals, and though there is evidence that Mahīpāla succeeded in recovering some amount of his power, there can be no doubt that these defeats shook the empire of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla to its very foundations so that in the period that followed, its vassal states gradually broke away under dynasties owning little or no allegiance to the central government. It is therefore not surprising that the Pālas should have striven at this time to regain some of their lost territories, and succeeded. But the decline of the Gurjaras did not afford any permanent protection to the Pālas on their western frontier. The Khajuraho inscription of the Candella Yaśovarman informs us that sometime before 953-54 A. D. he defeated the king of Gauḍa along with other princes of northern India.[3]

During the latter part of the reign of Gopāla II, or during that of his son Vigrahapāla II, a great calamity appears to have fallen on the fortunes of the Pālas. Verse 12 of the Bangad grant of Mahīpāla I, son of Vigrahapāla II, tells us that this prince recovered his paternal kingdom, ' which had been snatched away through pride of prowess by people who had no claim

[1] *Ibid*, Vol. VII, pp. 26ff., V. 19. *JL*, Vol. X, pp. 66-67.

[2] *The Pampa Bhārata* or *Vikramārjuna Vijaya* of Pampa (941 A. D.), Ed. by L. Rice (Bibliotheca Carnatica), Bangalore, 1898, pp. 3 ff. The actual passage tells us that he bathed his horses in the junction of the Ganges and the sea (*Gaṅgā-Vārdhiyoḷ*). This statement may contain a hint that the Gurjara arms, which we have seen had already advanced as far as Itkhori in Hazaribagh, *possibly* had advanced eastwards till sometime before 916-17 A.D. they had reached the mouths of the Hugli through Manbhum, Bankura, and Midnapur districts.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 126, V. 23.

to it.' [1] Who were these enemies conquered by Mahīpāla? The question is probably answered by the discovery of a pillar-inscription amongst the ruins of Bangad, in the district of Dinajpur, in North Bengal. The inscription contains only three lines, and records the erection of a temple of Śiva by a king of Gauḍa of the Kāmboja family (*Kāmbōjā-nvayaja Gauḍapati*). The inscription possibly contains a date in the compound *Kuñjara-ghaṭā-varṣeṇa*, which according to some scholars means 'in the year 888.' This date is then referred to the *Śaka* era (A.D. 966). But this view has not been accepted by some prominent orientalists. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, for instance, took it to mean, 'he who pours forth an array of elephants.' Recently Mr. R. D. Banerji has referred the inscription, on palaeographic grounds, to the period between Nārāyaṇapāla and Mahīpāla I.[2] This conclusion seems to agree with the fact that during the reigns of Rājyapāla, Gopāla II, and Vigrahapāla II (*c*. 911-92 A.D.) no record of the Pāla rulers have yet been discovered in North Bengal. After the Badal *praśasti* of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla we have to come down to the reign of Mahīpāla I before we can find any inscription in that locality. Thus it is not unlikely that Mahīpāla probably referred to this portion of Bengal as snatched away from his family and recovered by him. There is no means of knowing either the names or the number of the Kāmboja kings who ruled in Gauḍa. It is difficult even to find out the origin of this line of princes. The word *Kāmboja* does not materially help us. It occurs once in the Monghyr grant of Devapāla in connection with his victorious campaigns. The context of the passage where it occurs, as well as its association with horses, would seem to

[1] This is also found in v. 10 of the Manahali grant of Madanapāla.

[2] This inscription was first published by Westmacott with Dr. R. L. Mitra's translation and comments in the *IA*, Vol. I, pp. 127-28. For controversies on this publication see *ibid*, pp. 195 and 227. It was again edited by R. P. Chanda, in *JASB*, 1911, Vol. VII (N. S.), pp. 615-20. The inscribed pillar now stands in the garden in front of the palace of the Mahārāja of Dinajpur.

indicate that the composer of the inscription was referring to the Kāmbojas who are coupled with the Gandhāras and placed somewhere near modern Afghanistan. Prof. Foucher has pointed out that Nepalese tradition applied the name *Kāmboja-deśa* to Tibet. Accepting this suggestion, Chanda held that " the *Gauḍapati* of the Kāmboja family probably came from Tibet, Bhutan, or some other Himalayan country at the head of a Mongolian horde who are now represented by the Koch, and the Paliyas of Northern Bengal, also known as Rājvaṇśis."[1] In this connection I would venture to point out that there was a Gandhāra and possibly also a Kāmboja as well on the north-eastern frontier of India, near the regions now known as Yunnan and Szechwan[2] and it is not unlikely that these conquerors of Northern Bengal may have come from that direction. The history of the Brahmaputra valley, as we have shown elsewhere, tells of more than one invasion by the Mongoloid tribes on its north-eastern frontier and the extension of the power of some of these conquerors to the west beyond the Karatoya is probably not beyond the range of possibility. An Assamese conquest of North Bengal, though only a temporary one, is shown by the Nidhanpur inscription of Bhāskaravarman.[3]

The above discussion shows that, so far as our present stock of information allows us to conclude, it is more than likely that the Pālas lost Northern Bengal (*Gauḍa*) during the period (*c*. 911-92 A.D.). The Bangad grant of Mahīpāla gives the following descripti on of Vigrahapāla II :[4]

[1] *JASB*, 1914, p. 619 ; *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 37.

[2] *Campa*, by R. C. Majumdar, Lahore, 1927, p. xiv ; *Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia* by B. R. Chatterjee, pp. 278-79. From about 12th century there was a school of repute among the monks of Laittka, Southern Shan States, known as *Kamboja-Saṅgha*, see Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 109. fn. 1.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 73, line 3. See also *supra*, pp. 236 ff.

[4] *Ibid*, Vol. XIV, pp. 329-30. In the place of the word *-mmaruṣu* in this plate, occurs *-s=taruṣu* in other grants. Kielhorn while editing this inscription read *s=taruṣu*. See *JASB*, 1892, Vol. LXI, Part I, p. 83. V. 11 of this grant occurs also in the Amgachi grant (V. 14) where it describes the activities not of Vigrahapāla II, but of Vigrahapāla III.

"As the moon, the scatterer of myriads of rays, from the Sun, so from him was born Vigrahapāla-deva the scatterer of innumberable riches. By his rise (or birth), who was pleasing to the eyes on account of personal beauty (or by his soft rays), who was pure (or spotless), who was learned in the arts (*kalāmaya*), was alleviated the distress of the world" (V. 10).

"Whose war-elephants, like clouds, having drunk clear water in the *eastern* country, which abounds with water, after that having roamed according to their own will in the sandal-forests of the *Malaya* (country), (and) having caused a coolness in the *Marū* lands by throwing dense sprays (of water emitted from their trunks), enjoyed the slopes of the Himalayas" (v. 11).

Mr. A. K. Maitreya has read in these two verses an indirect hint of the calamities which according to him fell in the reign of Vigrahapāla II. He says :—" By referring to him as a moon sprung from the sea and getting thereby an opportunity of fastening upon him the (fault of) *kalāmayatva*, the poet may have hinted at his adversities. In the next śloka, the story of his elephants, after roaming about hither and thither and finding rest at last in the slopes of the Himalayas, and the reference immediately after this to the recovery of lost dominions by Mahipāla, may lead us to believe that the first eclipse of the Pāla power probably occurred in the reign of Vigrahapāla II."[1] This conclusion has been accepted by other scholars as reasonable,[2] and fits in well with our scheme of things. Though there is at present nothing to support my guess I would venture to suggest that there might have been some connection between the extension of the Gurjara power in North Bengal and the Kāmboja rulers of the same locality. If my suggestion

[1] *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 100, fn. The interpretation seems to be rather forced specially in the case of V. 11, which appears clearly to refer, as Kielhorn took it, to his tours of conquest. But this vague eulogy should not mean anything.

[2] *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. 1, pp. 238-39.

that these rulers were of Yunnanese origin, who came to the Brahmaputra valley and then to North Bengal, be accepted then it is possible they might have come to Bengal as allies of the Gurjaras. A double attack like this was eminently successful against Śaśāṅka when Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman combined against him. The withdrawal of Gurjara power after their defeat by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in *c.* 916-17 A.D. left the Kāmbojas masters of Northern Bengal. Anyhow it is certain that there was no great interval between the disappearance of the Gurjara hold on Gauḍa proper and the rise of this line of kings.[1]

Vigrahapāla II was succeeded by his son Mahīpāla I. For his reign we have the following dates and records :

(1) *The Baghaura Nārāyaṇa image-inscription.*—This image-inscription was discovered in a village near the subdivisional town of Brahmanbaria in the Tippera district. It was dug out of a pond in the village of Baghaura of that subdivision. The inscription is incised under the lotus-seat of a standing image of Nārāyaṇa. The characters belong to the N. E. variety generally known as *Kuṭila,* which gave birth to modern Bengali script. The inscription is dated in year 3 in the reign of Mahīpāladeva, and records that the image was the meritorious work of *Paramavaiṣṇava Vaṇika* Lokadatta, belonging to (the village of) Bilakīndaka (probably the mod. village of Bilakendual near Baghaura) in Samataṭa. As Mahīpāla II had a short and troublesome reign, the inscription has been referred to Mahīpāla I.[2]

(2) A Cambridge library palm-leaf MS. the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā,* was copied in the year 5 of *P.-Pb.-Ps.-M.* Mahīpāladeva. For reasons given in (1) this date is also referred to Mahīpāla I.[3]

[1] After the MS. was sent to the typist Dr. Raychaudhuri of the University of Calcutta has written to me about the connection of the Gurjara-Pratihāras and Kāmbojas. As far as I know, he believes that the Kāmbojas came into N. Bengal in the train of the Gurjara forces from N. W. India.

[2] *EI,* Vol. XVII, pp. 353-55.

[3] *CBMC,* pp. 100-01.

Buddha sitting in the *Bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*. It is in an imperfect state of preservation, having lost a number of letters. It records the erection of two *gandha-kuṭīs*, probably along with this image, in the 11th year of *M.-P.-Pb.-Ps.* Mahīpāladeva. For the reasons given in (1) this date is also referred to Mahīpāla I.[1]

(6) *Nālandā stone inscription.*—This inscription was discovered during excavations at the site of the great temple of Bālāditya at Nālandā. The inscription consists of 11 lines, and apparently records the gift of the elaborately carved gateway at the foot of which the inscription is reported to have been discovered. We are told that this gift was made by *Pravara-mahāyāna-yāyinaḥ-Paramopāsaka* Bālāditya, a resident of Tailāḍhaka (mod. village of Telāra or Telāḍha, about 21 miles to the west of Bargaon, *i.e.*, ancient Nālandā), and an immigrant from Kauśāmbī, in the year 11 of Mahīpāla, when (the great temple) was restored after it had been burnt down. On palaeographic ground the inscription was referred to Mahīpāla I by Kielhorn.[2]

(7) *Saranath stone inscription.*—Discovered in digging stones at Sarnath at about 520 ft. to the west of great tower, of Dhamekh. The inscription consists of only two lines, and is incised on the pedestal of an image of Buddha, which is now broken above the hips. " The historical part of the inscription is

[1] The inscription was first noticed by Cunningham, see his *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 122, No. 9, plate XXXVII, No. 5; edited by R. D. Banerji in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 75. The image is now worshipped as one of the five Pāṇḍavas in a small shrine in front of the great temple at Bodhgaya.

[2] The inscription was discovered by Captain Marshall in 1864. A cast of the inscription which was sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, was lost, and the epigraph was rediscovered by Mr. Broadley. Noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. III, pp. 122-123; then edited by Kielhorn in *NKGWG*, 1904, Heft 2, pp. 111-112. Prof. N. Chakravarti edited it again in *JASB*, 1908, Vol. IV (N.S.), pp. 106-107; text printed with a plate and notes in the *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 101-103, under the name '*Bālāditya Stone Inscription*.' For identification of Telāḍhaka see *ASR*, Vol. XI, pp. 164 ff. The record is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

engraved below the statue.'' Then follows a band of sculptures of seven panels. The central panel contains the *Dharmacakra*, the 3rd and the 5th two antelopes (exactly as in Pāla seals), the 2nd and the 6th two tigers, and the 1st and 7th two kneeling male figures, which support the stone above with their hands, like the giants in front of Cave III at Nasik. The inscription begins with *Oṁ namo Buddhāya*. Then we are told that " The illustrious Sthirapāla and his younger brother the illustrious Vasantapāla, whom the lord of Gauḍa, the illustrious Mahīpāla, caused to establish in Kāśī hundreds of precious monuments of his glory, such as *Īśānas* (*i.e.*, Liṅgas ?), paintings (*citra*) and bells (*ghaṇṭā*), after he had worshipped the feet of the *guru* *Śrī*-Vāmarāśi at Vārāṇasī......repaired the *Dharmarājika* and the *Dharmacakra* with all its parts and constructed this new *gandha-kuṭī* with stones coming from 8 different holy places (*aṣṭa-mahāsthāna-śaila-vinirmita*).'' The date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1083 (A.D. 1026) is given at the end.[1]

(8) *Imadpur image-inscription*.—In the course of excavations of a mound called Jowhri Di, near the village of Imadpur in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar, two groups of inscribed brass figures were dug out. The inscriptions, which were identical ran as follows: *Śrīman Mahīpāladeva-rājasa Samatt* 48 *jeṣṭa dina Sukala pakṣa* 2.[2]

(9) *Titarawa image-inscription*.—The inscription is incised on the base of a colossal statue of Buddha at Titarawa, an

[1] The inscription (now in Lucknow Museum) was discovered in 1794, and a transcript of it was published in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V, p. 133; Cunningham published a defective translation in his *ASR*, Vol. III, pp. 121-122; the text is given in Vol. XI, p. 182. Dr. Hultzsch edited it in *IA*, 1885, Vol. XIV, pp. 139-140. Dr. Vogel discussed the inscription in the *ASI*, 1903-1904, pp. 222-223; Arthur Venis challenged some interpretations of Hultzsch in *JASB*, 1906, Vol. II (N. S.), pp. 445-447; edited also in the *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 104-109; the interpretation of the inscription is full of difficulties. In the main I have followed Hultzsch.

[2] These inscriptions have not yet been edited. They are noticed by Hoernle in fn. 17 of his article on the *Pālas of Bengal* in *IA*, 1885, Vol. XIV, p. 165. The excavations are noticed in a small article in *JASB*, 1881, Vol. L, p. 98.

ancient site 6 miles from the town of Bihar in the Patna district of Bihar. The record consists of "three lines of very small letters which are too much injured to be read easily. The last word in the legible portion of the 3rd line is the name of Mahīpāla."[1]

It is evident from the above that Mahīpāla I had a long reign. According to Tāranāth, he ruled for 52 years.[2] The Imadpur image inscriptions show that he reigned at least for 48 years (c. 992-1040 A.D.). I have already referred to the arguments advanced to prove that the year 1026 A.D. of the Sarnath inscription was his last year, or the year immediately following his death, as inconclusive.[3] It is evident from the number and distribution of his records that Mahīpāla was a successful king. I have drawn attention to the passage in his grants and subsequent inscriptions which give him credit for having recovered his paternal kingdom (*vāhu-darpād anadhikṛta-viluptaṁ rājyam āsādya pitrām*) by killing his enemies in war. Since the earliest inscription of his reign comes from Samataṭa, it has been assumed by certain scholars that before he succeeded in recovering his ancestral dominions, his kingdom was reduced to that portion of Bengal. They find confirmation of their conclusion in V. 11 of the Bangad plate of Mahīpāla, which according to them informs us that Vigrahapāla II, after losing his kingdom, took shelter in the eastern country where water

[1] Noticed by Cunningham in 1873 in his *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 123.

[2] *IA*, 1875, Vol. IV, p. 366.

[3] *JASB*, 1921, Vol. XVII (N.S.), p. 4. Dr. R. C. Majumdar argues that since the sumtotal of the known reign-periods of the successors of Mahīpāla I, when added to 1026 takes us to the second quarter of the 12th century A. D. "it may be held that Mahīpāla died c. 1026 A.D., and the same conclusion must be upheld even if it is proved that Madanapāla continued to rule for some time after the conquest of Varendra by Vijayasena" (c. 1120 A.D. ?). In *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 257-258, the author argues that since the Sarnath epigraph does not use either *Pravardhamāna-vijaya-rajya* or *Kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājya* and the composer of the inscription has used *akārayat*, it should be assumed that at the time of the inscription Mahīpāla was dead. But he had the good sense to point out that his arguments could not be used with any force, since the inscription in question is composed in verse and not in prose. See also *supra*, p. 281 and fn. 1.

abounds (*deśe prāci pracura-payasi*).[1] Apart from the fact that the inscription in question (No. 1) is an image-inscription which can be moved from place to place, I would point out that verse 11 of the Bangad grant does not bear that interpretation. It simply refers to the roaming about of the army of Vigrahapāla from the eastern country to the Maru lands and from the Himalayas to the Malaya country. The distribution of his inscriptions however shows, that, whatever the limits of his ancestral dominions were at the time of his accession, before his 48th year he ruled over Gaya, Patna, and Muzaffarpur districts in Bihar, and possibly over the Tippera district in Bengal. From the composition of the Sarnath inscription, scholars have assumed that even Benares was included in his dominions about 1026 A.D.[2] His Bangad grant shows his power over Northern Bengal. Mahīpāla therefore can very well be regarded as the second founder of the fortunes of the Pālas. But his attempts to revive Pāla power brought him into conflict with other ambitious sovereigns of India. A MS. of the *Caṇḍakauśika* of Kṣemīśvara, dated 1331 A.D., refers indirectly to a conflict of Mahīpāla with the Karṇāṭas. From the fact that it compares Mahīpāla with Candragupta and the Karṇāṭas with the *nava-Nandas*, it can be assumed that the Pāla king successfully repulsed an attempted invasion of his territories by the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, who were at this period the rulers of Karṇāṭa.[3] The

[1] *EI*, Vol. XVII, p. 354; *Bāṅgālār Itihas*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 139, unpublished article by Mr. Stapleton noticed in fn. 8 on the same page.

[2] *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 74; *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 240.

[3] *JASB*, 1893, Vol. LXII, Part I; *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, pp. 251 ff. But from the fact that none of the inscriptions of the contemporary Cāḷukya sovereigns (Taila II, Satyāśraya, Vikramāditya V, and Jayasiṁha II) refers to any conflict with the Pālas, it may not seem impossible that the author was referring to the *Karṇāṭas* of Mithilā and Nepal. But the possibility of such an identification is rendered impossible by the fact that these Karṇāṭakas probably came to N.E. India in the train of prince Vikramāditya, son of Cālukya Someśvara I (1044-68 A.D.). See *supra*, pp. 203 ff. The identification of the Coḷas with Karṇāṭas however is entirely mistaken; see *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. xi.

possibility of another struggle with a western potentate is revealed by a Nepal MS. of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the colophon of which tells us that it was copied in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1076 (A.D. 1019), when *Mahārājādhirāja Puṇyāvaloka Somavaṁśodbhava Gauḍadhvaja Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva* was reigning in *Tīra-Bhukti*.[1] Some scholars have identified this Gāṅgeyadeva with the Tripurī Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva, the father of Lakṣmī-Karṇa. As his Piawan rock inscription is dated in K.E. 789 ? (1037 A.D.), there is no inherent impossibility in the identification of the two kings.[2] If they are identified, then we must assume that Gāṅgeyadeva conquered Tirhut and also Benares, which lay between his territories and Tīra-*Bhukti*, some time before 1019 A.D. This conflicts with the interpretation of the Sarnath inscription according to which Mahīpāla was in possession of that city about 1026 A.D. Unless we now hold that building or repairing of temples in one of the sacred places of Buddhism by a Buddhist king need not necessarily imply his possession of that place,[3] we have to agree with Prof. Lévi that this Gāṅgeyadeva was perhaps a member of a local branch of the Kalacuris, for one of whom we have the Kahla (Gorakhpur Dist. U.P.) plates dated in V.S. 1134 and 1135 (A.D. 1077 and 1079).[4] The only other possible interpretation, if we accept the identification of the *Gauḍadhvaja* Gāṅgeyadeva with the father of Lakṣmī-Karṇa, is to suppose that the latter was defeated some time between A.D. 1019 and 1026 by Mahīpāla, who conquered Benares from the Kalacuri ruler.

If the evidence of conflict with the Karṇāṭas and Kalacuris

[1] *JASB*, 1903, Vol. LXXII, Part I, p. 18.

[2] *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. 1, pp. 252-53.

[3] This is quite possible, see *supra*, pp. 294-95, the Nālandā grant of Devapāla.

[4] *EI*, Vol. VII, p. 85; *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 202, fn. 1. The absence of any expression such as *rājye*, *vijayarājye*, *Kalyāṇarājye*, etc., in the Sarnath epigraph and the method of dating the inscription in Vikrama era, which is so very unusual for Pāla records found within their dominions, naturally raise the suspicion that Sarnath was possibly not included in Mahīpāla's kingdom.

is somewhat problematical, we are on firmer ground when we come to discuss the invasion of Mahīpāla's dominions by the Coḷas. The Tirumalai (near Pōlur, North Arcot district, Madras) rock inscription dated in the 13th year of the Coḷa king Parakeśarivarman, *alias* Rajendra-Coḷadeva I, contains the following account of his victories in Northern India. "(He) seized by (his) great, warlike army (the following) :............*Oḍḍa-Viṣaya* which was difficult to approach (and which he subdued in) close fights ; the good *Kōśalai-nāḍu* where Brāhmaṇas assembled; *Taṇḍa-butti*, in whose gardens bees abounded (and which he acquired) after having destroyed Dharmapāla (in) hot battle ; *Takkaṇa-lāḍam*, whose fame reached (all directions, (and) which he occupied), after having forcibly attacked Raṇaśūra ; *Vaṅgāḷa-deśa*, where the rain wind never stopped (and from which) Govindacandra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant ; elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (which he seized) after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field Mahīpāla, decked (as he was) with ear-rings, slippers, and bracelets; *Uttira-lāḍam*, as rich in pearls as the ocean ; and the *Gaṅgā*, whose waters dashed against bathing-places (*tīrtha*) covered with sand,.........:"[1]

As the Mērpāḍi inscription of the same king, dated in his 9th year, does not contain any account of those conquests,[2] it has been assumed with some probability that these victories were obtained in the course of some expeditions undertaken between the 9th and 13th years of his reign.[3] Rājendra Coḷa I, ascended the throne between the 27th March and the 7th July, A.D. 1012.[4] It may therefore be suggested that this northern expedition probably took place roughly between 1021 and 1025 A.D. There

[1] The inscription was first edited by Hultzsch in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Madras, 1890, pp. 95-99; it was re-edited by him in *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 229-33.

[2] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part I, 1899, Madras, pp. 27-29.

[3] *Baṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 247.

[4] *EI*, Vol. III, p. 262, and Appendix II, p. 22.

are some differences of opinion about the identification of the countries and princes mentioned in the above quotation. But there is general agreement amongst scholars in accepting the identification of Mahīpāla of the Tirumalai inscription with the first prince of that name in the Pāla list.[1] The identifications of *Oḍḍa-Viṣaya* with modern Orissa and of *Kośalai-nāḍu* with Southern Kośala (the upper valley of the Mahanadi and its tributaries), first suggested by Hultzsch, are also generally accepted.[2] But there are differences of opinion about *Takkaṇa-lāḍam* and *Uttira-lāḍam*. Kielhorn in his list of *South Indian Inscriptions*[3] accepted the suggestion of Hultzsch that they are to be identified with *Dakṣiṇa-Lāṭa*, and *Uttara-Lāṭa* and located in Gujarat in the Bombay Presidency. But while re-editing this inscription in 1907-08 Hultzsch accepted the view of Venkayya "that the Tamil term *Ilāḍu* does not correspond to Sanskrit Lāṭa (Gujrat), but to *Virāṭa* (Berar)."[4] He would thus locate the places in Berar. I do not know whether *lāḍam* can really stand for *Ilāḍam*. Anyhow the suggestion of Mr. R. P. Chanda that *lāḍam* should be taken to stand for *Rāḍha* seems to be more in harmony with the facts.[5] The mention of the *Vaṅgāla-deśa* after *Takkaṇa-lāḍam* and of the Ganges after *Uttara-lāḍam* appear to be favourable to this latter suggestion. The probable identification of *Taṇḍa-butti* (Daṇḍa-Bhukti) with the Balasore district and the Southern portion of Midnapore district,[6] and the mention of *Uttara-Rāḍha* in Sena

[1] First suggested by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 120, fn. 4.

[2] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 97.

[3] *EI*, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 120, No. 733.

[4] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* by Venkayya for 1906-07, pp. 87 ff.; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 231, fn. 2. Dr. Barnett suggests: Tamil *Ilāḍam* or *Lāḍam* may stand for either *Lāṭa* (in Gujarat), or *Rāḍha*; but I am sure it could not = *Virāṭa*, for initial *V* could not disappear.

[5] *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 40.

[6] *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 248-49; *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 71. In the commentary of the *Rāmacarita* Jayasiṁha of *Daṇḍa-Bhukti* is said to have defeated Utkaleśa Karṇakeśarī and aided Rāmapāla in his campaigns. See *MASB*, Vol. III, No. I, p. 36.

and Varman inscriptions seem to be additional grounds for locating the places in Western Bengal.[1]

Dharmapāla, who was probably, as Mr. R. D. Banerji has suggested, the ruler of "the marchland between Orissa and Bengal," is otherwise unknown. The ending of his name in *pāla* is at the present stage of our knowledge an insufficient reason for connecting him with the Pālas. The name of Raṇaśūra, who was apparently the ruler of the tract situated to the north of *Daṇḍa-Bhukti*, raises the question of the authenticity of the Śūra kings of Bengal, who are mentioned in the genealogical lists of Bengal match-makers (*ghaṭakas*). The *Kulapañjikās* of these *ghaṭakas* contain the following list of Śūra kings : (1) Ādiśūra, (2) Bhūśura, (3) Kṣitiśūra, (4) Avanīśūra, (5) Dhāraṇīśūra, and (6) Raṇaśūra.[2] The traditional account of the first of these princes, who is said to have brought five Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas from Kānyakubja to Bengal has been doubted on good grounds by more than one scholar.[3] But it is significant that the name of the 6th prince should be identical with the name of the ruler of *Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha*. In the commentary of the *Rāmacarita* (II, 5), there occurs the name of one Lakṣmīśūra, the ruler of Apara-mandāra, who is described as one of the chief feudatories of Rāmapāla. It has been suggested by some scholars that Apara-mandāra was situated in Western Bengal. The authenticity of a line of princes bearing names ending in Śūra is further proved by the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena which

[1] *Ibid*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 72. The Sena inscription is now edited in *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 156 ff. The grant was dicovered in Katwa subdivision of Burdwan district, and the village granted was situated in *Uttara-Rāḍha-Maṇḍala* of the *Vardhamāna-Bhukti*. For the Varman grant, see *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 37 ff.

[2] *JASB*, 1908, Vol. IV (N. S.), p. 286, fn. 7.

[3] See for the latest opinion on the subject *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 287-89. Ādiśura is placed by various authorities within the period *c.* 700-1100 A. D. The following verse in the *Kulaśāstras* refers to the bringing of Brāhmaṇs by Ādiśūra :

Āsīt purā Mahārāja Ādiśūra pratāpavān
Ānītavān dvijān pañca pañca-gotra-samudbhavān.

Also consult on this, Chanda's *Gauḍarājamālā* and Banerji's *Bāṅgālār Itihās*.

informs us that Vijaya married Vilāsadevī, a daughter of the Śūra family.[1] As V. 3 of the Naihati grant of Vallālasena tells us that the predecessors of Vijayasena were ornaments of the Rāḍhā country,[2] we can now safely conclude that a line of kings really existed in Western Bengal who were known as Śūras.[3] Unfortunately, we do not know anything about the exact relationship between this Raṇaśūra and Mahīpāla. But from the description of him in the Tirumalai inscription, he appears to have been quite independent of the Pāla king. The area over which Mahīpāla held sway is further circumscribed by the mention of Govindacandra of the *Vaṅgāla-deśa*, or Eastern Bengal.[4] Like Dharmapāla of Daṇḍa-*Bhukti*, this prince also was long unknown and unconnected with any of the other ruling dynasties of the lower Ganges valley. But recently a number of copper-plates and an image-inscription have revealed the existence in Eastern Bengal of a line of princes whose names end in *Candra*. *The Rampal grant* of Śrīcandra was discovered somewhere in Rampal by a cultivator while digging land. It is a single plate; at the top, in the middle, is attached a circular seal "which has in its upper part, the emblem of a Buddhist wheel of law with two deer in couchant posture on both sides of it. Just below the wheel and above the legend *Śrī-Śrī-Candradevaḥ* something like the emblem of a small conchshell is seen. Beneath the legend again the representation of a digit of the moon with floral decorations on the three sides of it may be marked. The characters of the inscription belong to a variety of alphabets used in India in the 11th and 12th centuries A. D." The inscription opens with a verse in praise of *Jina* (*i.e.*, Buddha),

[1] *EI*, Vol. XV, p. 279.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. XIV, pp. 156 ff.

[3] For a prince of Nepal bearing the name Raṇaśūra (A.D. 1221), see *supra*, pp. 212-13.

[4] Gobindacandra has been identified by Mr Bhattasali with king Govindacandra of the Bengal ballads who was the daughter's son of Tilakacandra, king of Mebārkul, which is still a *pargana* of the Tippera district. He has further suggested that Layahacandra of the Bharella Naṭeśvara image-inscription may have been the father of Tilakacandra. *EI*, Vol. XVII, p. 351.

Dharma and *Bhikṣu-saṅgha*. Then we are given the following genealogical information about the donor :

In the *Candravaṁśa*	who ruled over Rohitāgi(ri) [mod. Rohtasgaḍh in Sahabad Dist., Bihar?]
Pūrṇacandra.	
|	
Bauddha Suvarṇacandra.	
Trailokyacandra	"The support of the royal majesty smiling in the royal umbrella of the king of *Harikela* (=Vaṅga=Eastern Bengal) who became king of the *dvīpa* which had the word *Candra* prefixed to it (Candradvīpa=some portions of mod. districts of Bakergunj, Khulna and Faridpur)."
Śrīcandra.	

The inscription was issued by *Ps.-M.* Trailokyacandra-deva-*pādānudhyātaḥ P.-.Pb-M.* Śrīcandradeva from the *Vikramapura-samāvāsita-Śrimaj-jayaskandhāvāra*. It records the grant of one *pāṭaka* of land in Nehakāṣṭhi-*grāma* of Nānya-*Maṇḍala* in Pauṇḍra-*Bhukti* to the Brāhmaṇa Pītavāsagupta Śarman, who was officiating in the *Koṭi-homa*. The grant was made in the name of *Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka*. It is not dated.[1] Two other copper plates of this king issued from his camp at Vikrampur have been discovered, though they have not yet been properly edited.[2] Another inscription of this family,

[1] Edited by Mr. R. G. Basak in *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 136-42. Re-edited by N. G. Majumdar, *IB*, pp. 1-9. In his opinion the script belongs to "close of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century." The record is now in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, at Rajshahi. Mr. Basak cites evidence for the identification of *Harikela* and *Candradvīpa*; see also Hemcandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*. v .957; Takakusu, *I-tsing*, Oxford, p. xlvi. *Candradvīpa* is still one of the fiscal divisions of Bakerganj; see Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 224.

[2] Dhulla and Edilpur grants of Śrīcandra, see *EI*, Vol. XVII, p. 350; *Dacca Review*,

"incised on the pedestal of a huge image of Naṭeśa Śiva was dug out of a tank in a village called Bharella police-station Baḍkāmtā in the district of Tippera (Bengal)." The epigraph consists of two lines, and is written in characters which are assigned to the latter half of the 10th century A.D. The inscription is dated in the 18th year of the *Vijaya-rājya* of Layahacandradeva, and records the consecration of the image "on a Thursday under the constellation Pushya, on the 14th day of the dark half of the month, the day being the 14th Aṣāḍha counted by the movement of the moon" by Bhāvudeva, son of Kusumadeva, Lord of Kārmānta (mod. Badkamta, some 3 miles S.W. of the find-spot of the image).[1]

The records cited above reveal the existence of a line of *Candra* kings of Vikramapura in Eastern Bengal in the period *c.* 950-1050 A.D. The time and locality fit in so well with those of Govindacandra (*c.* 1021-25 A.D.) that it is almost impossible to resist the temptation to conclude that he was one of them. It is not unlikely, as Mr. Bhattasali has contended, that they were related to the Candra kings of Arakan (*c.* 788-957 A.D).[2] But if these Candras were independent sovereigns, of a large portion of Eastern and Southern Bengal, as is evident from their records and the Tirumalai inscription, and if they also had control over a portion of North Bengal, as seems to be the case from their grant of land in Pauṇḍra-*Bhukti* (the same as Pauṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti*), and if we take into account the

Vol. II, p. 250. *Ibid*, for May-June, 1919, see also *IB*, pp. 164-67. His Kedarpur grant has now been edited in *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-92 and *IB*, pp. 10-13.

[1] Edited by Bhattasali in *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp 349 ff. The image is now in the Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣad. Note the similarity of the Pāla and Candra seals. The rulers of both the dynasties bore the title *Paramasaugata* and had no scruples in granting land to the Brahmans in the name of *Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka*.

[2] Phayre, *History of Burma*, London, 1883, p. 45; *EI*, Vol. XVII, p. 350; Mr. Bhattasali points out the outlandish character of the name Layahacandra and inclines to the conclusion that he may have belonged to the Arakanese branch and refers the image inscription to *c.* 939 A.D.

existence of independent sovereigns in the Burdwan division, then we must cut down the limits of the so-called empire of the Pālas in the time of Mahīpāla and his successors. Undoubtedly there was a revival of Pāla power under this ruler, but the facts revealed in the documents cited above considerably circumscribe the extent of his real power in Bengal and Bihar. The presence of Candras in *Vaṅgāla-deśa* in about 1021-25 A.D. shows that Mahīpāla I must have lost his hold on Eastern Bengal some time after about 995 A.D., or, what is more probable, the Baghaura inscription dated in his 3rd year, being on an image, was transferred to Tippera district from some region further west outside *Vaṅgāladeśa*. We can now understand why the name of the Pālas was omitted by the Musalman writers from the list of princes, who according to them, were active in opposing the rising tide of Islam in Northern India. It was not Mahīpāla's asceticism [1] or his envy and religious bigotry,[2] that prevented his name from figuring in the lists of the Muslim chroniclers among the opponents of the Yamīnīs. It was their position as rulers of a comparatively small and decadent principality in the north-east of India, a position which was much too humble to be even compared with that of Dharmapāla, which prevented them from taking any intelligent interest or playing any ambitious role in pan-Indian affairs.[3]

Mahīpāla was succeeded by his son Nayapāla,[4] for whose reign we have the following records and dates :

(1) The colophon of a Cambridge University Library MS. of the *Pañcarakṣā* tells us that it was written on the instructions

[1] *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 41.

[2] *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, p. 256.

[3] Elsewhere I have shown reasons to doubt the veracity of these statements of Muslim chroniclers. See *supra*, pp. 91-92 and *infra*, chapters on the *Later Gurjara-Pratīhāras* and the *Candrātreyas*.

[4] *Gauḍalekamālā*, pp. 105, 108-09, fn. Mr. Maitreya has suggested that Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla were the brothers of Mahipāla I, while others contend that they may be sons of that king. I think Hultzsch was right in his interpretation, and have followed him.

of *Pravara-mahāyāna-yāyinī Paramopāsikā-Rājñī* Uddākā in the year 14 of the *vijayarājya* of *Ps.-M.-P.* Nayapāla deva.[1]

(2) *Gaya Kṛṣṇadvārikā temple stone inscription.*—The inscription is on the entrance of a modern temple built about 100 years back at Gaya, and now known as the Kṛṣṇadvārikā temple. It consists of 18 long lines of Kuṭila characters. It begins with *Oṁ namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya*, and then praises Viṣṇu. Then come verses praising 'Gayā,' which is described as *mokṣadvāra*. There the Brāhmaṇas while studying the Vedas made so much noise in the course of their studies that it was difficult to follow other talk. There the smoke from the sacrifices of the Brāhmaṇas was constantly rising. In this city was born in a Brāhmaṇa's family one Viśvāditya, whose bravery destroyed all his enemies. He constructed this temple of Janārdana in the 15th year of Nayapāla, the ruler of the whole earth. The inscription was composed by the *Vāji-vaidya* Sahadeva, and incised by *Śilpī* Saṭṭasoma.[2]

(3) *Gaya Narasiṁha stone inscription.*—This was discovered " inside the small temple of Narasiṁha in the Viṣṇupāda compound " at Gaya. The inscription consists of 15 lines. It opens with *Oṁ Lakṣmīścirañjayati*. It records the " building of the temple of Gadādhara and several other minor temples of Viṣṇu" by Viśvarūpa at 'Gayāpurī' in the 15th year of Nayapāla-deva. The *praśasti* was composed by *Vaidya* Vajrapāṇi, and written by Sarvānanda.[3]

[1] *CBMC*, p. 175, No. 1688.

[2] The inscription was noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 123, Plate XXXVII; then Dr. R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 218-19, tried to give the substance of the inscription. The inscription was first edited by M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1900, pp. 190-95; re-edited with a complete translation in *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 110-29, under the name *Kṛṣṇadvārikā Temple Inscriptions.*

[3] The inscription was discovered in 1884, and was noticed by M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1900, Part I, p. 191, fn. 1; the text of the inscription is given in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 78-79.

These records show that Nayapāla ruled at least for 15 years (*c.* 1040-55 A.D.), and held portions of Bihar. It is quite likely that he ruled over a wider area, but unfortunately no other evidence has hitherto been discovered to support that conclusion. There is some possibility that the Pāla kingdom at this time came into conflict with the rising power of the Kalacuris under Lakṣmī-Karṇa (*c.* 1041-70 A.D.). The Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva, the great-grandson of Lakṣmī-Karṇa, tells us that the latter was waited upon by Gauḍa and other princes.[1] The Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadevī, the queen of Gayā-Karṇa, the grandson of Lakṣmī-Karṇa, informs us that when the latter gave full play to his heroism, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga.[2] Tibetan tradition contains stories of a war between Nayapāla, king of Magadha and the "*Tirthika* king of Karṇya of the West." We are told that failing to capture the city, Karṇya's 'troops sacked some of the sacred Buddhist institutions and killed altogether five (men), out of whom four were ordained monks and one *upāsaka*. At this time the celebrated Buddhist monk *Dīpaṅkara* Śrījñāna (also called Atīśa) who had accepted the post of High Priest of Vikramaśilā at the request of Nayapāla, was in residence 'at the Vihāra of Mahābodhi at Vajrāsana.' When a good deal of church-furniture was carried away as booty, Atīśa showed no concern or anger. But "afterwards when victory turned towards (Nayapāla) and the troops of Karṇya were being slaughtered by the armies of Magadha, he took the king of Karṇya and his men under his protection and sent them away." Atīśa then "caused a treaty to be concluded between the two kings. With the exception of the articles of food that were destroyed at the time of war, all other things which had fallen in the hands of the parties were either restored or compensated for. Unmindful of his health even at the risk of his life, Atīśa again and

1 *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 217, line 11.
2 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 11, V. 12.

again crossed the rivers that lay between the two kingdoms and thereby brought peace to all living beings.''[1] Scholars have proposed to identify this 'king Karṇya of the West' with the Tripurī Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇa.[2] Though this identification is probable, the success of Nayapāla against Lakṣmī-Karṇa is rendered somewhat doubtful by the Paikor stone pillar-inscription of the latter king recently discovered in the Birbhum district of Bengal.[3] This fact coupled with the existence of independent dynasties in Eastern Bengal, seems to show that the area under the rule of the Pālas at this time did not extend much beyond portions of Bihar and Northern Bengal. It is significant that in the Tibetan life of Atīśa, quoted above, Nayapāla is described as king of Magadha, and, what is more important, from this time onward all the Pāla inscriptions are found either in Magadha or in Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti*.[4] The reality, or at least the permanence of the alleged treaty between the two kingdoms, to attain which Atīśa is said to have risked his health and life, is also rendered very questionable by the fact that the *Rāmacarita* clearly refers to the struggles of Karṇa and Nayapāla's son Vigrahapāla III.[5] If the Tibetan account of the alliance be correct, this must be accepted as a second war waged by the Kalacuri king against the Pālas. According to Tibetan tradition Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atīśa went to Tibet at the invitation of prince Chan Chub, in the reign of Nayapāla. When he started for Tibet he was 59

[1] *JBTS*, Vol. I, 1893, pp. 9-10, and fn. on p. 9; see also *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, by Saratchandra Das, Calcutta, 1893, p. 51.

[2] *JASB*, 1900, Part I, p. 992. *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 45. If this identification is accepted we may have to move back the date of accession of Nayapāla by a few years. For this war happened a few years before the departure of Atīśa for Tibet in *c.* 1040 A.D. But the difficulty in accepting this date lies in the fact that Lakṣmī-Karṇa did not probably come to the throne before 1040 A.D. when his father died. See *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 11.

[3] *ASI*, 1921-22, p. 115.

[4] That Dharmapāla also is described as king of Magadha is probably explained by the fact that when these Tibetan documents were compiled, the Pālas were kings only of the Magadha region.

[5] *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 22 (commentary on V. 9 of the first chapter).

years old, and he died there at the age of 73. Mr. S. C. Das gives these dates as A.D. 1042 and 1055.[1] But in his *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*[2] edited by his brother N. C. Das in 1893 the date of his birth is given as A.D. 980 and that of his death as 1053. According to this calculation the date of the departure of Atīśa works out at 1039 A.D. Prof. Lévi gives this date as *c.* 1040 A.D.[3] It is better to take the Tibetan date as only approximate.

Nayapāla was succeeded by his son Vigrahapāla (III). We have the following records of his reign, extending over a period of at least 26 years (*c.* 1055-81 A.D.) :

(1) *Gaya stone inscription.*—The stone on which this is incised is attached to the base of the *Akṣayavaṭa* at Gaya. The inscription contains 26 lines, and opens with *Oṁ Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya.* The inscription appears to be a *praśasti* of one Viśvarūpa-Viśvāditya, who seems to be the person for whom we have two inscriptions at Gaya dated in the 15th year of Nayapāla. It records the building of two temples by him for (Śiva) Vaṭeśa and (Śiva) Prapitāmaheśvara(?) in the Gayā-*Maṇḍala*. It is dated in the 5th year of king Vigrahapāla, and claims to have been composed by *Vaidya* Dharmapāṇi.[4]

(2) *Bihar stone image-inscription.*—This was found on the pedestal of an image of Buddha at Bihar. According to Cunningham, it is dated in the 12th year of Vigrahapāla.[5]

(3) *The Amgachi grant.*—Found by a peasant at the village of Amgachi in Dinajpur district, Bengal, while digging earth. The record is incised on a single plate of copper. The royal seal 'consists of a circle with raised rim and beaded border, resting

[1] *JASB*, 1881, p. 237.

[2] Pp. 50 and 76.

[3] *Le Népal*, Vol. II, p. 189.

[4] The inscription was noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. III, pp. 132-133 ; it is edited from the original stone in *MASB*, Vol. No. 3, pp. 80-82.

[5] *ASR*, Vol. III, pp. 121-22, No. 7. The image is said to have belonged to 'the Broadley collection afterwards called the Bihar Museum' (Collection) which was sent to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The image at persent cannot be traced. See *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 82.

on a mass of arabesque work ; on its top rests a small *caitya* over which is an umbrella. A long penon hangs from each side of the umbrella.' The upper half of the circle is occupied by the wheel of law resting on a pedestal and having a small umbrella over it. There is the usual deer couchant on each side of it. Below this is the legend *Śrī Vigrahapāladevaḥ*. 'The alphabet shows a nearer approach to the complete Bengali forms than the Bangad grant of Mahīpāla I.' The inscription is written on both sides of the plate and consists of 49 lines (33 on the front and 16 on the back). The record gives the Pāla genealogy from Gopāla to Vigrahapāla III. Most of the verses of this portion are the same as in the Bangad grant of Mahīpāla I. In verse 13 Vigrahapāla III is described as the *cāturvarṇṇya-samāśrayaḥ* (a supporter of the four castes). Curiously enough Verse 14 of this inscription beginning with *deśe prāci pracura-payasi*, which describes the campaigns of the donor of this grant occurs as V. 11 of the Bangad grant of Mahīpāla I as the description of the campaigns of Vigrahapāla II. The inscription was issued by *Ps.-M.* Nayapāladeva-*pādānudhyātaḥ P.-Pb.-M.* Vigrahapāladeva, from the victorious camp at Haradhāma (?) in the year 12 of his reign (line 42). It records the grant of some land in the village of Viṣamapura with a place called Daṇḍatraheśvara (?) in the Brāhmaṇi-grama-*Maṇḍala* of Koṭivarṣa-*Viṣaya* in the Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti* to the Brāhmaṇa Khoduladeva Śarman. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in honour of Buddha-bhaṭṭaraka, etc., after bathing in the Ganges according to religious practice (*vidhivat*). The *Dūtaka* was the *Mantrī* Sahasija (?), and the document was incised by the *Śilpī* Mahīdharadeva.[1]

[1] An account of the grant was given by Colebrooke in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, pp. 434-438, which was republished in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II, pp. 279-282. The next attempt to give a reading of the inscription was made by Hoernle in the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part. II, pp. 210-218. This was reprinted after revision in the *IA*, 1885, Vol. XIV, pp. 166-168. Kielhorn next published the metrical portion of the grant (first 20 lines) in the same journal in 1892, Vol. XXI, pp. 97-101.

(4) *Indian Museum stone image-inscription.*—This consists of two lines, and is incised on an image of Buddha in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It records theerection of the image by the *Suvarṇakāra* Dehaka in the 13th year of Vigrahapāladeva.[1]

(5) A MS. of the *Pañcarakṣā* was copied in the 26th year of Vigrahapāla. As the reference of this date to Vigrahapāla I and II would tend to push back the reign of Dharmapāla beyond 769 A.D. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has rightly referred it to the 3rd Pāla king of that name.[2]

(6) Some of the more barbarous specimens of the silver coins discovered in Bihar bearing 'very faint recollections of either the Sassanian head or the fire-alter,' marked with the legend *Śrī-Vi*, or *Śrī-Vigraha*, have been assigned by some scholars to this prince. The better specimens are assigned to the two earlier princes of this name. But as the latter appear to have been rather weak rulers with very short reigns, it may be that these coins also should be assigned to the early part of Vigrahapāla III's reign.[3]

During the reign of Vigrahapāla III, the Pālas again came into conflict with the Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇa. The commentary on the *Rāma-carita* tells us that Vigrahapāla III defeated in battle Karṇa, the ruler of Ḍāhala, but did not completely uproot him. We are further told that the Pāla king married Yauvanaśrī, the daughter of Karṇa.[4] It is possible that this marriage was the result of an alliance between the two powers. Another foreign invasion of the lower Ganges

Mr. R. D. Banerji has now fully edited the inscription in *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 295-301. Mr. Banerji is wrong in asserting in his fn. 1, p. 295, that Kielhorn found Mudgagiri is the name of the camp in the rubbings sent to him by Fleet. This was the opinion of Hoernle and not Kielhorn, who distinctly says it is 'not Mudgagiri'; see *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 167, fn. 39, and Vol. XXI, p. 97. The grant is now in the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[1] *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 112. According to R. D. Banerji this inscription appears to be the same as No. 2; but its date was read by Cunningham as year 12.

[2] *JASB*, 1921, Vol. XVII (N.S.), p. 6, fn. 1.

[3] V. A. Smith, *CCIM*, Vol. I, pp. 233 and 239, and plate XV, 10.

[4] *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 22.

valley appears to have taken place during this reign. We are informed by Bilhaṇa that during the latter part of the reign of the Cāḷukya Someśvara I of Kalyāṇa (*c.* 1044-68 A.D.) his son Vikramāditya undertook expeditions in northern India and defeated the kings of Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa.[1] It was probably these raids of the Karṇāṭa prince which brought into various parts of north-eastern India bodies of his countrymen who soon afterwards succeeded in carving out separate principalities for themselves. The rise of the *Karṇāṭakas* of Tirhut and Nepal, as also of the *Karṇāṭa-Kṣatriyas* of Rāḍha (*i.e.*, the Senas), in the 11th century, naturally leads to the suspicion that their origin may have been connected with these Cāḷukya invasions. It has indeed been suggested that Sāmantasena, the grandfather of Vijayasena, may have accompanied Vikramāditya in one of these expeditions and carved out a principality somewhere in Western Bengal.[2] As Someśvara I is also said to have utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa,[3] the lord of Ḍāhala, it is not unlikely that the Senas of Karṇāṭa entered Rāḍha after the expulsion of the Kalacuris from that region by the Cāḷukyas. Another dynasty which also may have come from the south and settled in Eastern Bengal during this period was that of the Varmans. The existence of this line of princes is revealed by the *Belava copper-plate of Bhojavarman.* This inscription was discovered by a peasant while digging earth in the village of Belava, situated on the northern boundary of Rupganj Thana, in the Mahesvardi pargana (Narainganj subdivision, Dacca district). It is a single plate, containing in all 51 lines of writing (front 26 and back 25). The plate had a seal with the representation of Viṣṇu's wheel (*Śrīmad Viṣṇu-cakra-mudrāyā*, line 48) at the top,'' but the impress of the sacred wheel, as well as any possible legend on it was completely scraped off by the finder

[1] *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, edited by Bühler, Bombay, 1875, III, 74.

[2] *PTOC*, Calcutta, 1922, p. 347; *JL*, Vol. XVI, 1927, pp. 6-7; *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 47. See also *supra*, chapter on Nepal, pp. 203 ff.

[3] *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, I, 102-103.

of the plate.[1] The characters of the inscription belong to a period not earlier than the 11th century, and according to some they are " of the late 11th and early 12th century A.D." The inscription opens with *Oṁ Siddhiḥ*, and then traces the genealogy of the donor of the grant from Svayambhu (Brahmā):

Svayambhū
|
Atri
|
Candra = Rohiṇī.
|
Budha = Ilā.
|
Purūravas = Urvaśī.
|
Āyu
|
Nahuṣa
|
Yayāti
|
Yadu...from him starts the line (of the donor).

In his family
Kṛṣṇa, Hari.

His kinsmen the *Varmans*, who occupied Siṁhapura.

In course of time there was one Vajravarman, the ornament of the Yādava soldiers.
|
Jātavarman,
| = Vīraśrī (the daughter) of *Karṇa*; extended his supremacy among the *Aṅgas*, conquered the fortunes of Kāmarūpa, put to shame the strength of the arms of Divya, and crippled " the dignity of *Govardhana*."
Sāmalavarmadeva
| = *Agramahiṣī* Mālavyadevī, daughter of the great warrior Udayin.
Bhojavarman.

[1] This is the version of Mr. R. C. Basak, the editor of the plate in the *EI*; Mr. R. D. Banerji in editing the same inscription in the *JASB*, says that the seal " consists of two concentric circles the outer one of which is thicker than the inner one, with a thick axle and spokes which are thick in the centre but tapering towards the extremities and a nude dancing figure on each side of it." In the plate given in the *EI*, I do not find the details observed by Mr. Banerji in the circular space,

The inscription was issued from the *jaya-skandhāvāra* situated at *Vikramapura*, and records the gift of a piece of land in the village of Upyalikā, situated in the Kauśāmbī-*Aṣṭagaccha-khaṇḍala* in the Adhaḥpattana-*Maṇḍala* of the Puṇḍra-*Bhukti*, to the *Śāntyāgārādhikṛta* Rāmadeva Śarman, an inhabitant of the village of Siddhala in Uttara-Rāḍhā by *M.* Sāmalavarma-deva-*pādānudhyātaḥ Paramavaiṣṇava-P.-Pb.-M.* Bhoja(ḥ). The grant is dated in the 5th year of the donor, and it was composed by Puruṣottama.[1]

The Varmans claim to come from *Siṁhapura*. Mr. Basak identified this place with the Sīhapura of the *Mahāvaṁśa* which was situated in Lāḷa (Rāḍha) between Vaṅga and Magadha, while Mr. Banerji drew attention to the *praśasti* of Lakha-mandal (at Madha in Jaunsar Bawar district on the Upper Jumna), which refers to 11 generations of Candragupta, the prince of Jālandhara (*c.* 300-600 A.D.), who claims to belong to the Yādavas of the lunar race reigning at Siṅghapura.[3] This Siṅghapura is undoubtedly the Seng-ha-pu-lo of Yuan Chwang situated to the north side of the Salt Range in the Punjab.[4] But Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out a dynasty of Varmans who ruled in a Siṁhapura nearer home.[5] The Komarti (near Narasannapeṭa, Ganjam District) plates of Candravarman and the Bṛhatproṣṭhā (in Palakonda Taluka, Vizagapatam) grant of

[1] The inscription was discovered in 1912. Since then it had been several times edited. "An imperfect reading of the plate with a faulty translation, without any *fac-simile*" was published in the *Dacca Review*, Vol. No. 4 (July 1912); a small photograph of the record was published in the next issue of the same journal. An improved version of the grant then appeared in *Sāhitya* (Bengali Monthly, Bengali year 1319, Śrāvaṇa-Bhādra) by Mr. R. G. Basak. Mr. R. D. Banerji then edited the inscription in *JASB*, 1914, Vol. X. (N.S.), pp. 121-31; it has been re-edited by Mr. R. G. Basak in *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 37-43, and by N. G. Majumdar in *IB*, pp. 14-24. Dr. R. C. Majumdar drew my attention to the similarity of the legendary portion of the genealogy of the Candellas and the Varmans, *cf. EI*, Vol. I, p. 122 ff., Verses 4-8.

[2] See *JASB*, 1922, Vol. XVIII (N.S.), pp. 435-37.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 10-15.

[4] *YC*, Vol. I, pp. 248 ff.

[5] *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 4.

Umāvarman reveal the existence of a line of kings of Kaliṅga who resided in Siṁhapura or Sīhapura.[1] According to Hultzsch, this Siṁhapura "is perhaps identical with the modern Siṅgupuram between Chicacole and Narasannapēṭa."[2] The same scholar has also pointed out that "according to Singhalese inscriptions, the two kings Niśśaṅkamalla and Sāhasamalla, the second of whom ascended the throne in A.D. 1200, were sons of the Kaliṅga king Goparāja of Siṁhapura. The Buddhist chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa* stated that Tilokasundarī, a queen of Vijayabāhu I (*c*. 1054-1109 A.D.), was a princess of Kaliṅga, and three relatives of hers.........came to Ceylon from Sīhapura." It is thus not entirely impossible that this enterprising city may have sent a colony northwards to Bengal, where they supplanted the Candras. The script of the Belava grant, which is later than the Rampal plate of Śrīcandra, and the fact that the Varmans issued their charters from the same place (Vikramapura) and grant land in the same area (Puṇḍra-*Bhukti*) appear to confirm this suspicion.[3] In their campaign against the Buddhist Candra rulers the Varmans may have posed as the champions of orthodox Hinduism. In Verse 5 of the Belava grant, we are told that "(the knowledge of) the three Vedas is a covering for men, and those who are devoid of it are certainly naked; (thinking) so the kinsmen of Hari, the Varmans, mailing themselves with their hair standing on end in their enthusiasm for the three Vedas and for marvellous fights, and wearing the very solemn name and possessing noble arms, occupied Siṁhapura." The date of these princes is approximately fixed by the suggested identification of Karṇa, whose daughter Vīraśrī was married to Jātavarman, with the Kalacuri king of that name (*c*. 1041-70 A.D.). Mr. A. K. Maitreya, to whom we are indebted for the

[1] *Ibid*, Vol. IV, pp. 142-45; Vol. XII, pp. 4-6. The characters of these inscriptions are of "early southern type," belonging to the 4th or 5th centuries A.D. (Pre-Cālukyan).

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 4.

[3] *IA*, Vol. LI, 1922, p. 153.

suggestion, has also identified Divya, whose strength was put to shame by Jātavarman, with the Kaivarta ruler Divyoka, who according to the *Rāma-carita* killed Mahīpāla II, the son of Vigrahapāla III.[1] If these identifications are accepted, then we may represent the relations of the 4 dynasties thus : [2]

Nāyapāla (*c*. 1040-55)......Lakṣmī-Karṇa (*c*. 1041-70)......Vajravarman

Vigrahapāla III = Yauvanaśrī | Vīraśrī = Jātavarman......Divya
(*c*. 1055-81) Yaśaḥ-Karṇa
Mahīpāla II (*c*. 1082) (*c*. 1070-1125)

The Kāmarūpa prince is probably to be identified with one of the predecessors of Vallabhadeva, whose Assam plates are dated in *Śaka* 1107.[3] The identification of Govardhana, whose dignity was crippled by Jātavarman, is not certain. Mr. Basak has asked : May he be the father of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of a Bhuvanesvar inscription,[4] the Brahman Govardhana "distinguished as a warrior and a scholar," whose father was the *Mahāmantrī* and *Sandhivigrahin* of a king of Vaṅga? The probability of this identification is increased by the fact that the village of Siddhala where lay the residence of the donee of the Belava grant is also mentioned in this Bhuvanesvar epigraph as the residence of this ministerial family. The context of both the inscriptions shows that this village was situated in Rāḍhā. It is not unlikely that the *Vaṅgarāja* referred to above is to be identified with one of the Candra kings after whose downfall the family in the time of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, the son of Govardhana, transferred its allegiance to the Varmans. If this guess is correct, king Harivarmadeva,

[1] *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 38; *Rāma-carita*, I, pp. 29, 31-39. *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 28-21.

[2] See also *JASB*, 1914, Vol. X (N.S.), p. 123.

[3] See *supra*, pp. 259-60.

[4] *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 203-07; re-edited in *IB*, pp. 25-41; Kielhorn placed the inscription on palaeographic grounds in *c*. 1200 A.D. For different views on the date of Harivarman see *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 303-04, and *IB*, p. 25.

who together with his son was aided by the counsel of Bhavadeva, must be supposed to be a later member of the line of Bhojavarman of the Belava grant.[1] Another identification proposed by Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī is that the great warrior Udayin, the contemporary of Sāmalavarman, who is mentioned in V. 10 of the Belava inscription, is the same as the Paramāra ruler Udayāditya (*c.* 1060-87 A D.) who defeated the Tripurī Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇa.[2] The same scholar also takes the word Jagad-vijaya-malla in V. 11, not as an adjective of *manobhū*, but as a proper name, and identifies him with Jagaddeva or Jagadeo, the youngest son of the Paramāra Udayāditya, who served under Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja, the Caulukya ruler of Anahilapāṭaka (*c.* 1094-1144 A.D.).[3] Though some of these identifications have been accepted by other scholars, yet on the whole I think them rather improbable, if not impossible. The reason that led H. P. Śāstrī to place all these rulers in Malwa is perhaps the occurrence of the word Mālavya (Mālava ?)-devī in V. 11, as the name of the queen of Sāmalavarman.[4] Whatever may be the value of these identifications, it is certain that these Varmans held Eastern Bengal, and portions of North and West Bengal during the latter half of the 11th century. The Belava inscription shows that they had their

[1] Two MSS. dated in the 19th and 39th year of one Harivarmadeva have been discovered in Nepal. N. N. Vasu gave a reading of a grant of the same king, *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihās*, Vol. II, pp. 215-17; but it has never been edited. See *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 302-04. In this grant *Parama-Vaiṣṇava-P.-Pb. M.*-Harivarman is said to be the son of *M.*-Jyōtivarman; it is dated in his 42nd year. See *I.A*, 1922, p. 153, fn. 18; *IB*, p. 168. For Bhavadeva see also *JASB*, 1912, pp. 333-48. In the Bhuvanesvar epigraph Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva is called *Bāla-Valabhī-bhujaṅga*. Kielhorn could not explain the word. The commentary of the *Rāma-carita* II, 5, mentions a *Sāmanta* of Rāmapāla, Vikramarāja, the ruler of Bāla-Valabhī. There is no doubt therefore that Bāla-Valabhī was the name of a place. In the *Rāma-carita* it is placed near Devagrāma which has however not been identified. It was probably a place in West Bengal. See *infra*, p. 342, fn. 2.

[2] *JASB*, 1914, Vol. X (N. S.), p. 125. N. G. Majumdar takes Udayin to be a son of Sāmalavarma by another wife. See *IB*, p. 20, line 17, and p. 191. He also takes Jagad-vijay-malla as the name of the father of Mālavyadevī.

[3] *JASB*, 1914, Vol. X (N.S.), p. 125.

[4] *Ibid.*

camp at Vikramapura, and they granted land in Puṇḍra-*Bhukti* (= Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti*) to inhabitants of villages in Rāḍhā. At least one of them, Jātavarman, was so powerful as to gain supremacy over Aṅga (Bhagalpur region, Bihar), which was certainly under the Pālas during this period. Thus the Pāla power under Vigrahapāla III must have been restricted to portions of Bihar, North Bengal, and probably the upper part of the Presidency division of Bengal. It is possible that the Varmans took possession of portions of Puṇḍravardhana *Bhukti* after the 13th year of Vigrahapāla III. In this case it must be assumed that the Pāla kingdom was fast declining in the latter part of the reign of this ruler. The crisis was hastened by the death of Vigrahapāla III (*c.* 1081 A.D.) He left three sons, Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla II, and Rāmapāla.[1] Of these the eldest, Mahīpāla II, succeeded him. The history of his reign and of the troublesome period that followed is entirely derived from the *Rāma-carita* of Sandhyākara Nandī. According to this work there was not much love lost between these brothers, and soon after his accession Mahīpāla imprisoned Śūrapala and Rāmapāla.[2] Taking advantage of these internal dissensions, Divvoka, a chief of the Kaivartas, who appears to have been at first a servant of the Pālas,[3] raised the standard of rebellion in Varendrī, and drove away his master from that part of North Bengal which still remained under the Pālas. Mahīpāla II who is described as lacking in good policy[4] did not accept the advice of his ministers, but foolishly marched out against the rebel chief with a hastily collected force. The campaign ended in disaster. Mahīpāla was defeated and killed.[5]

[1] From the fact that Mathana, the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla, mentioned in the *Rāma-carita* II, 8, is described as a *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* it has been assumed that Vigrahapāla married a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess and Rāmapāla was the son of this queen and not of Kalacuri Yauvanaśrī ; see *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 83.

[2] Commentary on I, 31-33 and 36-37. In the commentary the name of the second brother is spelt as *Surapāla*.

[3] *Ibid*, on I, 38.

[4] *Ibid*, on I, 31.

[5] *Ibid*, commentary on I, 31.

After this Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla appear to have been released, and the former who was probably senior to Rāmapāla, and is described as *sahodara* of Mahīpāla in the Manahali grant of Madanapāla, became king of the much reduced Pāla dominions, which now seem to have consisted of only a portion of Bihar and the northern part of the Presidency division of Bengal. It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Rāma-carita* does not mention Śūrapāla as having ascended the throne. It passes on from Mahīpāla II to Rāmapāla. But as the Manahali grant of Madanapāla distinctly refers to him as *narapati* it is almost certain that Sandhyākara Nandī was wrong on this point. A reason for this omission by a courtier of Rāmapāla may have been the fact that Śūrapāla's reign was rendered rather short by the violent hand of his master, which probably (though definite evidence is lacking) led the court historian to pass over unpleasant details of his patron's life.[1] Whatever may have been the means by which Rāmapāla secured his throne, his accession was justified by his success. Aided by his maternal uncle, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mathanadeva, he took active measures to reorganise the resources of his kingdom. Taking advantage of the troubles of the Pālas, most of the feudatories appear to have asserted their independence. The first task was to re-establish the royal power over these vassals. The commentator of the *Rāma-carita* informs us that Mathana (also called Mahana), riding on his elephant *Vindhyamāṇikya* defeated the *Pīṭhīpati* Devarakṣita. The word *Pīṭhīpati* is explained by the commentator as *Magadhādhipa*. This incident appears to be also referred to in the

[1] *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 280; Prof. Chakravarti referred to this king's reign two image-inscriptions dated according to him in the 2nd year of Śūrapāla II. See *JASB*, 1908, Vol. IV (N.S.), pp. 107-08. Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī, in his introduction to the *Rāma-carita* (*MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 13) followed him. But the inscriptions on palaeographic grounds have now been referred to Śūrapāla I (*MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 57-58). This view appears to me to be more probable. The date on the plate given by Prof. Chakravarti is clearly 3 and not 2. See *supra*, p. 298 and fn. 2.

Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī, the queen of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra (*c.* 1114-55 A.D.). We are told that:[1]

"In the Gauḍa country there was a priceless warrior with his quiver (*Kāṇḍapaṭika* ?), this incomparable diadem of the *Kṣatriyas*, the Aṅga king Mahana, the venerable maternal uncle of kings. He conquered Devarakṣita in war and maintained the glory of Rāmapāla, which rose in splendour because the obstruction caused by his foes was removed" (V. 7). We are told in verses 3-5 that this Devarakṣita belonged to the Chikkora family, and had succeeded his father Vallabharāja as lord of Pīṭhī. Verses 8-20 inform us that Mahanadeva married his daughter Śaṅkaradevī to the lord of Pīṭhī (Devarakṣita), who had by her a daughter named Kumāradevī, who became the queen of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra. The identification of the two Devarakṣitas, appears to be clear. As the conquest of the *Pīṭhīpati* is thus prominently mentioned in these records, it seems that this ruler was a very important feudatory of the Pālas. The Sarnath epigraph also says that after the removal of this obstruction the glory of Rāmapāla 'rose in splendour.' In the list of the *Sāmantas* of Rāmapāla, as we shall see later on, the lord of Pīṭhī is placed first. It thus appears that Mathana-Mahana, who was the feudatory ruler of the principality of Aṅga, after defeating this prince, finally won him over by giving him his own daughter. This combination of force with

[1] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 324-327. In view of the meaning of *Piṭhi* given by the commentator of the *Rama-carita*, as *Magadha*, Sten Konow's identification with Pithapuram, in Veṅgi must be given up. See *ibid*, p. 322; *JBORS*, Vol. IV, p. 267. The same commentator on II, 5, explains *Magadhadhipati*, by *Piṭhipati*. See *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 36 and 38. Though this victory of Mathana is given in the second chapter of the *Rāma-carita*, where the author is describing the campaign of Rāmapāla on the north, it should not be taken as having occurred in that campaign. This incident was an explanatory note on the activities of Mathana just as in the list of the *Sāmantas* various incidents are mentioned to explain the importance of each of the feudatories. This is finally proved by the fact that the *Piṭhīpati* himself was marching with Rāmapāla; and unless we assume that there were two such rulers, which is extremely unlikely, we have to assume that Bhimayaśas, the ally of Rāmapāla, was a successor of Devarakṣita, who was defeated by his uncle Mathana.

diplomacy was eminently successful, and the *Pīṭhīpatis* henceforward materially helped Rāmapāla in his campaign against the Kaivartas. The Pāla prince then travelled to the principalities of his *Sāmanta-cakra* and of the forest chiefs (*āṭavikāḥ=aṭavīya-sāmantāḥ*), to win them over to his cause.[1] He also distributed wealth and granted land with unstinted generosity. Thus by a judicious use of policy and his sword he at last succeeded in gaining the good will of his feudatories and raised a powerful army consisting of cavalry, elephants and infantry.[2] By this time the Kaivarta chief Divvoka was dead. Their leader now was Bhīma, the son of Rūdoka, the brother of Divvoka. The campaign against him was opened by the *Mahāpratīhāra* Śivarāja, the nephew of Mathana.[3] He crossed the Ganges, and entering Varendrī, crushed the *rakṣaka-vyūhas* of Bhīma, and for a time was so successful that the whole country appeared to be free from the control of the Kaivartas.[4] But this was merely a *reconnaissance en force*. The real campaign came some time later, when Rāmapāla, in addition to his maternal uncle Mathana, the latter's sons the *Mahāmāṇḍalikas* Kāhnuradeva and Suvarṇadeva[5] and Mathana's nephew the *Mahāpratīhāra* Śivarājadeva,[6] was assisted by the following *Sāmantas*:[7]

(1). Bhīmayaśas ... the ruler of Magadha, who defeated the army of Kanauj (*Kānyakubja-rāja-vājinīgaṇṭhana-bhujaṅga*).[8]

[1] *Rāma-carita*, commentary on I, 43.

[2] *Ibid*, on I, 44-45.

[3] *Ibid*, on I, 47.

[4] *Ibid*, on I, 47-50.

[5] He was represented by H. P. Śāstri as a brother of Mathana. But I think R. G. Basak is right in taking him to be his son. The passage runs as follows: Mahana......... *tadīya nandana-mahāmāṇḍalika Kāhnuradeva-Suvarṇadeva-bhrātṛja-Mahāpratīhāra-Śivarājadeva-prabhṛti*. I accept that '*bhrātṛja*' in this passage 'should rather go with the word that follows in the compound.' See *IHQ*, March 1929, pp. 44-45.

[6] *Ibid*, on II, 8.

[7] *Ibid*, on II, 5-6.

[8] This Kānyakubja king was probably one of the first three Gāhaḍavāla kings of Kanauj (*c*. 1075-1155 A.D.).

(2) Vīraguṇa	...	the ruler of *Koṭ-āṭavī*, who was *dakṣiṇa simhāsana-cakravarti* (a ruler of some southern region).
(3) Jayasiṁha	...	the ruler of Daṇḍa-*Bhukti*, who defeated *Utkaleśa* Karṇakeśarī.
(4) Vikramarāja	...	the ruler of Bāla-Valabhī, which was close to Devagrāma.
(5) Lakṣmīśūra	...	described as *Apara-mandāra-madhusūdana* and *Sāmanta-cakra-cūḍāmaṇi*,
(6) Śūrapāla of Kujavaṭī.		
(7) Rudraśikhara	...	the *Kalpataru* of Tailakampa.
(8) Mayagalasiṁha	...	the ruler (*bhūpāla*) of Ucchāla.
(9) Pratāpasiṁha	...	the ruler (*rāja*) of Dhekkarīya.
(10) Narasiṁhārjuna	...	the *Maṇḍalādhipati* of Kayaṅgala.
(11) Caṇḍārjuna of Saṅkaṭagrāma.		
(12) Vijayarāja of Nidrābala.		
(13) Dvorapavardhana	...	the ruler (*pati*) of Kauśāmbī.
(14) Soma of Paduvanvā	...	(*Paduvanvā-pratibaddha-maṇḍalāprati-vallabhaḥ* ?)

The identification of all these princes and their principalities is not easy. Bhīmayaśas appears to have been a successor of Chikkora Devarakṣita, the son-in-law of Mathana. It is uncertain who was the Kanauj ruler who was defeated by him. But he was possibly the Gāhaḍavāla Candradeva, who appears to have conquered Kanauj some time during the period 1073-1090 A. D. Koṭāṭavī (the forest principality of Koṭ ?) whose ruler Vīraguṇa has been described as a southern ruler, has been identified with the Koṭ-des in Sarkār Katak (in Orissa) of the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*.[1] But this seems to be improbable, for it involves the assumption that the dominions of Rāmapāla extended so far south as to include portions of Orissa. The principality mentioned next is Daṇḍa-*Bhukti*. This place is spoken of in the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Coḷa as between Kośala-nāḍu and Takkaṇa-lāḍam. Its king Jayasiṁha was a neighbour of

[1] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 144; *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, p. 287.

the Orissa king Karṇakeśarī. Hence it must be located somewhere near the borders of Orissa, Western Bengal, and the western portion of the Central Provinces. It is therefore not unlikely that it was "the march-land between Orissa and Bengal corresponding to the modern British districts of Midnapore and Balasore."[1] But its prince Jayasiṁha is not known from any other source. Nor can we explain his relationship with Dharmapāla, who ruled the same principality in the time of Mahīpāla I. The next principality is Bāla-Valabhī,[2] which is described by the commentator as *Devagrāma-pratibaddha*. We have already pointed out that this name occurs in the Bhuvanesvar *praśasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva. Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī has identified it with "Bagḍi (Vāgaḍī), one of the five provinces into which Bengal was divided," while others locate it in the Nadia district. Though there is no evidence in support of either of these identifications, it is likely that it was the name of a district in West Bengal. It is to be noted that Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, who is described as *Bāla-Valabhī-bhujaṅga*, was a resident of Rāḍhā. The relationship of Vikramarāja, the ruler of this place, to Harivarmadeva, whom Bhavadeva aided with his counsel, is at present unknown. The next ruler is Lakṣmīśūra of Apara-mandāra. I have already pointed out the presence of Śūra rulers in Western Bengal.[3] Though we do not exactly know what relationship, if any, this ruler had to the Śūras of Coḷa and Sena inscriptions and of

[1] *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 71. According to some scholars *Daṇḍa-Bhukti* is to be identified with Dātan in Midnapur; see *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, p. 218. The Orissa king Karṇakeśarī, who was defeated by Jayasiṁha, is otherwise unknown. For kings with the title *Kesarī*, see *infra*, Chapter on *Dynasties of Orissa*.

[2] In the text the name is given as बालबलभी (भि) *i. e.*, Bāla-Balabhī(bhi). But in his introduction Śāstrī spells the name as Bāla-Valabhī. As the records of this period often confuse between ब and व it is possible that Śāstrī's emendation of the text was justified. बाल has the sense of 'new'; so the principality may be designated 'New-Valabhī.' Is it possible that it was a colony of the people of Valabhī in Kathiawar which was destroyed by the Arabs in the second half of the 8th century A.D.? See *supra*, p. 336, fn. 1.

[3] *Supra*, pp. 320-321.

Bengal tradition, he may have belonged to a branch of the same family, and in that case we should locate Apara-mandāra somewhere in Western Bengal. The next ruler,—Śūrapāla, is not otherwise known. The identification of his principality is also uncertain. It would clearly be hazardous to regard him as a kinsman of the Pālas from his name.[1] The next principality, Tailakampa, has been identified with some probability with Telkup, near Pachet, in the Manbhum district (Bihar)[2] by Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī. Nothing is known about its chief Rudraśikhara.[3] The next principality Ucchāla, has been identified with pargana Ujhiyal in Birbhum. But it has been rightly pointed out that if this identification is to depend only on a mere similarity of sound, there are other places in Bengal bearing like names.[4] Its ruler, Mayagalasiṁha, is not known from any other source. The next principality, Dhekkarīya, has been identified by Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī with modern "Dhekura on the other side of the river Ajaya, near Katwa" in Burdwan district.[5] The reasons for this equation excepting the similarity of names, are unknown to me. Its *rājā* Pratāpasiṁha is not known from any other source. Of the remaining princes and principalities we can only make some suggestions about Vijayarāja and Kauśāmbī. The latter place is evidently not to be identified with the city of the same name near Allahabad. A place nearer home bearing the same name is mentioned in the Belava grant of Bhojavarman. This is the Kauśāmbī-*aṣṭagaccha-khaṇḍala* situated in Puṇḍra-*Bhukti*. Very probably the Kauśāmbī of the *Rāma-carita* commentary is to be identified with the region

[1] *Baṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 289.

[2] *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 14; *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 169. Excepting the similarity of the names, I know no ground for this identification.

[3] Śāstrī in his introduction spells the name as Rudraśekhara, no doubt a mistake.

[4] Ajiyālaghāṭī, and Sulṭānpur-Ajiyāl in Sarkār Udner commonly known as Tāṇḍā (now a petty village in Malda district); Ajiyālpur and Tārā-Ajiyāl, Hussain-Ajiyāl, Soltāra-Ajiyāl, Shāh-Ajiyāl, in Sarkār Maḥmudābād. Hussain-Ajiyāl in Sarkār Sharīfābād, etc. See *AAK*, Vol. II, pp. 130, 132-33, and 140; *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 289-90.

[5] *MASB*, Vol. III, No. I, p. 14.

round about this *Khaṇḍala* in North Bengal. The evidence which led Mr. R. D. Banerji to identify this Kauśāmbī with Kuśumbā in Rajshahi district is not known to me.[1] Vijayarāja has been identified by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri with the Sena prince Vijyasena.[2] Though there is at present little evidence excepting similarity of names there is no insuperable chronological difficulties in making him a contemporary of Rāmapāla (*c.* 1084-1126 A.D.), for his reign-period as we shall see later on, falls between about 1097 and 1159.[3] If this identification is accepted, we must locate his principality of Nidrābala in West Bengal, for the Naihati grant of Ballālasena informs us that the princes of his family who preceded him were ornaments of the Rāḍhā country (V. 3).[4]

Though all the Sāmantas and their principalities cannot be identified, it should be observed that, so far as it is possible to identify them, most of them are located in portions of West Bengal, Bihar, and North Bengal. This is consistent with our conclusion that East and South Bengal under the Candras and the Varmans were completely freed from the control of the Pālas long before the Kaivarta rebellion. Rāmapāla accompanied by these feudatories, crossed the Ganges probably on a bridge of boats (*Gaṅgāyāṁ taraṇi sambhavena naukāmelakena*).[5] In the struggle that followed Bhīma was defeated and taken prisoner.[6] It was probably after this victory that Rāmapāla destroyed the Damara of the Kaivartas, which is described as a small town (*upapura*).[7] Though imprisoned Bhīma was at first treated kindly by his captors.[8] It was only after the resistance of Hari, probably an officer of Bhīma, who rallied the remnants of

[1] *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 290.
[2] *IA*, 1920, p. 175; *JL*, Vol. XVI, Appendix D, pp. 80-82.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 8.
[4] *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 156 ff.
[5] *Rāma-carita*, commentary on II, 10.
[6] *Ibid*, on II, 16-17.
[7] *Ibid*, on I, 27.
[8] *Ibid* on II, 36-37.

the Kaivarta army and was defeated and taken prisoner by one of the sons of Rāmapāla that both Hari and his master were put to death.[1] Rāmapāla celebrated his conquest of Varendrī by founding the city of Rāmāvatī. It has been identified with Rāmauti in the Sarkār Lakhnauti of the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*.[2] The *Rāma-carita* seems to locate it between the Karatoya and Ganges.[3] From the camp situated in this city Madanapāla issued his Manahali grant in his 8th year.[4]

After consolidating his territories by this conquest, Rāmapāla according to his biographer, undertook invasions in foreign countries. In the course of these he is said to have conquered Utkala, Kaliṅga, and Kāmarūpa.[5] We are also told by this authority that a king of the eastern country (*prāgdeśīya*) "who held the title of Varman" sought the protection of Rāmapāla by surrendering his elephants and chariot."[6] It has been rightly assumed that this Varman king must be identified with a prince of the line of Bhojavarman, possibly Harivarman or his son.[7] The cause of his distress may have been an attack on his territories by Vijaya, the feudatory chief of Nidrābala in Western Bengal, who, as we have seen, is perhaps identical with

[1] *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 14. I do not find any passage which actually refers to the execution of Bhīma. This has been assumed by Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī, R. D. Banerji, and other scholars. This is not unlikely as Bhīma is not heard of again. The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva however refers to the recovery by Rāmapāla of *Janakabhū* (Varendrī?) after killing *Kṣauṇīnāyaka* Bhīma. See *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 347 ff., V. 4.

[2] Trans. by Blochmann and Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 131; *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, p. 292. H. P. Śāstrī identifies Rāmāvatī with Rāmapāla in Dacca and places the former at 'the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatoyā.' But 'Karatoyā' joins the Atrai and falls in the Jamuna in the SW. of Pabna. See *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 14.

[3] *III*, 10.

[4] *JASB*, 1900, Vol. 69, pp. 66 ff.

[5] *Rāma-carita*, II, 45 and 47. The interpretation of *Bhavabhūṣaṇa santati* to whom Rāmapāla is said to have returned Utkala has given rise to difficulties. Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī takes it in the sense of Nāgavaṁśa (*Bhava-bhūṣaṇa*=Snake) while R. P. Chanda takes it to mean Somavaṁśa (*Bhava-bhūṣaṇa*=Moon).

[6] *III*, 44; I have accepted the translation of Mr. Maitreya; see fn. 2, in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 92.

[7] *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 294.

Vijayasena the founder of the Sena power, which was soon to destroy the kingdom of the Pālas in Bengal.

For the reign of Rāmapāla we have the following dates and records :

(1) *Bihar stone image-inscription.*—This consists of two lines, incised on the pedestal of an erect figure of Tārā, discovered in Bihar. The inscription records in incorrect Sanskrit the dedication of the statue by one Bhaṭṭa Icchara (Īśvara ?) in the 2nd year of the reign of king Rāmapāladeva.[1]

(2) A MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* was written in the 15th year of *M.-P.-Pb.-Ps.* Rāmapāladeva at Nālandā in the Magadha-*Viṣaya.*[2]

(3) *Chandi-mau image-inscription.*—This consists of 3 lines incised on an image of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi near the village of Chandi-mau, 7 miles to the S.W. of Bargaon, the old site of Nālandā. It records the gift of the statue by *Paramopāsaka Parama-mahājana Vaṇika* Sādhu Saharaṇa, who had come from Rājagṛha and was resident in the village of Etrahagrāma, in the 42nd year of the reign of *Pb.-P.-Ps.-M.* Rāmapāladeva.[3]

(4) *The Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī (*Nandi-kula-kumuda-kānana-purṇendu*).—This *Kāvya* is divided into four cantos and is "written throughout in double *en tendre*. It is written in imitation of the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*. Read one way it gives the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Read another way it gives the history of Rāmapāladeva of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal." The work is called *Kaliyuga-Rāmāyaṇa* and the author *Kalikāla-Vālmīki*. But the text is so difficult that it is more or less

[1] Noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 124; edited by Prof. N. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1908, Vol. IV (N. S.), pp. 108-09. It is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

[2] *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.* Vol. II, p. 250, No. 1428; *JASB*, 1900, Part I, p. 100.

[3] The inscription was noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XI, p. 169; he read the date as 12. The record was then edited in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 93-94. Mr. R. D. Banerji read the date as 42. It is not impossible that the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Iśvaraghoṣa whose copper-plate has been discovered near Ramganj in the district of Dinajpur, was a vassal either of Rāmapāla or some of his immediate successors. See *IB*, pp. 149-57.

unintelligible except canto 1 and 36 verses of canto 2, for which we have a commentary. The author's ancestral home was at Vṛhadvaṭu which was attached to Pauṇḍravardhanapura in Varendrī, and his father Prajāpati Nandī who is described as *Karaṇyānām-agraṇī* was the *Sāndhivigrahika* of Rāmapāla. The work was completed probably in the reign of Madanapāla, as he ends his work with a wish for the long reign of that prince (IV. 48).[1]

It is certain from the records cited above that Rāmapāla's reign extended over at least 42 years (*c*. 1084-1126 A.D.). It is interesting to note in this connection that Tāranāth assigns him a reign of 46 years.[2] Among his ministers the *Rāma-carita* refers to the *Sāndhi(vi-grahika)* Prajāpati Nandī, while the Kamauli grant mentions the *Saciva* Bodhideva. Bodhideva's father Yogadeva served in the same capacity under Vigrahapāla III. The same inscription mentions Rāmapāla's queen Madanadevī. Sandhyākara Nandī tells us that this Pāla king, when residing at Monghyr heard of the death of his uncle Mathana and committed suicide by entering the sacred waters of the Ganges.[3] Rāmapāla had more than one son. The commentator of the *Rāma-carita* refers to prince Rājyapāla, who materially assisted his father in his preparations and campaigns against the Kaivartas. From his comments on I, 23, it is clear that Rāmapāla had at least two more sons.[4] The Manahali grant of Madanapāla gives us the names of Kumārapāla and Madanapāla as his sons. Tāranāth refers to his son Yakṣapāla who according to him ascended the throne three years before his father's death, and ruled for a year.[5] The possibility of a son of Rāmapāla undertaking the administration

[1] The work was discovered in Nepal by Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī, and has been edited by him with an introduction in *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 1-56.

[2] *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 366.

[3] *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 15 and 51; IV, 8-10. See for the similar death of Cāḷukya Someśvara of Kalyāṇa, *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 442.

[4] *Yairnandanaiḥ putraiḥ Rājyapālādibhiḥ teṣām*...............

[5] *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 366.

of the state before his death is supported by the *Rāma-carita*, which tells us that Rāmapāla used to reside in Rāmāvatī after entrusting the kingdom to his son (*Sūnu-samarpita-rājya*).[1] But unfortunately he does not mention the name of the son. Kielhorn edited an undated Gaya inscription of a king named Yakṣapāla.[2] This stone-inscription consists of 21 lines written in Devanāgarī script of about the 12th century A.D. It opens with *Oṁ namo Sūryāya*, and records that the above-mentioned *nṛpati* built a temple at Gaya for the gods Maunāditya, Sahasraliṅga, Kamalā, Ardhāṅgīna, Dvistomeśvara, Phalgunātha, Vijayāditya and Kedāradeva. He also dug a tank and established a hall of charity (*sattra*). In the genealogical portion of the inscription Yakṣapāla traces his descent from Śūdraka, to whom we are told the lord of *Gauḍa*, "almost equal to Indra," paid homage. His son was *nṛpa* Viśvarūpa, who is said to have gained great victories and conferred the riches appropriated from the enemy to "the most excellent twice-born." His son was *narendra* Yakṣapāla. Kielhorn was right in not accepting this prince as a son of Rāmapāla. The mention of Śūdraka and Viśvāditya shows that this family must be identified with the Brahman family whose inscriptions at Gaya are dated in the 15th year of Nayapāla (*c.* 1040-1055 A.D.) and the 5th year of Vigrahapāla III (*c.* 1055-81 A.D.) The assumption of royal titles by Viśvāditya and his son Yakṣapāla at Gaya, shows that the Pāla hold even over Magadh was growing loose. It is likely that this family became practically independent soon after the death of Rāmapāla. Another small principality which also probably became free from the control of the Pālas at this time was that of the Mānas. The beginning of the importance of this family is carried back to about the 8th century A.D. by the *Dudhpani rock inscription of Udayamāna*

[1] *IV*, 1.

[2] *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 63-66.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 343-47. According to Kielhorn the script of this inscription is "somewhat more modern than that of the *Aphsad* inscription of Adityasena." He assigns it to about the 8th century A.D.

in Hazaribagh district.[3] This record informs us that three brothers named Udayamāna, Śrīdhautamāna and Ajitamāna, who were merchants engaged in trade between Ayodhyā and Tāmalipti, became masters of the three villages of Bhramara-śālmali, Nabhūtiṣaṇḍaka and Chhingala, through the favour of *Magadhādhirāja* Ādisiṁha. They must have remained petty feudatory chiefs for about four centuries, at the end of which they emerge as independent rulers in the same locality. The *Govindpur stone-inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara* dated in *Śaka* 1059 (A.D. 1137-38), was discovered by Cunningham at Govindpur in the Nawada subdivision of the Gaya district in Bihar.[1] This is really a *praśasti* of Gaṅgādhara and his family who claimed to be Maga Brahmans highly proficient in Vedic studies. They were also poets. Cakrapāṇi, one of the ancestors of Gaṅgādhara, is compared to Vālmīki, while Gaṅgādhara himself composed a poem named *Advaita-śataka*. Kielhorn has identified the six Maga Brahmans whose verses are quoted in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* compiled by Śrīdharadāsa in A.D. 1205 with the six Maga Brahmans of this inscription bearing the same names. Gaṅgādhara's uncle Daśaratha first came to the court of the *Magadheśvara* Varṇamāna, and was appointed to the office of *Pratīhāra*. Later on Gaṅgādhara became the counsellor of king Rudramāna and married Pāsaladevī, a daughter of Jayapāṇi, a friend of the king of Gauḍa. Kielhorn has approximately dated these two Māna rulers of Magadha "towards the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century A.D." There seems to be no reason to doubt that the family of Yakṣapāla, which claimed to rule in the neighbourhood of Gaya city, and the Mānas who held the western portion of the Gaya district and northern portions of Hazaribagh were petty rulers, and they may therefore have ruled in that area simultaneously. It is also extremely likely that the prince referred to as the *Gauḍarāja* in this inscription was

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 330-42.

the contemporary Pāla king, whose rule in Bihar south of the Ganges probably extended only over the narrow strip of territory extending from the western borders of Patna to Rajmahal. In addition to this he also held a portion of north Bengal, so to deserve the title of *Gauḍarāja*.

According to the Manahali grant of Madanapāla, Rāmapāla was succeeded by his son Kumārapāla. But it is clear from the Kamauli grant of his minister Vaidyadeva,[1] that the pent-up forces of disruption so long held up by the powerful arm of Rāmapāla began now to assert themselves. Vaidyadeva claims to have become dearer to the life of the *Gauḍeśvara* by gaining a naval victory probably somewhere on the Ganges in *Anuttara* (South ?)-*Vaṅga* (V. 11). The disaffection of Tiṅgyadeva in the east (Kāmarūpa) was suppressed by the same minister, but in his 4th year, the date of his Kamauli grant, he himself appears to have practically asserted his independence, as his assumption of imperial titles amply testifies.[2] How long Kumārapala ruled is not known; but it may be inferred that he was still living when the Kamauli grant of his minister Vaidyadeva was issued in the 4th year of the latter's reign. Scholars have assumed that he had a short reign from the fact that only one verse is devoted to his rule in the *Rāma-carita*.[3] So far no records or dates of his reign have been discovered; but, as I have already said, we shall probably be not far wrong if we assign him a reign of about four years (*c.* 1126-30 A.D.).

He was succeeded by his son Gopala III. It is assumed from Verse 18 of the Manahali grant and from the *Rāma-carita* (IV. 12) that this prince died in his youth probably at the hands of men employed by his uncle Madanapāla, who succeeded

[1] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 349 ff.; also *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 127ff.

[2] His titles are *Paramamāheśvara-Paramavaiṣṇava-M.-P.-Pb.-Vaidyadeva*. It is difficult to agree with the view that this inscription was dated in the reign of Kumarapāla, though it is quite likely that king was still ruling when this grant was issued. See *JASB*, 1902, p. 3, fn. 2.

[3] *IV*, 11; see *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, p. 311.

him.[1] Only one stone-inscription of Gopāla III has been discovered at Manda in Rajshahi.[2] Madanapāla was a son of Rāmapāla by his queen Madanadevī. We have the following dates and records for his reign :

(1) *Bihar Hill image-inscription*.—This consists of two lines incised on the base of an image of Ṣaṣṭhī recording the erection of the image in year 3 of the reign of Madanapāladeva.[3]

(2) *Manahalī grant*.—This plate was discovered during the excavation of a tank in the village of Manahali in Dinajpur district. It contains 35 lines on the obverse and 23 lines on the reverse. It bears the usual *Dharmacakra* seal of the Pālas with legend *Śrī-Madanapāladevasya*. The inscription begins with *Oṁ namo Buddhāya* and traces the genealogy of the family from Gopāla to Madanapāla, who was born from Rāmapāla, by his queen Madanadevī. The grant was issued from the *Jayaskandhāvāra* situated in Rāmāvatī-nagara, and in the 8th year of *Ps.-M.* Rāmapāladeva-*pādānudhyātaḥ P.-Pb.-M.* Madanapāladeva. Its object was to record the gift of some land in Halāvarta-*Maṇḍala*, in Koṭivarṣa-*Viṣaya*, in Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti*, by the king to the Paṇḍit *Bhāṭṭaputra* Vaṭeśvara Śarmā as a fee for reading the *Mahābhārata* (*Veda-Vyāsa-prokta prapāṭhita Mahābhārata*),[4] to the *Paṭṭa-mahādevī* Citramatikā. The usual *Buddha-bhaṭṭārakam uddisya*, etc., also occurs in it. The *Dūtaka* was *Sandhivigrahika* Bhīmadeva, the engraver *Śilpī Tathāgatasara*.[5]

(3) *Jaynagar image-inscription*.—This consists of four lines incised on the pedestal of a "Buddhist statue." It was

[1] See *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 158 fn. ; *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 311; *MASB*, Vol. III, Part 1, p. 15.

[2] Not yet properly edited ; see *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 158 fn. ; *Baṅgīya Sāhitya-Pariṣad-Patrikā*, Vol. XIX, p. 155.

[3] *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 124. The inscription is unfortunately incomplete. Its whereabouts are at present unknown.

[4] Epic composed (*prokta*) and taught (*prapaṭhita*) by Vyāsa.

[5] The grant was discovered in 1875 and came into the possession of the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1899. It was edited by Mr. N. N. Vasu in *JASB*, 1900, Vol. 69, pp. 66-73 ; also in the *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 147-58.

found at Jaynagar, near Luckeesarai (Lakṣmīsarai, the Lakhi Sarai of Cunningham), a village in the head-quarters sub-division of Monghyr district, Bihar. The image was installed in the year 19 in the reign of Madanapāladeva.[1]

It is thus clear that Madanapāla ruled at least for 19 years (*c.* 1130-50 A.D.).[2] I have already drawn attention to the fact that the Pāla kingdom at this period included only portions of Northern Bengal and Bihar. There is however reason to suspect that not long after his 8th year Madanapāla was driven out of Bengal by the rising power of the Senas. This brings us to the discussion of the Sena chronology. Before introducing this subject wish to make it clear that the era which started from A.D. 1119, and which later became associated with the name of Lakṣmaṇasena, had nothing to do with the Senas of Bengal. All the Sena records so far discovered, even those of the successors of Lakṣmaṇasena, are dated in regnal years; and so far as is known to me, there is not a single authentic document discovered within the limits of the Sena kingdom which is dated unmistakably in the era commonly known as that of Lakṣmanasena.[3] Applying the dictum of Fleet that " Any era may be introduced in a country

[1] *ASR*, Vol. III, p. 125. In this *report* 'Jaynagar near Lakhi Sarai' is placed under Gaya; but the *IGI*, Vol. XVI, 1908, p. 180, places Luckeesarai in Monghyr district. Another Jaynagar image-inscription dated in the 35th year of *Gauḍeśvara* Palapāla was noticed by Cunningham; see *ASR*, Vol. III, Plate XLV, No. 33. Mr. R. D. Banerji accepts this ruler as a Pāla prince and places him after Madanapāla; see *JBORS*, December 1918, pp. 496 ff. He may have succeeded Madanapāla and Govindapāla in a portion of Bihar with pretensions over portions of Gauḍa. The title *Gauḍeśvara* in that case finds a parallel in the title *Kālañjarādhipati* of the Southern Kalacuris.

[2] R. G. Basak shows good reason to believe that the Candra mentioned in the *Rāmacarita* as a friend of Madanapāla, was not the Gāhaḍavāla Candradeva but the *Maṇḍalādhipati* of Aṅga and a grandson of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mahana, the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla; see *IHQ*, March 1929, pp. 35-48.

[3] The contention that the Dacca Caṇḍi image-inscription, dated *Śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasena-devasya Sam.* 3, was dated in the Lakṣmaṇasena era starting from 1119, A.D. (see *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 359 ff.) cannot be accepted. The fact that the Bakerganj plate of Keśavasena, son of Lakṣmaṇasena, is dated in year 3, while the Madanapāra grant of another son Viśvarūpasena, who appears to have preceded his brother (*JASB*, Vol. X (N. S.). 1914, p. 98), is dated in year 14, is sufficient to prove that the date is regnal, and does not refer to any era. But as we shall see, there are additional grounds.

to which it was not founded, but no era can have been founded in a country in which it was never used," to this particular case, we must refrain from introducing the 'era of Lakṣmaṇasena' into Sena chronology.[1] In any discussions on this problem we must take into consideration the following facts :

(1) The date *Śaka* 1082 (1159-60 A.D.) supplied by some MSS. of the *Adbhutasagara* as the initial date of Ballālasena's reign.

(2) The statement in the *Dānasāgara* that it was completed by Ballālasena in *Śaka* 1091 (A.D. 1169-70).

(3) The statement of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, that Rai Lakhmania (Lakṣmaṇasena) was defeated between 1193 and 1205 A.D. by Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār.

(4) The contemporaneity of Vijayasena with Nānyadeva of Tirhut and Nepal (*c.* 1097-1150 A.D.), and probably also with Rāmapāla (*c.* 1084-1126 A.D.) and Rāghava of Kaliṅga (*c.* 1156-1170 A.D.).

(5) The probability of *rasaikaviṁśe* in the colophon of the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* being a copyist's mistake for *rajyaikaviṁśe*. This would give us the date *Śaka* 1127 (1206 A.D.) as the 21st year of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena and consequently the date 1185 A.D. as that of his accession to the throne.[2]

Taking into consideration these facts and the known reign-periods of the Sena kings, we may suggest the following chronological table for their dynasty :

Sāmantasena..........	*c.* 1050-1075 A.D.	(Reign period not known).
Hemantasena.........	*c.* 1075-1097 ,,	(,, ,, ,, ,,)
Vijayasena.............	*c.* 1097-1159 ,,	(,, ,, so far known 62 years).

[1] This view was first advocated by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri of the University of Calcutta.

[2] For the passage see R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. III, p. 141; for the interpretation see *JL*, Vol. XVI, pp. 18-19.

Ballālasena............*c.* 1159-1185 A.D. (Reign period so far known 11 years).

Lakṣmaṇasena.........*c.* 1185-1206 ,, (,, ,, ,, ,, known 3 years).

Mādhavasena ?......................................?

Viśvarūpasena.........*c.* 1206-1225 ,, (Reign period so far known 14 years).

Keśavasena............*c.* 1225-1230 ,, (,, ,, ,, far known 3 years).

The facts on which the chronology rests are perhaps not quite unexceptionable. But the apparent agreement of the dates of the *Adbhutasāgara* and the *Dānasāgara* with that of Minhāj must tend to discourage all attempts to prove them to be spurious or unreliable. In the present state of our knowledge the above suggestion may be accepted as approximately correct.[1]

Turning now to the question of their origin, I have already pointed out the possibility that they came from the South. In the *Ballāla-carita* of Ānanda Bhaṭṭa, a work composed in the beginning of the 16th century, the Sena genealogy is traced back to the epic hero Karṇa, whose great-grandson Vīrasena married Somatā, the daughter of a Gauḍa Brahman. The Senas of Beṇgal were sprung from the descendants of this Vīrasena, and were higher in rank than the Kṣatriyas, being Brahma-Kṣatriyas like the Pāṇḍavas.[2] In the inscriptions of the Senas,

[1] On Sena chronology see : *JASB*, 1896, Vol. 65, pp. 16-37; 1905, Vol. 1 (N.S.), pp. 47 ff. 1913, Vol. IX (N.S.), pp. 271-290; 1915, Vol. XI (N.S.), pp. 406 ff.; 1921, Vol. XVII (N.S.), pp. 6-16; 1926, Vol. XXII (N.S.), pp. 365-89. *IA*, 1912, pp. 167 ff.; 1913, pp 185 ff,; 1919, pp. 171 ff.; 1922, pp. 145 ff. and 153 ff. *IHQ*, March, 1929, pp. 133-37. *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, Orientalia, pp. 1-5. *JL*, 1927, Vol. XVI, pp. 73 ff, Appendix A. *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 280 ff. *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 308 ff. *Gauḍarājamālā*, pp. 60-65. On the contention of Mr. R. D. Banerji. that the *Adbhutasāgara* says that Bāllālasena died *shortly* after *Śaka* 1091 (1169 A.D.), see R. C. Majumdar's fn. 1 on p. 12, *JASB*, 1921. The passage in question simply says that the work was begun in *Śaka* 1090 and was left incomplete when the royal author died. See *Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency* (1887-90) by R. G. Bhandarkar, p. lxxxvi.

[2] *Ballāla-carita*, Ed. by H. P. Śāstrī, Calcutta, Śakābda 1823, Chap. XII, p. 55; Trans. by the same, Calcutta, 1901, p. 48.

Karṇa, Vṛṣasena and Pṛthusena are entirely omitted. But they mention Vīrasena as the remote ancestor of Sāmantasena, who appears to have been the real founder of the line. The Senas claim to belong to the lunar race. In the Deopara Stone inscription of Vijayasena we are told that in the family of the moon were born the southern rulers (*Dākṣiṇātya-Kṣaunīndra*) Vīrasena and the rest. In that Sena family (*Sen-ānvaye*) was born Sāmantasena the *Kulaśirodāma* of the *Brahma-Kṣatriyas* who "slaughtered the wicked robbers of the wealth of Karṇāṭa (*Karṇāṭa-lakṣmī-luṇṭhakānām*)."[1] In the Barrackpur grant of the same king, Sāmantasena is said to have sprung from the family of the *rājaputras* of the lunar race. He is further described as the head ornament of the Kṣatriyas.[2] In the Naihati grant of Ballālasena, Sāmantasena is said to have been born in the family of the *rājaputras* of the lunar family who were ornaments of the *Rāḍhā* country.[3] In the Madhainagar grant of Lakṣmaṇasena, Sāmantasena is described as the head-garland (*Kula-śirodāma*) of the *Karṇāṭa-Kṣatriyas*.[4] From these passages it is quite clear that the Senas came from *Karṇāṭa* in the Deccan and settled in *Rāḍhā*, in West Bengal. It is interesting in this connection to note that names ending in *Sena* were by no means unknown during this period in the Karṇāṭa country. Prof. R. C. Mojumdar has recently pointed out a line of 7 Jaina teachers with names ending in Sena in the Dharwar district (Bombay).[5] As the dates of these Senas range from about 850 to 1054 A. D., and as change of religion, from Jainism to Hinduism or *vice versa*, is not an unfamiliar feature of Indian society, it had been suggested that the Senas of Rāḍhā may have had some connection with the Senas of Dharwar. The religious revolution in Karṇāṭa in the

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 307, Vs. 4-5 and 8.
[2] *Ibid*, Vol. XV, p. 282, Vs. 3-4.
[3] *Ibid*, Vol. XIV, p. 159, Vs. 3-4.
[4] *JASB*, 1901, Vol. V (N.S.), p. 471, V. 4.
[5] *PTOC*, Calcutta, 1922, p. 343.

11th and 12th centuries, which ultimately led to the foundation of the Liṅgāyata sect, may have helped to change the creed of the Jaina family into Śaivism. The conversion of the Cālukya prince Jayasiṁha II (*c.* 1018-1042 A.D.) from Jainism to Śaivism is an interesting example on the point. The fact that Sāmantasena is called *Brahmavādi* in the Deopara inscription and that he retired in his old age to a hermitage on the Ganges whose parrots even knew by rote the text of the Vedas, seems to support the contention that he sprang from a line of teachers. The example of Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadambas, shows that in the south proficiency in the Vedas was no bar to a military career.[1] It is not unlikely that Sāmantasena, like Mayūraśarman was a Brahman, and like him entered the royal service and adopting a Kṣatriya's life soon gained prominence "by acts of bravery in battles." This would give a satisfactory explanation to the puzzling word *Brahma-Kṣatriya* applied to him.[2] By adopting a Kṣatriya's profession, they became ultimately merged in the general body of the Kṣatriyas. In the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena, which is one of the earliest documents of the Senas, they still remembered their Brāhmaṇa origin. But the prefix *Brahma* gradually disappears in their records. In the Barrackpur grant of the same king Sāmantasena is already the 'head-ornament' of only the Kṣatriyas.[3] I have suggested the possibility that Sāmantasena or one of his predecessors came in the train of the Cālukya prince Vikramāditya when the latter invaded N. E. India in the reign of his father Someśvara I (*c.* 1044-68

[1] *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 31-32, Vs. 4-20.

[2] On this word see *JASB*, 1909, Vol. V (N.S.), p. 186. In the Chatsu inscription of Bālāditya the Guhila prince Bhartṛpaṭṭa is described as *Brahma-Kṣatrānvita* (V. 6); see *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 11 and 13.

[3] In this connection compare the title *Brahma-Kṣatra* applied to Rāma son of Jamadagni in the epics and the Purāṇas. He was so called because "though a Brāhmaṇ, he is generally spoken of as virtually a Kṣatriya," combining the characteristics of both. Similarly the Kṣatriyas who became Brahmans were designated *Kṣatropetā-dvijātayaḥ*; see Pargiter, *Indian Historical Tradition*, London, 1922, pp. 199, 243-52.

A.D.).[1] Verses 8-9 of the Deopara inscription describe the activities of Sāmantasena in the following terms :—"This hero singly slaughtered the wicked robbers of the wealth of Karṇāṭa overrun by hostile tribes to such an extent that the ruler of goblins, whose citizens are delighted, does not even now leave the *southern quarters* where the store of marrow, flesh and fat is not yet exhausted. In his old age, he frequented the sacred hermitages in the woods by the sandy banks of the Ganges, full of religious devotees, doing battle against the terrors of life, (hermitages) which were fragrant with the smoke of sacrificial butter ; where the young deer relished the milk of the breasts of indly hermits' wives ; (and) where crowds of parrots knew by rote the texts of the Vedas." When this is read with the statement of the Naihati grant of Ballālasena that he sprang from the lunar race of the *Rājaputras*, who were ornaments of Rāḍhā it is clear that Sāmantasena, though engaged in military campaigns in the south,[2] probably in the interest and service of a Karṇāṭa prince, was settled in Rāḍhā, possibly its northern part, which was closer to the Ganges.[3]

Sāmantasena was succeeded by Hemantasena. Nothing but vague praise is recorded for this prince. The following verse from the Deopara inscription may be accepted as a sample : "On his head he had the dust of the feet of the half-moon-crested (god), in his throat true speech, in his ear sacred precepts, at his feet the hairs of enemies, on his arms the marks of the scars made by the hard bow-string" (V. 11.). But from

[1] The other two theories that the Senas came to Bengal with Rājendra Coḷa or Coḍagaṅga, are less probable for the reason that none of the two princes can be said to be rulers of Karṇāṭa.

[2] In V. 5 of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena, Sāmantasena is said to have "carried on near the border of the dam" (*setu* = Adam's Bridge) "his victorious arms exterminating hundreds of opposing champions." See *EI*, Vol. I, p. 307.

[3] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 95 ff. *Cf.* the mention of Ganges next to *Uttira-lāḍam* in the Tirumalai inscription. Uttara-Rāḍha occurs in the Naihati grant of Vallālasena. See *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 161 ; also in Belava grant of Bhojavarman, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 37 ff. *Supra*, pp 319-20.

the epithet of *mahārājñī,* given to his consort Yaśodevī in the same inscription, he seems to have already claimed to be a chief of some importance. The feet of Yaśodevī we are told, " were brightened by a series of rays of the lines of the crest-jewels of the wives of princes both friendly and hostile " (V. 14). But the prince who really laid the foundation of the Sena kingdom in Bengal appears to have been Vijayasena, his son by this queen. In our chronology his reign extended from about 1097 to 1159 A. D. This is quite consistent with the suggestion already made that he is to be identified with the Vijaya of Nidrābala who, according to the commentary of the *Rāma-carita,* helped Rāmapāla (*c.* 1084-1126 A. D.) in defeating the Kaivartas in Varendrī. If this identification is accepted, it must be supposed that Vijayasena, in about the last quarter of the 11th century, was only a feudatory of the Pāla king. But from the fact that he is not given any such epithet as *bhūpāla, rājā,* or *pati,* which are given to some of the other *Sāmantas,* it must be assumed that he did not enjoy a position of any considerable power in the Pāla's *Sāmantacakra.* It was probably his marriage with Vilāsadevī, who is described as *Śūra-kulāmbodhi-kaumudī* in his Barrackpur grant, that first raised him into importance. We have already noticed that the Śūras were the rulers of a principality in South Rāḍhā, in the first quarter of the 11th century A. D. A Śūra chief also figures in the list of the *Sāmantas* of Rāmapāla. A matrimonial alliance with the Śūras therefore must have certainly led to a considerable improvement of the position of this ambitious Sena chieftain. I have suggested elsewhere that the enemy from whose attack a Varman prince of the eastern country sought the protection of Rāmapāla was possibly Vijayasena. In any case the Varmans must have been supplanted by the Senas before the 62nd year (*c.* 1159 A.D.) of Vijayasena, as his Barrackpur grant was issued in that year from Vikramapura, the same place where was pitched the "victorious camp" of Bhojavarman in the Belava grant. But this was not his only conquest.

In the Deopara inscription, Vijayasena claims to have "defeated Nānya and Vīra, impetuously assailed the lord of Gauḍa, put down the prince of Kāmarūpa, defeated the Kaliṅga (king)," imprisoned a number of chiefs, including Nānya, Rāghava, Vardhana and Vīra, and sent a naval expedition to the western regions which sailed up the whole course of the Ganges (Vs. 20-22). The identification of these princes is difficult, as they are not connected with the countries which they ruled.[1] The lord of Gauḍa is generally identified with Madanapāla (*c.* 1130-1150 A.D.), whose Manahali grant, dated in his 8th year was found in Dinajpur district. The discovery of the Deopara inscription in Rajshahi district shows that before that inscription was incised Vijayasena was already in possession of a portion of Gauḍa. The possession of part of Northern Bengal is also proved by his Barrackpur grant, which assigns land in *Puṇḍravardhana-Bhukti.* The chronological scheme adopted by us shows that Madanapāla and Vijayasena were contemporaries, and as their inscriptions prove that they were neighbours the impetuous assault by the Sena prince may have been really aimed against the *Gauḍapati,* Madanapāla. Nānya and Rāghava have been identified with Nānyadeva of Tirhut and Nepal (*c.* 1097-1150 A.D.) and Rāghava, king of Kaliṅga (*c.* 1156-70 A.D.), a son of Coḍagaṅga (*c.* 1076-1147 A.D.).[2] In the *Ballāla-carita* Vijaya-sena is described as a friend of Coḍaganga.[3] We do not know how far this assertion of an author who lived about four centuries later, is to be believed. There is a statement contained in the Kēndupatna plates of the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha II, that Coḍagaṅga levied tribute from the lands bordering on the Ganges (*bhūmer Gaṅgā-Gotama-Gaṅgayōḥ*) and defeated the ruler of

[1] This is done in the Allahabad pillar-inscription of Samudragupta; see *GI*, pp. 6 ff; *JL*, Vol. XVI, p. 8.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 307; *JASB*, 1915, Vol. XI (N.S.), pp. 408-09; 1903, Vol. I (N.S.), pp. 101-13.

[3] Chap. XII, p. 55; Trans., p. 48.

Mandāra.[1] This Mandāra is perhaps to be located near the Apara-mandāra, mentioned in the commentary of the *Rāma-carita.*[2] The latter principality, probably situated in West Bengal, was under a Śūra prince in about the last quarter of the 11th century and was possibly still under them in the 12th. As the Śūras were relatives of Vijayasena, we can readily understand why the Senas and Gaṅgas came into conflict. Vijayasena, probably in the latter part of his reign, succeeded in defeating Rāghava, the son of his powerful rival. As Nānyadeva was a contemporary of Vijayasena, we can also accept the proposed identification. It seems that the Sena king, after driving out Madanapāla from North Bengal, some time before his 62nd year, the date of his Barrackpur grant, crossed the river Nagar and came into conflict with the chief of Mithilā. It was a struggle between two Karṇāṭa chiefs; and it was possibly in the course of this campaign that the Bengal chief sent a naval expedition to the western regions (*pāścātya-cakra*) up the "whole course of the Ganges."[3] The Pāla principality at this time therefore probably comprised only the region to the south of the Ganges, now known as the districts of Patna, and Monghyr. Of the remaining chiefs, Vīra and Vardhana have been identified with Vīraguṇa of Koṭāṭavī and Vardhana of Kauśāmbī who figure in the commentary of the *Rāmacarita* as *Sāmantas* of Rāmapāla.[4] The *Kāmarūpa-bhūpa* is probably to be identified with Rāyārideva or Udayakarṇa, of the Assam plates of Vallabhadeva.[5] The identifications proposed are in some cases still somewhat doubtful; but as a scholar has rightly pointed out, the rejection involves the assumption that in about the latter part of the 11th and the first part of the 12th century, there were

1. *JASB*, 1896, Vol. LXV, pp. 289-41.
2. II, 5.
3. This expedition may have also some connection with the Gāhaḍavālas; see *infra*, my chapter on the Gāhaḍavālas.
4. *IA*, 1920, pp. 174-75.
5. *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 181-88; see *supra*, my chapter on Assam, pp. 259-60.

two Nānyas, two Rāghavas, two Vīras and two Vardhanas in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. "Such a conclusion, though not absolutely impossible is highly improbable."[1] In addition to these victories, the Naihati grant of his son Ballālasena tells us that his father "outshone *Sāhasāṅka* by his deceitless prowess." This prince has not yet been satisfactorily identified.[2]

The discussion above would show that after the death of the last Pāla king Rāmapāla there was a general scramble for power in the lower Ganges valley amongst the feudatories of the Pālas and the neighbouring chiefs. In this struggle the goddess of victory gave her garland to one of the former *Sāmantas* of Rāmapāla. The claim to have imprisoned so many kings is probably an exaggeration of the actual facts by the *praśastikāra*; but the find-spots and internal evidence of his records shew that there is a substantial amount of accuracy in his claims. It is certain that he ruled over portions of West, North and East Bengal. In the Deopara inscription Vijayasena is praised for his liberality to the *Śrotriyas* and the poor. We are told that "through his favour the *Śrotriyas* enjoy so much wealth that their wives had to be taught by the *nāgarīs* (wives of the townspeople) the use of pearls, emeralds, etc." The same inscription records his erection of the high temple of Pradyumneśvara Śiva and the excavation of a lake. He was a worshipper of Śiva, and had the *biruda* of *Arivṛṣabhaśaṅkara* and the title *Parama-māheśvara*. His two inscriptions also begin with salutations to Śiva. The poet Umāpatidhara, who composed the Deopara *praśasti*, and describes himself as a "poet whose understanding is purified with the study of words and their meanings," lived in his court. It is likely that the city of Vijayapura mentioned as capital of Lakṣmaṇasena by the *Pavanadūta* of

[1] *JL*, Vol. XVI. p. 82.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XVI, p. 159, V. 7. For unsuccessful attempts to identify *Sāhasaṅka* see *ibid*, pp. 157-58; R. D. Banerji suggests that he may be identified with the Chamba prince *Śālivāhana*, also called *Sāhasāṅka*; see *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 81, note 5 for the grant of the son of this prince. This identification does not appeal to me.

Dhoyī was built during his time and named after him.[1] As the wind-messenger comes to the city after crossing the Suhmadeśa and the confluence of the Bhāgīrathī and Yamunā (Triveṇī), the city should be located somewhere near the district of Hugli.[2]

The following records of Vijayasena have so far been found :

(1) *Paikor pillar-inscription.*—Incised on a small decorative stone pillar surmounted by the figure of the goddess Manasā at Paikor in Birbhum district (Bengal). The inscription consists of a single line and mentions the name of king Vijayasena.[3]

(2) *Deopara stone inscription.*—This is incised on a piece of basalt carefully polished on the upper surface. It was discovered amidst a number of large blocks of stone in a dense jungle near the village of Deopara, in the Godagari Thana, Rajshahi District, Bengal. The characters may be described as a Bengali variety of the northern alphabet of the 11th or 12th century. It contains 32 lines, and opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya.* Then occurs a verse in praise of Śambhu and Devī. Next we are told that the god Pradyumneśvara represented the union of the 'beloved of Lakṣmī' and the 'husband of the daughter of the mountain.' Then follows a verse in praise of the moon. In his race were born the southerner Vīrasena and the rest. In that Sena family was born Sāmantasena ; his son Hemantasena ; his son Vijayasena. The object of the inscription is to record that this king built a magnificent temple of the god Śiva Pradyumneśvara and dug a lake. The *praśasti* was composed by the *Kavi* Umāpati, and was engraved by the *Rāṇaka* Śūlapāṇi, 'the crest jewel of Varendra artists' (*Varendraka-śilpi-goṣṭhī-cūḍāmaṇi*).[4]

[1] V. 36.

[2] *JL*, Vol. XVI, pp. 15, 21-24; see for other views *JASB*, 1906, Vol. I (N.S.), p. 45; *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 75.

[3] This inscription has not yet been edited. It was noticed in the *ASI*, 1921-22, p. 115; *IB*, p. 168.

[4] The inscription is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It was first published with a translation by Mr. C. T. Metcalf, in *JASB*, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, pp. 128-54; then edited by Kielhorn in the *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 305-15; again in *IB*, pp. 42-56.

(3) *Barrackpur grant.*—This is incised on a single plate of copper, and was discovered near the cantonment of Barrackpur in the possession of some villagers. The obverse contains 24 and the reverse-side 26 lines of writing. On the top of the plate is attached the royal seal, which " consists of a ten-armed figure of Śiva, called in the Edilpur grant of Keśavasena *Sadāśivamudrā*, embossed in relief." [1] There is no legend on the seal. The characters belong to the 11th or 12th century, and are in what " may be called the Bengali alphabet." The grant opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*. The first verse praises Dhurjaṭi, and the next the moon. The genealogy is then traced from Sāmantasena, who was born in the family of the lunar princes, to *Vijaya-sena*. This last prince had as his *mahiṣī* Vilāsadevī, a daughter of the Śūra family. By her was born to him, Ballālasena, " an umbrella (protector) of the Kṣatriyas (who had the *biruda*) *Niḥśaṅka-śaṅkara*.[2] In verse 10 we are told that her husband caused her to make various gifts. We are then told that the grant was issued from the *Jayaskandhāvāra* situated at Vikramapura by *M.* Hemantasena-*pādānudhyāta-Parama-māheśvara-Pb. -M.*- Vijayasenadeva. The object of the grant is to record the gift of four *pāṭakas* of land (measured) by *Samataṭīya-nala* in the Ghāsasambhoga-Bhaṭṭavaḍā-*grāma* in the Khāḍī-*Viṣaya* situated in Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti* to the Brahman Udayakaradeva Śarman in honour of Maheśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, as a fee for performing the homa ceremony of the *Kanaka-tulā-puruṣa* gift given by *Mahā-mahādevi* Vilāsadevī on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The donee was an immigrant from the Madhyadeśa. Then comes the *biruda* of the donor, *Arivṛṣabhaśaṅkara,* and the name of the *Dūtaka* Śālāḍḍanāga. Next comes the date *Sam.* 62, Vai-

[1] *JASB*, 1914, Vol. X (N. S.), 1914, pp. 97 ff.

[2] V. 8 refers to Ballālasena, and V. 9 refers to *Niḥśaṅka-śaṅkara*, both born of the same lady. If we did not know from the Madanapara grant of Viśvarūpasena (*JASB*, 1896, Vol. LXV, p. 7) that the latter name was the *biruda* of the former, the impression might have been produced that they were the names of two sons.

sākhadine 7. At the end is the word *(ma)hā*, which according to some, means *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*.[1]

Vijayasena was succeeded by his son Ballālasena. From Verse 9 of the Barrackpur grant of his father it appears that he was already associated in the government of the state. Epigraphic records however supply little information regarding him. The Madanapara grant of Viśvarūpasena calls him *Gauḍeśvara*, which title is also given him in the beginning of the *Dānasāgara*.[2] From his Naihati grant we know that he ruled at least for 11 years. The *Ballāla-carita* tells us that his kingdom comprised the five provinces of Vaṅga, Vāgaḍī, Varendra, Rāḍha, and Mithilā and that he had three capitals, in each of which he stayed occasionally. These were Gauḍapura, Vikramapura, and Svarṇagrāma. The book also gives details of how this king socially degraded the Suvarṇavaṇiks of Bengal, and made a clean caste of the lowly Kaivartas.[3] According to Bengal tradition, he was also the founder of Kulinism in Bengal. Recent historical research however has shown that little or no reliance can be placed on the tradition of the Bengal *Kula-pañjikās*. It is significant that not a single land grant of Ballālasena or of his successors refers to this institution, though in every case they record gifts to Brahman families. It is however not impossible that Ballāla's power extended in the West up to Mithilā. We have seen that its ruler, Nānyadeva, was defeated by Vijayasena, and there is no reason to suppose that the Sena kingdom lost any of its provinces during the next reign. A tradition recorded in the *Laghu-bhārata*, contains references to Ballāla's expedition to Mithilā.[4]

[1] Edited by R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 278-86, re-edited in *IB*, pp. 57-67. The plate is now in the possession of Mr. Schumacher, an officer of Messrs. Bird & Co., of Calcutta. Dr. Barnett examined the date on the plate and was of opinion that it was more probably 62 than 32 or 61.

[2] *JASB*, 1896, Vol. LXV, p. 7. In the *Adbhutasāgara* too he is called king of *Gauḍa*; see *Report on the search for Sans. MSS. in the Bombay Presidency*, (1887-91) by Bhandarkar, p. lxxxii.

[3] *Ballāla-carita*, pp. 16 ff.

[4] *JASB*, 1896, Vol. LVI, p. 26.

Ballāla was noted for his learning. In the Barrackpur grant of his father he is said to be "the cherished lover of the intellect of the preceptor of the gods (*Bṛhaspati*) (which has become like) an excessively passionate woman" (V. 8). In the beginning of the *Dānasāgara*, a work on various kinds of gifts and connected ceremonies completed by him in *Śaka* 1091 (A. D. 1169-70)[1] we are told that he "learnt all the *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛti* works (*adhigata-sakala-purāṇa-smṛti-sāraḥ*) from his preceptor Aniruddha." In addition to the *Dānasāgara*, he began the compilation of another work, the *Adbhutasāgara* (dealing with omens and portents) in *Śaka* 1090 (A. D. 1168-69), which was completed after his death by his son Lakṣmaṇasena.[2] But much of the credit of these encyclopaedic compilations must go to the preceptor (*guru*) of the king, who is described as *ślāghya-varendrī-tale*, and who must have composed also some other works on ritual.[3] Ballāla, like his father, was a Śaiva. He also had the title *Parama-māheśvara*, and his grant also begins with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*, and praises Ardhanārīśvara (Śiva). He is given the *biruda* Niḥśaṅka-śaṅkara by his father's Barrackpur grant, and the Madanpara grant of his grandson Viśvarūpasena adds *Arirāja* before this title. The *biruda* is also mentioned in the colophon of the Dānasāgara. A MS. of the *Adbhutasāgara* contains the following passage *Bhuja-vasu-daśa-1082-mita-Śake Śrīmad-Ballāla-sena-rājy-ādau-*

[1] J. Eggeling, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, Sanskrit Lit., Part III, London, 1891, pp. 542 ff. The date is given as *Śaśinava-daśa-mita, 1091 Śaka-varṣe*; see also *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* by R. L. Mitra, No. II, Calcutta, 1870, p. 151. The date is wrongly given there as "*Saka* year 1019=A. D. 1097." *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, second series, by H. P. Śāstrī, Vol. I, Part II, Calcutta, 1898, pp. 169-72.

[2] Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bomb. Pres., 1887-91*, Bombay, 1897, pp. lxxxii ff. The date is given as *Śāke kha-nava-khendv-abde* (1090).

[3] *JASB*, 1906, Vol. II (N.S.). In the *Sat-kriyā-śāra--dīpaka* Gopāla Bhaṭṭa says that he compiled it after consulting the works of Aniruddha.

varṣa....[1] The word *ādau-varṣa* has been variously interpreted as the first year or the beginning of his reign.[2] I have already referred to the possible interpretation of the passage in the colophon of the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, which gives the date 1185 A.D. as the first year of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, the son of Ballāla. Under the circumstances we venture to place his accession in about 1159 A.D. and his reign-period in about 1159-85 A.D. So far only one inscription of this reign has been found. This is his ***Naihāti grant.*** The inscription is written on a single plate of copper and "was discovered by some coolies while digging some waste land between the villages of Naihati and Sitahati in the Katwa sub-division of the Burdwan district in Bengal ; the place where it was discovered is locally known as *Nai rājār bhiṭā*. A copper cup, a copper censor, four small stands and three carved small conch shells were also found in the same place." The inscription consists of 64 lines, 32 lines on each side. At the top of the plate is attached the usual seal "a seated image of the ten-armed Śiva known as Sadāśiva." The seal does not contain any legend. The characters show a "well developed Bengali alphabet of the 12th century A. D. The inscription opens as usual with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*. The first verse contains an invocation to Ardhanārīśvara (Śiva). Then comes the usual praise of the moon. The third verse tells us of the *rājaputras* of the lunar family who ornamented *Rāḍhā*. Verses 4 to 13 give the genealogy of the Senas from Sāmantasena to Ballālasena. Verse 7 tells us that Vijayasena "outshone Sāhasāṅka by his deceitless prowess." The grant was issued from the *jayaskandhāvāra* situated at Vikramapura by *M*. Vijayasenadeva-*pādānudhyāta-P.-Paramamāheśvara-Pb.-M*. Ballālasena to the *ācārya* Ovāsudeva Śarman and records the gift of

[1] The MS. is India Govt. MS. fol. 52 A; see *JASB*, 1906, Vol. II (N.S.), p. 17, fn. 1. Mr. Chakravarti, who first drew attention to this passage took the date to be 1081 *Śaka*. But Dr. Barnett rightly suggests that *bhuja*=2 and not = 1; see also *IHQ*, March 1929, p. 135.

[2] *Ibid*, 1921, Vol. XVII (N.S.), p. 11; *IA*, 1921, Vol. LI, pp. 156-57.

Vallahiṭṭhā-*grāma* measured by *Vṛṣabha-śaṅkara-nala*, with an annual income of 500 *Kapardaka-Purāṇas*, in Svalpa-dakṣiṇa-*vīthī* of Uttara-Rāḍhā-*Maṇḍala* of the Vardhamāna-*Bhukti*, as *dakṣiṇā* of the *Hemāśva-mahādāna* made by the king's mother Vilāsadevī on the banks of the Ganges. The village granted has been identified with modern Vāluṭiyā in the Murshidabad district. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the *Sāndhivigrahika* Harighoṣa. Then comes the date *Sam.* 11, *vaiśākha-dine* 16. At the end occur the words *Mahāsām Karaṇa-ni.*[1]

Ballālasena was succeeded by Lakṣmaṇasena, his son by his wife Rāmadevī, described as *Cālukya-bhūpālapāla-kulendralekhā* in the Madhavnagar grant of the new king. Lakṣmaṇasena probably came to the throne in about 1185 A.D.[2] In the Madanapara grant of his son Viśvarūpa he is given the following titles. *Aśvapati - gajapati - narapati-rājatrayādhipati-Sena-kula-kamala-vikāśa-bhāskara-Soma-vaṁśa-pradīpa-Pb.-Parama - saura-M.-Arirāja-Madanaśaṅkara-Gauḍeśvara.*[3] The sudden assumption of so many titles suggests that he won some military success during his reign. This guess is supported by the *Pavana-dūta* of Dhoyi, which informs us that the Gauḍa king Lakṣmaṇa came as far as the sandal hills in Malaya (Travancore hills) in the course of his world-conquest. The Madhainagar

[1] A reading and photograph of the grant was published in Vol. XVII, pp. 231-45 of the *Patrika of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya-Pariṣad*. A revised reading of the text was published in the Bengali monthly, *Sāhitya*, Vol. XXII B.S. 1318 ; a Bengali translation was published in the same journal, pp. 575-85; Mr. R. D. Banerji has now edited it with the help of Dr. Spooner's text and translation in *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 156-63; finally re-edited in *IB*, pp. 67-80. It is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

[2] The passage in the colophon of the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, runs as follows :

Śāke saptaviṁśatyadhikaśatopetadaśaśate śaradām.
Śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasena-kṣitipasya rasaikaviṁśe.

As the passage is giving the date of the compilation of the work in the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena (Phālguna, *Śaka* 1127 = 1206 A.D.) and since the word *rasaikaviṁśe* gives no sense, I think Mr. Sarcar was quite right to suggest that it was a copyist's mistake for *rājyaikaviṁśe*. See *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* by R. L. Mitra, Vol. III, Part II, Calcutta, 1875, p. 141.

[3] *JASB*, 1905, Vol. I. (N.S.), pp. 42 ff., V. 1.

grant informs us that the *Gauḍeśvara* in his youth took his pleasure with the females of Kaliṅga. The verse (no. 11) which makes this statement, seems to contain also a reference to the defeat of a *Kāśi-rāja*. Line 32 of the same grant tells us that he conquered Kāmarūpa. The Edilpur and Madanpara grants of his sons Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena refer to his erection of pillars of victory "on the southern sea, where exists (the images of) *Musaladhara* (Balarāma) and Gadāpāṇi (Jagannātha, *i.e.* Purī), and also in Viśveśvarakṣetra at the confluence of the Asi, the Varuṇā, andt he Gangā (*i.e.* Benares), and also at the Triveṇī (*i.e.* Allahabad)." The hostility with Kaliṅga, as we have seen, was inherited from the reign of his grandfather ; and as it is said that he undertook the expedition in his youth the incident referred to may have happened during the reign of his father or grandfather.[1] The prince of Kāmarūpa at this time was probably Vallabhadeva whose Assam plates are dated in *Śaka* 1107 (A.D. 1184 or 1185).[2] If the statement that he advanced in his conquering campaigns as far as Allahabad be correct he carried out the policy which opened with his grandfather's victories in Mithilā and his naval campaign in the *pāścātya-cakra*. His father too is reputed to have conquered Mithilā. Thus it is not at all unlikely that he may have raided the regions further west. But unfortunately the records referred to above do not mention the name of the princes defeated by Lakṣmaṇasena. Who could be his rivals for the possession of these western districts? We have seen how Madanapāla was gradually ousted from Bengal by the Senas. His power probably lingered around Patna and Monghyr till about 1150 A.D. Who succeeded him is not known. But a Gaya inscription shows that one Govindapāla was reigning there in

[1] The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga who ruled from the time of Vijayasena to that of Lakṣmanasena were: Coḍagaṅga (*c.* 1076-1147 A.D.), his sons Kāmārṇava (*c.* 1147-56 A.D.), Rāhgava (*c.* 1156-70 A.D.) and Rājarāja II (*c.* 1170-90 A.D.).

[2] See *supra*, pp. 259-60.

c. 1160 A D. This stone inscription dated in V. S. 1232, consists of 14 lines and was found in the temple of Gadādhara at Gaya.[1] It was recorded in the 14th year after the end of his reign (*gata-rājye caturdaśa-saṁvatsare*), so he must have ceased to reign about 1161-62 A. D. Though at present nothing is known about his relationship to Madanapāla, yet the nearness of their dates and the find-spots of their records suggest that one succeeded the other in Bihar. If this was the case, it is possible that if he was not uprooted, Govindapāla at least came into conflict with the advancing Sena armies along the Ganges towards the west. Another power which may have also come into conflict with the Pālas was that of the Gāhaḍavālas. The Maner plates of Govindacandra records that in V.S. 1183 (A. D. 1124) he granted land in the neighbourhood of Patna, while the Lar plates of the same king show that he was in residence at Mudgagiri in V. S. 1202 (A. D. 1146).[2] The Tāracaṇḍi rock-inscription proves that Vijayacandra, of the same dynasty, was in possession of portions of Shahabad in V. S 1225 (A. D. 1169), while the Bodh-gaya inscription of Jayaccandra tells us that the Gāhaḍavālas were in Gaya district in *c.* 1180 A. D.[3] It seems therefore that the Gāhaḍavālas gradually advanced into Magadha during the period 1124-1180 A. D. The moribund Pāla power was thus crushed out of existence, being attacked on both its flanks. Therefore it seems likely that the chief rivals of the Senas in the West were these Gāhaḍavālas.[4] Jayaccandra (*c.* 1170-1193 A.D.) of the latter line was the contemporary of Lakṣmaṇasena (*c.* 1185-1206 A.D.).

The struggle of the Gāhaḍavālas and the Senas was soon hushed up at the appearance of the conquering Turk. The

[1] *ASR*, Vol. III. p. 125; *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 109; see also *JASB*, 1921, Vol. XVII (N. S.), p. 6, fn. 2. For the dates connected with Govindapāla's *Vinaṣṭarājya*, *Atītarājya*, etc., the best explanation is given by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *JASBc* 1921, pp. 14 ff.

[2] *JASB*, 1922, Vol. XVIII, pp. 81 ff.; *EI*, Vol. VII, p. 98.

[3] *JAOS*, Vol. VI, p. 548; *PASB*, 1880, April, pp. 76-79.

[4] *JASB*, 1922, pp. 82-83.

second battle of Taraori (1192 A. D.) had been fought and lost by the Hindus. The gate of Delhi was forced; and small bands of adventurous Muhammadan cavaliers spread over the valley of the Ganges and the Jumna. One of these named Malik Ḥusām ud-Dīn Āghūl-Bak had carved out a principality in Oudh. Under him Ikhtiyār ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Bakht-yār, a Turk belonging to the Khalj tribe of Ghūr, held the fiefs of Bhakwat (بهكوت) and Bhīwalī (بهيولي) between the Ganges and the Karmanasa, eastward of and adjoining Chunargarh, which was probably included in it.[1] This Turkish chief, we were told, had an 'ungainly build,' so that when he stood upright on his feet and lowered his arms his hands reached below his knees so far that the fingers could touch the calves of his legs.[2] But he was a daring and reckless cavalry leader, and making his fiefs the base of his operations he carried on regular incursions into the territory of 'Muner and Bihar.'[3] After gaining much booty and ample resources in the shape of horses, arms, and men, he organised an attack upon 'the fortified city of Bihar.' According to the informants of Minhāj, the force under Muḥammad consisted of only 'two hundred horsemen in defensive armour.' The attack resulted in the capture of the 'fortress,' and with it great booty. Minhāj thus describes the capture on the place : "The great number of the inhabitants of that place were Brahmans, and the whole of those Brahmans had their heads shaven, and they were all slain. There were a great number of books there, and when all these books came under the

[1] *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 548-50. See Raverty's note 5 on p. 550. He has given the alternative forms of the names of the fiefs as Bhugwat and Bhīūlī. I have retained *k* in the spelling of the first name, following the Persian spelling. Raverty points out that two Parganas in the locality indicated still bear the same names. The *TA*, gives the names of the fiefs as Kampilah and Patiali ; see *Bibliotheca Indica*, trans. by Dey, 1913, p. 49, and footnote 2.

[2] *TN*, p. 556.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 550. *TA*, p. 50. "Muner is an old place at the confluence of the Son and the Ganges, on the right bank of the former." It should be identified with the *Maniaripattalā*, of the Muner grant of Govindacandra.

observation of the Musalmans, they summoned a number of Hindus, that they might give them information respecting the import of those books; but the whole of the Hindus had been killed. On becoming acquainted (with the contents of those books), it was found that the whole of the fortress and city was a college, and in the Hindūī tongue they call a college (مدرسه) Bihar."[1] The following account of Niẕām ud-Din is substantially the same: "(He) conquered the fort of Behar, plundered and ravaged the whole of the country, and acquired much booty. He made the inhabitants of the country, who were all old and ascetic Brahmans, and had their heads shaven, food for his merciless sword. In the language of Hindustan, a college is called a Behar, and as this province had formerly been a mine of learning it had got the name of Behar."[2]

These two accounts make it abundantly clear that there was at this time no ruler in Bihar of any importance. The Gāhaḍavālas, who were masters of this region, must have retired from it after the fall of the Cāhamānas at Taraori in 1192 A.D. The centre of the power of the Senas, who occasionally raided this land, lay further east. The Pālas were no more. They must have been destroyed before the arrival of the Turk in Bihar. It thus appears that Magadha at this time was a no man's land. The knowledge of the advancing tide of irresistible Turks had moved all able-bodied men to flee in all directions. Only old men and shaven-headed ascetics remained and what is described as the 'fort of Bihar' was only a fortified University-town. There is no evidence anywhere that any king fought with Muḥammad.[3] Soon after his capture of Bihar Muḥammad presented himself to Quṭb ud-Dīn Aibak at Delhi in c. 1193 A.D. and was received

[1] *Ibid*, p. 552.

[2] *TA*, p. 50.

[3] I do not find any evidence to support the statement of Sir Wolseley Haig that "the conquest of Bihar involved the destruction of the Pāla dynasty," or that Indradyumnapāla the last king of the line, "was alive in 1197, but retained no power during the latter years of his life;" see *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 513.

with "great honour and distinction." Quṭb ud-Dīn "entrusted the rule of the country of Lakhnautī to him, and nominated him for the duty of conquering it." [1] In the meantime the fame of the intrepidity and the victories of Muḥammad had reached the court of Lakṣmaṇasena. We are told by Minhāj that "Fear of him operated exceedingly in the hearts of the unbelievers of the different parts of the territories of Lakhaṇavatī and Bihar, and the countries of Bang and Kāmrūd." To the same historian we are indebted for an almost contemporary account of the advance of Islām into Bengal. His story which was collected largely from anecdotes current at his time, and is not free from exaggerations, may be summarised as follows: Rai Lakhmaṇīah was "a very great Rāi," and "had been on the throne for a period of 80 years." His seat of government was the city of Nūdīah. His father died when he was still in his mother's womb. "The crown was placed on the belly of his mother, and all girded up their loins in her service. The Rāis of Hind used to hold their family in great importance, and were wont to consider him in the position of Khalīfah by descent." When the birth of Lakhmaṇīah drew near, the astrologers represented that if the child should be born at that hour, it would never attain to sovereignty; but if it should be born two hours later, it would reign for 80 years. Whereupon the queen-regent kept herself suspended with her head downwards and legs bound together. When after two hours she was taken down, she gave birth to Lakhmaṇīah and immediately after died. Lakhmaṇīah reigned for 80 years; never did tyranny proceed from his hand;" he was also famous for his magnificence. After the conquest of Bihar "a number of astrologers, wise men, and counsellors of his kingdom" represented to him that it was written "in our books of the ancient Brahmans" that this country would fall into the hands of the Turks. They assured him that the Turks had subjugated Bihar, "and next year they will surely come into this country." Under the circumstances they advised the king to "be

[1] *TA*, p. 50.

removed from the country in order that we may be safe from the molestation of the Turks." On the Rāi hesitating, they gave him the description of the conqueror, which on verification was found to agree with the physical appearance of Muḥammad ibn Bakht-yār. When they became assured of these facts, "most of the Brahmans and inhabitants of that place retired into the province of Sankanāt (سنقنات or سنكنات), the cities and towns of Bang, and towards Kāmrūd ; but to begin to abandon his country was not agreeable to Lakhmaṇīah. In the following year Muḥammad caused a force to be prepared, and advanced upon Nūdiāh, so swiftly that no more than 18 horsemen could keep up with him, and the other troops followed after him." On reaching the gate, Muḥammad proceeded at once to the palace, and surprised its guards. The Rāi, who was at his table, fled bare-footed by the back part of his palace. In the meantime the rest of Muḥammad's army arrived, and the whole city was captured. Lakhmaṇīah, got away towards Sankanāt and Bang, and there the period of his reign shortly came to a termination. His descendants, up to this time, are rulers in the country of Bang." Muḥammad in the meantime "left the city of Nūdiāh in desolation and the place which is now Lakhaṇavatī, he made the seat of his government." [1] To this Niẓām ud-Dīn adds that the people, on the declaration of the astrologers, fled also to Jagannath. His account simply states that Muḥammad started from Bihar with a small force, and reached the city of 'Nudiar' by successive rapid marches. On his arrival Lakhmaṇīah "in great confusion embarked in a boat and escaped." The conqueror, we are told, then "devastated the city of Nudiar, and in place of it founded another city, which has become Lakhnauti, and made it his capital ; and to-day that city is in ruins and is known as Gaur." [2]

[1] The danger of exaggeration by historians is perhaps illustrated by the following : "The raja (*i. e.*, Lakṣmaṇasena), in the half-naked state in which a Hindu of high caste is obliged to eat" (*CHI*, Vol. III, p. 46). Minhāj only mentions that the 'Rūe' fled bare-footed ; *TN*, pp. 554-59.

[2] *TA*, p. 51 ; Dey spells Gaur as 'Gour,' see also *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 148.

There are differences of opinion about the date of this conquest. But it must have happended before 1205 A.D., when Muḥammad started on his ill-fated expedition to Tibet, and after 1193, when he met Quṭb ud-Dīn Aibak after the conquest of Bihar. As Minhāj says that the Rāi died soon after the capture of Nūdiāh; and as we know from the colophon of the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* that he was living in 1206 A.D., I think we are justified in placing the date of the expedition nearer 1205 than 1193.[1] Though much fiction is mixed up in the account of Minhāj, the general outline of his story is fairly reliable. Without going so far as to say that there was a real conspiracy between the officers and Brahmans of the court and the Muhammadans[2] we may assume that there was a general panic at the capital. The fall of the powerful dynasties of the Cāhamānas and the Gāhaḍavālas convinced the courtiers that nothing could possibly stop the oncoming tide. A sudden cavalry attack by a bold leader on such a demoralised city may well have produced the results described by Minhāj, and Niẓām ud-Dīn. It should be noted that the former distinctly says that the city was captured when the whole army arrived, and the only function undertaken by the advanced party appears to have been to completely destroy the *morale* of the citizens.

Another question that has given rise to difficulties is the location of the capital of Lakṣmaṇasena. Niẓām ud-Dīn seems to place 'Nudiar,' 'Lakhnauti' and 'Gaur' all in the same place. Minhāj simply says that Muḥammad left Nūdiāh, the capital of Lakhmaṇiah, in desolation and established his capital at a place "which is now known as Lakhaṇavatī." In the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī, the wind-messenger after travelling through various countries passes through Suhmadeśa and reaches Vijayapura, the capital of Lakṣmaṇasena, near the confluence of the

[1] See *JL*, Vol. XVI, p. 77; Raverty placed it in 1193, Blochmann in 1197-98, Thomas in 1202, and Stewart in 1203. The *CHI* places it in c. 1202. See *ibid*, p. 46 and fn. 1.

[2] *JASB*, 1896, Vol. LXV, p. 29.

Yamunā and the Bhāgīrathī (Triveṇī).[1] Attempts have been made to identify Nūdiāh with Vijayapura; some have tried to place Vijayapura near Gaur in Malda District.[2] As Vijayapura, according to Dhoyī, was situated not far from the separation of the Yamunā from the Bhāgīrathī, and as the wind-messenger does not cross the Ganges to reach it, it is reasonable to locate this city near the modern district of Hooghly.[3] It may therefore be concluded that the Senas, like other dynasties, had more than one capital in North, East and West Bengal, and Nūdiāh was the place where Lakṣmaṇasena was residing when Muḥammad made his raid. After the fall of Nūdīaḥ, the Sena king took to his boats and crossed over to 'Bang,' *i e.*, Eastern Bengal. The inscriptions of the sons of Lakṣmaṇasena are issued from Vikramapura, and thus confirm the statement of Minhāj that "up to this time his descendants are rulers of the country of Bang."

Lakṣmaṇasena was a liberal patron of letters. Umāpati, the composer of the Deopara *praśasti*, who appears to have survived both Vijayasena and Ballālasena, probably lived for some time in his reign. Jayadeva, the author of the *Gīta-govinda*, Dhoyī, the author of the *Pavana-dūta*, Halāyudha, the author of *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, Śrīdharadāsa, the compiler of the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, were the other more important luminaries of his court. Of these Śrīdharadāsa, is described as *Mahā-māṇḍalika* and son of the *Mahā-sāmanta-cūḍāmaṇi* Vaṭudāsa. The king himself was a poet of some repute. Nine of his verses are quoted in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*. He also finished the *Adbhuta-sāgara*, which was left incomplete by his father.[4] In religion Lakṣmaṇasena still remained a worshipper of Śiva,

[1] *Ibid*, 1905, Vol. I (N.S.), p. 44, Vs. 27-36.

[2] *Ibid*, 45; *Gauḍarājamālā*, pp. 74-75.

[3] *JL*, No. XVI, pp. 21-24, and 80-82.

[4] *JASB*, 1906, Vol. II (N. S.), pp. 15-22 and 157-76; 1905, Vol. I (N. S.), pp. 41-71: *JL*, Vol. XVI, 58 ff.

as his title of *Madana-śaṅkara* in the Madanapara and Mymensing grants of his son shows. But in his Tarpandighi and Anulia grants he assumes the title *Parama-vaiṣṇava*, and in the Madhainagar grant that of *Parama-nārasiṁha*. All these three grants open with *Oṁ namo Nārāyaṇāya*; but in the opening verses of the Madhainagar and Anulia inscriptions there are invocations to Pañcānana and Śambhu. It thus appears that he gradually leaned towards the Vaiṣṇava form of religion. His eclecticism is however proved by the title *Parama-saura* given to him in the Madanapara grant of Viśvarūpa.

The following records of his reign are so far known to us:—

(1) *Dacca Caṇḍi image-inscription.*—The image was discovered in the ruins of Rampal (Dacca district). The goddess has four arms and "stands in a graceful tribhaṅga pose on a full-blown lotus over a couchant lion." Her upper left hand holds a half-blown lotus with some buds, the lower left hand holds an "ornamental basket-like thing" (a flower basket or waterpot), the upper right hand an elephant goad, lower one is in *Varadamudrā*. As two elephants are found pouring water over her, a sign of Gaja-lakṣmī, it has been suggested that she may represent the *Śakti* of the god Harihara. The inscription records that the *Adhikṛta* Dāmodara, son of Māladatta (or Mālākhaḍga?) began (this image) of Caṇḍī-devī which was installed by his younger brother Nārāyaṇa. It is dated in the year 3 of Lakṣmaṇasenadeva.[1]

(2) *Tarpandighi grant.*—This was found in the village of Tarpandighi (Dinajpur district, Bengal). It is incised on a single plate of copper, and contains 56 lines (27 on the front-side and 29 on the back). The royal seal contains the figure of the five-faced and ten-handed god Sadāśiva, and is attached

[1] *EI*, Vol. XVII, pp. 359-62. The editor reads the last letter as 4; but it looks more like a *visarga*; re-edited in *IB*, pp. 116-117. This image is now worshipped in a small temple in the Dalbazar quarter of the city of Dacca.

to a projection on the top of the plate by means of a copper bolt. The script belongs to the Bengali variety of the N.E. alphabet of the 12th century. The inscription opens with *Oṁ namo Nārāyaṇāya*, and in the next two verses praises the moon. This is followed by the genealogy of the Senas from Hemantasena to Lakṣmaṇasena. The grant was issued from the *Jaya-skandhāvāra* at Vikramapura, and records the gift of the Velahiṣṭī-*grāma* in Varedya (Varendra) in the Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti* to the Brahman Īśvaradeva Śarman as *dakṣiṇā* on the occasion of the gift known as *Hemāśva-ratha* by *M.*-Ballālasena-*pādānudhyāta-P.-Parama-vaiṣṇava-Pb.-M.* Lakṣmaṇasena. The *Dūtaka* was the *Sāndhivigrahika* Nārāyāṇadatta. The land granted yielded an income of 150 *Purāṇas*. It is dated simply in the year 3 Bhādradine 2.[1]

(3) *Anulia grant.*—This was discovered in the village of Anulia near Ranaghat in the district of Nadia. It is very similar to the Tarpandighi grant, and the first seven verses of the two records are identical. The character is a Bengali variety of the N.E. alphabet of the 12th century A.D. The inscription opens with *Oṁ namo Nārāyaṇāya* and an invocation of Śambhu and the Moon, after which the well-known genealogy of the Sena kings from Hemantasena to Lakṣmaṇasena follows. It was issued from the *Jaya-skandhāvāra* at Vikramapura, and records the gift of some land measured by *Vṛṣabha-śaṅkara-nala* in Vyāghrataṭī of the Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti* to Paṇḍita Raghudeva Śarman by M. Ballālasenadeva-*pādānudhyāta-P.-Parama-vaiṣṇava-Pb.-M.* Lakṣmaṇasenadeva. The *Dūtaka* is, as in the previous grant, *Sāndhivigrahika Nārāyaṇadatta*. It is dated in the year 3.[2]

[1] Westmacott first published an account of this grant in the *JASB*, Vol. XLIV, Part I, pp. 11 ff., with two lithographs of drawings made from the copper-plate. Edited by R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 6-10. Re-edited in *IB*, pp. 99-105. The record is now owned by the *Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, Calcutta.

[2] The grant was first edited by Paṇḍit R. K. Chakravarti in the now defunct Bengal journal *Aitihāsika Citra*, of Rampur Boalia, in Rajshahi. Then by A. K. Maitreya, in *JASB*, 1900, Vol. LXIX, pp. 61-65. Finally edited in *IB*, pp. 81-91.

(4) *Madhainagar grant.*—This is said to have been discovered among some ruins in the village of Madhainagar, police station Raiganj, in the sub-division of Sirajganj, Pabna. It is incised on a single plate of copper, and consists of about 58 lines (front side 29+29 on the back). The " badly corroded state of the plate at its lower extremities on both sides renders complete decipherment of those portions impossible.......The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabets and may be specified as 12th century Bengali." The inscription opens with the usual *Oṁ namo Nārāyaṇāya* and then in V. 1 invokes the god *Pañcānana*, on whose lap sits Gaurī, and 'who sustained Hari in a half of his most wonderful body.' The next verse praises the Moon, and then from the kings of his line is traced the family of Vīrasena. The genealogy of the Senas is then given from Sāmantasena to Lakṣmaṇasena. The inscription was issued by *Pb.-M.*-Ballālasenadeva-*pādānudhyāta*........*Gauḍeś-vara-Parama-nārasiṁha-Pb.M.*-Lakṣmaṇasenadeva when he was resident in Dhāryagrāma (?). It records the grant of Dāpaṇiyā-*pāṭaka* near Kāntipura, in Varendrī in Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti* to the Brahman Govinda Śarman.[1]

(5) *Sundarban grant.*—This is said to have been discovered in the Sundarbans (Bengal). The late Paṇḍit Ramgati Nyayaratna gave a partial reading of it in his *Essays on Bengali Language and Literature.* It is now lost.[2]

(6) *Govindapur grant.*—Discovered in the village of Govindapur in the 24-Parganas district, Bengal. It consists of 47 lines and is incised on both sides of a single plate. The first 7 verses and the seal are the same as in No. 3 above. It was issued from the *Jaya-skandhāvāra* at Vikramapura, and records grant of the village of Viḍḍāraśāsana in Beṭaddacaturaka in

[1] The inscription was first noticed by P. N. Chaudhuri in the now defunct *Aitihāsika Citra*, 1st year, p. 92; edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji in *JASB*, 1909, Vol. V (N. S.), pp. 467-76. Re-edited in *IB*, pp. 106-115. Now in the Asiatic Society of Bengal

[2] For an abstract of the text and references, see *IB*, pp. 168-72. Mr. K. C. Sinha published a version of the text in *Bhāratī*, Vol. IV.

Paścimakhāṭikā of the Vardhamāna-*Bhukti* to Vyāsadeva Śarman by *P.-Parama-nārasiṁha-Pb.-M.-Śrimal*-Lakṣmaṇasena in the 2nd year of his reign. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the *Sāndhi-vigrahika* Nārāyaṇadatta.[1]

(7) *Tipperah grant*—said to be in the possession of the widow of the late Gaṅgāmohan Laskar; not yet edited.[2]

I have already referred to the statement of the Musalman historian, supported by epigraphic evidence, that the descendants of Lakṣmaṇasena continued to rule in Bang or Eastern Bengal. We have several grants of the sons of Lakṣmaṇasena. One of these is the (1) *Madanpara grant* of Viśvarupāsena. It was discovered in the village of Madanpara, post office Pinjāri, Pargana Kotalipara, Faridpur district. It is a single plate, and its seal at the top has the usual ten-handed image of Sadāśiva. The characters belong to the 12th or 13th century. It contains 60 lines, of which 30 are in verse, and begins with *Oṁ namo Nārāyaṇāya* and an invocation to the same god. Then the moon is praised, and next comes the genealogy of the donor, traced from Vijayasena. The mother of Viśvarūpa was the *Mahiṣī rājñī* Tandrā or Tāḍādevī. The inscription was issued from the *Jaya-skandhāvāra* situated at Phalgugrāma. It records the grant of Piñjokāṣṭhī-*grāma* in the Vikramapura-bhāga of Vaṅga in the Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti* to the *Śrutipāṭhaka* Viśvarūpadeva Śarman by *Aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-trayādhipati Sena-kula-kamala-vikāsa-bhāskara-Somavaṁśapradīpa-P.-Pb.-Parama-saura-M.-Arirāja-Vṛṣabhāṅka-Śankara-Gauḍeśvara* Viśvarūpa-senadeva, son of Lakṣmaṇasenadeva.[3] The *Dūtaka* was the *Gauḍa-Mahāsandhivigrahika* Kapiviṣṇu. It is dated in the 14th

[1] Edited by N. G. Majumdar, *IB*, pp. 92-98. First edited by A. C. Vidyābhushan in the Bengali Journal *Bhāratvarṣa*, 1232 B.S., pp. 441-45. He read the year as 3.

[2] See *JASB*, 1909, Vol. V (N.S.), p. 467.

[3] I have already noticed the titles of Lakṣmaṇasena in this plate; see *supra* p. 337.

year of the donor.[1] Another inscription of this king recently edited is the (2) *Sāhitya Pariṣat grant.*—This copper-plate was found in the possession of a blacksmith of Susang, in Mymensing (Bengal).[2] As a portion of the copper-plate has been cut away and melted some words on both sides are missing. The inscription consists of 70 lines of writing, of which 34 are on the obverse and 36 on the reverse. It opens with the usual *Oṁ namo Nārāyaṇāya.* It does not differ materially from the former grant so far as its historical portion is concerned. The editors however read the name of the queen of Lakṣmaṇasena as Ṭaṭṭanadevī or Tyaṣṭanadevī. In the donatory portion of the inscription two names—Sadāsena and Puruṣottamasena—are given. Their relationship to the donor is not specified ; but as they are called *Kumāra*, Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī suggests that they were "most probably" his sons. The grant records the gift of some land to the Brahman Halāyudha Śarman in the Rāmasiddhi-*pāṭaka* in Vaṅga, in *Pauṇḍravardhana-Bhukti* ; some land appears to have been given also in Vikramapura-bhāga (line 17 reverse side). The grant contains two dates, *viz.*, 13th and the 14th regnal years of Viśvarūpasena. It was sealed by the *Sadāśiva-mudrā*. The name of the *Dūtaka* is lost.[3]

Besides these two inscriptions we have the *Edilpur grant* of Keśavasena, another son of Lakṣmaṇasena. It was discovered in a *char*-land in the pargana Edilpur, Bakerganj district. The seal and the historical portion of the inscription are exactly the

[1] The contents of the plate were noticed by N. N. Vasu in the *Viśvakoṣa*, Vol. IV, under the article *Keśavasenadeva*. Then edited by the same in *JASB*, 1896, Vol. LXV, pp. 6-15. His suggestion of the name of the queen of Lakṣmaṇasena was *Sitalādevī*, shown to be wrong. See *JASB*, 1914, p. 98. The inscription has actually *Tāndrādevī* (?) or *Tāḍādevī* (?). The inscription has been re-edited in *IB*, pp. 132-39. 'The letters Viśvarūpa are engraved in a different hand and smaller size.'

[2] According to some originally discovered somewhere in the neighbourhood of Dacca, see *IB*, p. 140.

[3] Edited by H. P. Śāstrī under the name *Mymensing grant*, in *IHQ*, 1926, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 76-86. Re-edited by N. G. Majumdar under the name *Calcutta Sāhitya Pariṣat copper-plate*, in *IB*, pp. 140-48. There are considerable differences in the reading of the names of persons and places between the two editors. The name Sadāsena is read by Majumdar as 'Sūryyasena,' while the name Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka has been read by Śāstrī as Sāmasiddhi-pāṭaka.

same as in the Madanapara grant of his brother. The inscription, which is incised on a single plate, contains 65 lines—31 on the front and 34 on the back. It begins exactly as his brother's inscription (No. 1). It was issued from the *Jaya-skandhāvāra* situated at Jambugrāma, and records the gift of Talapaḍāpāṭaka in *Pauṇḍravardhana-Bhuktyantaḥpāti-Vaṅge-Vikramapurabhāga-pradeśa* to the Brahman Iśvaradeva Śarman by *Aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatrayādhipati-Senakula-kamala-vikāsa-bhāskara-Somavaṁśapradīpa...Dāna-karṇa-Satya-vrata P.-Pb.-Paramasaura-Rājādhirāja-Ari-rāja-Asahya-Śaṅkara-Gauḍeśvara* Keśavasena, son of Lakṣmaṇasena.[1] The occasion for the grant was the king's birthday. At the end occur the words: *Saciva...* Dattodbhava-*Gauḍa-mahāmahantakaḥ khyātaḥ Mahāsā* (?) *Karaṇani Śrī mahāmahantaka Karaṇani Śrimat- Karaṇani*, and finally the date, year 3, Jyaiṣṭha-dine. The grant was sealed by the *Sadāśiva-mudrā*.[2]

It is clear from these two records that at least two sons of Lakṣmaṇasena ruled after him. As both granted land in the same area, it seems likely that one succeeded the other. I have already said that the two grants found at Madanapara and Edilpur are almost identical. But as the Edilpur grant contains some additional verses which are not found in the other grant, and as there is some evidence that in the former a name consisting of three or more syllables has been erased to put in the name of the donor, it has been assumed that Viśvarūpa preceded Keśava.[3] Nothing definite is known about these two rulers beyond the fact that they granted land in the Vikramapura area of Vaṅga

[1] The father of the donor as well as the other members have the same titles as in the Madanapara grant, *op. cit.*

[2] First edited by Prinsep in *JASB*, 1838, Vol. VII, pp. 40-51. Some remarks and suggestions on it were made by N. N. Vasu in *JASB*, Vol. LXV, 1896, pp. 6 ff. He was however wrong in reading the name of the donor as Viśvarūpa; Kielhorn repeated this mistake in *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, fn. 1, p. 88. Re-edited from Prinsep's lithograph by R. D. Banerji in *JASB*, 1914, Vol. X (N.S.), pp. 97-104. 'The name of the donor seems to have been incised in the place of another name, which has been scratched off.' Finally re-edited by N. G. Majumdar in *IB*, pp. 118-31. He reads the name of the mother of Keśavasena as *Mahārājñī* Cāndrādevī (V. 14).

[3] *JASB*, 1838, Vol. VII, Part 1, p. 42; 1914, Vol. X (N.S.), p. 98.

(Eastern Bengal) included in the *Bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana,[1] and that they reigned for at least 14 and 3 years respectively. But from the large number of their titles and the fact that Viśvarūpa in his Madanapara grant is described as *Garga-Yavanānvaya-pralaya-kāla-rudra-nṛpaḥ* (V. 17), it is reasonable to assume that they succeeded in repulsing some invasions of Musalmans. Besides these two, in the opinion of some scholars, Lakṣmaṇasena had another son. Mr. N. N. Vasu has referred to a copper-plate grant of Mādhavasena dated in *Śaka* 1145 (A.D. 1223) found in an Almora (in Kumaon) temple of Yogeśvara, in which the words *Vaṅgaja-Brāhmaṇa* occur.[2] This prince is identified by him with Mādhū Sen, who according to Abu'l-Fazl succeeded Lakhan Sen and ruled for ten years.[3] The existence of a Mādhavasena in about this period is proved by the fact that the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* quotes a verse by an author of that name.[4] It has been assumed by Mr. Vasu that this prince did not reign in Bengal, but went on a pilgrimage to Kedāranātha after the Musalman invasion. In the present state of our knowledge, there is no means of testing the truth of this assertion or to find out his exact relationship to Lakṣmaṇasena, or Viśvarūpa-sena, or Keśavasena. It would be too risky to place him before the last two on the sole authority of Abu'l-Fazl. The recently discovered Sāhitya Pariṣat grant of Viśvarūpa has revealed the names of two *Kumāras*, Sadāsena and Puruṣottama. It is not unlikely that the former is to be identified with the Sadā Sena of the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, who is placed after Kesū Sena and assigned a reign of 18 years. In that case he may have been a son of either of the two brothers.

[1] Vaṅga, which is generally taken as East Bengal, is here included in the *Bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana, generally taken to be North Bengal. Thus at this time the *Bhukti* must have been an extensive tract extending from Northern to Eastern Bengal.

[2] *JASB*, 1896, Vol. LXV, p. 27. He gives a reference for the plate in E. Atkinson's *Kumayun*, p. 516, which I have not yet been able to verify.

[3] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 146.

[4] *JASB*, 1906, Vol. II (N.S.), p. 172.

The next ruler according to Abul-Faẓl, was Rājā Nāujah, who ruled for three years. Could he be the same as Danūj Rāi who according to the *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* ruled in *c.* 1280 A.D. at 'Sunār-gānw' and made an agreement with Sulṭān Balban that he should guard against the escape of the rebel Tughril by water?[1] In any case the Musalman conquest of Bengal appears to have been complete about that year. The first Musalman coins which were struck by Mughīth ud-Dīn Tughril from 'Laknautī' with the revenue (خراج) of 'Badan and Nudia' are dated in H.E. 653 (A.D. 1255).[2]

In conclusion I would refer to some dynasties which appear to have ruled in the 13th century in two corners of the lower Ganges valley. One of these were the Senas of Pīṭhī (Magadha). The Janibigha inscription of Jayasena of this line is dated *Lakṣmaṇasenasya atītarājye sam.* 83. The father of this prince was Buddhasena, probably the same person whose name occurs with that of Aśokacalla in an inscription published in plate xxviii, No. *c*, in Cunningham's *Mahābodhi.* There are two other Bodhgaya inscriptions of the time of Aśokacalla dated in *Lakṣmaṇasenasya atītarājye* years 51 and 74. As the date of Aśokacalla is fixed by his Gaya inscription dated in the Nirvāṇa year 1813 (*c.* 1269-1270 A.D.), it is certain that the years referred to as *atīta* from Lakṣmaṇasena must be counted from his defeat or death. Thus these Senas who probably succeeded the Chikkoras, appear to have been local feudatory princes near Gaya, possibly acknowledging the hegemony of the Musalmans.[3] The *Tippera plates* of Harikāladeva Ranavaṅkamalla (?) dated in *Śaka* 1141 (*c.* A.D. 1219) and the *Chittagong plate* of

[1] Elliot, Vol. III, p. 116. This Danūj Rāi is possibly the same as Arirāja Danujamādhava Daśarathadeva whose copper-plate grant was recently discovered at Adāvāḍi in Vikramapur, Dacca. See *IB*, pp. 181-82; Bengali Journal *Bhāratvarṣa*, 1332 B.S., pp. 78-81.

[2] Write, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. II, Oxford, p. 146.

[3] See *IA*, 1881, Vol. X, pp. 341-43; 1915, Vol. 44, pp. 215-18; 1919, Vol. 48, pp. 43-48; *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 27-30; *JBORS*, Vol. IV, pp. 266-72. For the interpretation of the dates of these inscriptions see *JASB*, 1921, Vol. XVII, pp. 8 ff.

Damodara dated in *Śaka* 1165 (*c.* A.D. 1243) reveal the existence of some chiefs in the extreme south-east.[1] Their history requires further investigation.[2]

[3] Genealogical Tables.

(*Dates Approximate.*)

I. *The Khaḍgas* (*c. 650-700 A.D.*):

Khaḍgodyama
|
Jātakhaḍga
|
Devakhaḍga (*c.* 679-685)
| = Prabhāvatī
|
Rājarāja-Rajabhaṭa.
(687).

II. *The Pālas* (*c. 765 to 1162 A.D.*):

Dayitaviṣṇu
|
Vapyaṭa
|
Gopāla I (*c.* 765-769)
|
Deddadevī = Dharmapāla (*c.* 769-815) — Vākpāla

Dharmapāla's sons:
- *Tribhuvanapāla*
- Devapāla (*c.* 815 854) = Raṇṇādevī.
  |
  Rājyapāla

Vākpāla
|
Jayapāla
|
Vigrahapāla I (*c.* 854-857) or Śūrapāla I
| = Lajjādevī.
Nārāyaṇapāla (*c.* 857-911)
|
Rājyapāla (*c.* 911-935)

[1] *Asiatic Researches*, 1807, Vol. IX, pp. 401-406; *EI*, Vol V, Appendix, No. 365; *JASB*, 1874, Vol. XLIII, pp. 318-24; *IB*, pp. 158-63.

[2] For the *Karṇāṭaka* dynasty of Tirhut and Nepal see *supra*, my chapter on Nepal, pp. 203 ff.

[3] Princes whose names are in *italics* did not reign. Uncertain relationship is indicated by vertical dots.

Rājyapāla (*c.* 911-935)
| =Bhāgyadevī
Gopāla II (*c.* 935-992 A.D.)
|
Vigrahapāla II (*c.* 992)
|
Mahīpāla I (*c.* 992-1040)
|
Nayapāla (*c.* 1040-1055)
|
Vigrahapāla III (*c.* 1055-1081)
| =Yauvanaśrī

Mahīpāla II (*c.* 1082) — Śūrapāla II (*c.* 1083) — Rāmapāla (*c.* 1084-1126)

Rājyapāla — Kumārapāla (*c.* 1126-1130) — Madanapāla =Citramatikā (*c.* 1130-1150)

Gopāla III (*c.* 1130)

Govindapāla
(*c.* 1150-1162)
⋮
?
Palapāla

III. *The Candras (c. 950-1050 A.D.)*:

Pūrṇacandra
|
Suvarṇacandra
|
Trailokyacandra
|
Śrīcandra
|
Govindacandra (*c.* 1021-25)
⋮
Layahacandra

IV. *The Kāmboja Princes (c. 911-92 A.D.)*:

V. *The Śūras (c. 950-1100 A.D.)*:
×
⋮
Raṇaśūra (*c.* 1021-25)
⋮
Lakṣmīśūra (*c.* 1084-1100)

VI. *The Varmans (c. 1050-1150 A.D.)*:

Vajravarman
|
Jātavarman
| = Vīraśrī
Sāmalavarman
| = Mālavyadevī
Bhojavarman
:
[Jyotivarman]
|
Harivarman

VII. *The Senas (c. 1050-1280 A.D.)*:

Vīrasena
:
Sāmantasena (*c.* 1050-75)
|
Hemantasena (*c.* 1075-97)
= Yaśodevī

Vijayasena (*c.* 1097-1159)
| = Vilāsadevī

Ballālasena (*c.* 1159-85)
| = Rāmadevī

Lakṣmaṇasena (*c.* 1185-1206)
| = Tāḍādevī (?), Tandrādevī (?), Taṭṭanadevī (?) or Cāndrādevī (?)

?
Mādhavasena | **Viśvarūpasena** (*c.* 1206-25) | **Keśavasena** (*c.* 1225-1230)

Sadāsena
:
Danūj Rai (?) = Rājā Nāujah (*c.* 1280)

VIII. *The Line of Śūdraka (c. 1100-1150 A.D.)*:

Śūdraka
|
Viśvarūpa
|
Yakṣapāla

IX. *The Mānas (c. 1100 A.D.)*:

Varṇamāna
⋮
Rudramāna

X. *The Kaivartas (c. 1080-1100 A.D.)*:

Divvoka
Rūdoka
Bhīma

XI. *The Chikkoras of Piṭhī (c. 1050-1150 A.D.)*:

Vallabharāja.
Devarakṣita
= Śaṅkaradevī.

?
⋮
Bhīmayaśas (c. 1084-1100)

Kumāradevī.
= Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra (c. 1114-55)

XII. *The Senas of Piṭhī (c. 1200-70 A.D.)*:

Buddhasena

Jayasena

XIII. *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Aṅga (c. 1050-1150 A.D.)*:

Mathana or Mahana
Brother
Śivarāja
Daughter
= Vigrahapāla III

Śaṅkaradevī
= Devarakṣita of Piṭhī
Kāhnuradeva
Suvarṇadeva
Candra

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30. For references to extracts and notices from the *Dāna-sāgara*, *Adbhuta-sāgara*, and *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, see *supra*, footnotes 1 and 2 on p. 365.

31. *Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vols. III and XI.
32. *Vikramāṅka-deva-carita of Bilhaṇa*, Ed. by Bühler.
33. *Indian Paṇḍits in the Land of Snow*, by S. C. Das, Calcutta, 1893.
34. *History of Burma*, by Phayre, London, 1883.
35. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, Chapters XI and XX.
36. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Translated by Raverty, 2 volumes.
37. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Translated by B. Dey.
38. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, by N. G. Majumdar, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal, 1929.

CHAPTER VII

DYNASTIES OF ORISSA

The region now known as Orissa, approximately extends from the river Subarnarekha to the Chilka Lake and from the Bay of Bengal to the borders of the Chhattisgarh division of the C.P. It lies between Lat. 19° 28′ and 22° 4′ N. and Long. 82° 38′ and 87° 31′ E. This area which is bigger in size than Ireland (32,531 sq. miles) contains no less than 17 Tributary States covering an area of 28,046 sq. miles, which is more than double the area (13,770 sq. miles) under the direct administration of the British Government. The modern distribution of the territories of the feudatory and the sovereign rulers throw interesting light on the period of Orissan history under survey. It would appear that in the pre-Muslim period also the sovereign powers often held only " the narrow alluvial tract between the sea and the Chota Nagpur plateau and the Sambalpur tract lying in the valley of Mahanadi " while the region in between seems to have been, as now, governed by feudatory rulers. Another interesting characteristic of the history of Orissa is its intimate connection with the history of the Chhattisgarh division of the C.P. and with that portion of the Madras Presidency which lies to the north of the Godavari. The district of Sambalpur and five of the feudatory states of Orissa formed a part of the C.P. as late as 1905, while the problem of uniting the Oriya-speaking Ganjam district with Orissa is still exercising the minds of Indian administrators. During the period under survey, some of the most important dynasties that ruled in Orissa appear to have

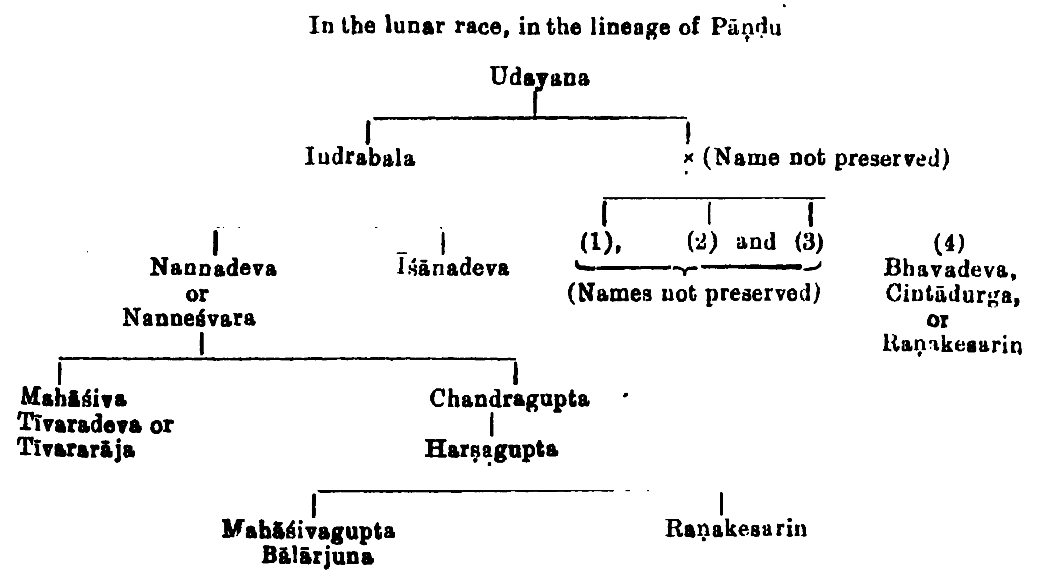
come into the country from these tracts, or ruled it from their head-quarters situated in those areas. There is some reason to believe that Kaliṅga, in its wider sense, included not only the area now known as Orissa but also considerable portions of the C.P. and northern Madras.[1] This probably explains the assumption of the title 'lord of Trikaliṅga,' by the dynasties which ruled in northern Madras, C.P., and Orissa. The history of Orissa, therefore, in one sense, is included in the wider history of Kaliṅga. Looked at from this point of view the dynastic history of Orissa assumes some amount of homogeneity. But there is another difficulty. I have already indicated that Orissa has been always ruled by a number of dynasties simultaneously. Of these, one or more at various periods assumed sovereign authority over the others, but at no time did the superior power completely destroy the tributary princes. These latter continued to enjoy a large measure of autonomy and generally did not mention the names of their sovereigns in their records. It is therefore often difficult to find out to which particular power they owed allegiance. The confusion is further increased by the fact that most of the Orissan records before the advent of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara do not contain any date, or only contain dates whose epochs have not yet been settled. Palaeographic tests, though extremely helpful where long periods are concerned, are of comparatively little use when shorter periods are involved. In the present state of our knowledge of the palaeography of Orissan records, it would be rather risky to dogmatise, for instance, that a particular

[1] See *infra*, chapter on the Haihayas. Though in its narrow sense *Kaliṅga* was always distinguished from *Oḍra*, *Utkala* and *Mahākosala*, yet the fact that the *Purāṇas* definitely state that the Narmadā drained *Amarakaṇṭaka*, situated in the western half of *Kaliṅga* (*Kaliṅgadeśe paścārdhe parvate'marakaṇṭake*) seems to support our contention. See *Matsya* (Ed. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara), Chap. 184, V. 12. Note also the three Kaliṅgas mentioned by Pliny, *viz.*, *Calingae*, *Macco-Calingae* and *Gangarides-Calingae*, *AGI*, p. 594. *Macco* may signify *Mekala* or the Dravidian *Muka* meaning *three*. In the latter case Macco-Calingae may be Muk-Kalingam (=Mukha-Lingam) = *Trikaliṅgam*. See *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 539-47; *ibid*, Vol. XIV, pp. 635-42.

grant must belong to the 9th century and cannot belong to the 10th century A.D. The confusion is still further increased by the occurrence in certain groups of grants of common names and the inevitable tendency towards identification, often disregarding vital dfferences.[1] In the following survey therefore I shall take up the dynasties separately, indicating as far as possible, in each case, their special characteristics, their time, and the area under their rule, and leaving it for some future occasion to attempt a synthetic and more ambitious outline of their history.

(1) *The Somavaṃśīs of Kosala.*

In connection with the account of the Kalacuris of Tripurī, I have elsewhere referred to the so-called 'Śrīpura kings' and their alleged connection with the Somavaṃśī rulers of Orissa.[2] The inscriptions of the former, all of which have been found near the Raipur district in the C.P., give us the following list of kings :—[3]



[1] *Cf.* the attempt of Hiralal to include all the Bhañja rulers in one family-tree, disregarding the differences of seal, provenance, and stories of origin; see *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 282 ff. See Hirananda Śāstrī's note, *ibid*, p. 285, fn. 5.

[2] See *infra*, chapter on the Haihayas.

[3] For their inscriptions see *ibid*.

The inscription of these princes are all issued from Śrīpura (modern Sirpur, Raipur district, C.P.). Their seal bears the figure of a *Garuḍa* and the epithet 'lord of Kosala' (*Kosalādhipati*). The inscriptions contain no dates, but Fleet agreed with Kielhorn that on palaeographic evidence they must be referred to about the 8th or the 9th centuries A.D.[1] It was Cunningham who first suggested that Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna the last prince of this line should be identified with Śivagupta, the first prince of a dynasty of rulers whose inscriptions were discovered in the Sambalpur tract of Orissa.[2] The inscriptions of these kings give use the following list of princes :—

In the lunar race

Śivagupta.
|
Mahābhavagupta—Janamejaya.
|
Mahāśivagupta—Yayāti.
|
Mahābhavagupta—Bhīmaratha.

The identification of the two Śivaguptas was rejected by Fleet on palaeographic considerations. He found after a careful examination of the letters in the inscriptions of the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa that they could not possibly be placed before A.D. 900, and should on the whole be placed somewhere between A.D. 1000 and 1100.[3] The recorded reign-period of the last three princes extends over more than 70 years. At least another 100 years must be assigned to account for the palaeographic differences between the two sets of inscriptions. As the name of the grandson and the grandfather appears to have been the same in the Somavaṁśī dynasty of Orissa[4] we must have at least a Bhavagupta,

[1] *EI*, Vol. III, p. 333.
[2] *ASR*, Vol. XVII, pp. 17, 85 and 87.
[3] *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 323-31.
[4] Hiralal has pointed out that this practice prevails even now in some of the States of Orissa. Thus the "Raja of Bamra is either a Sudhaladeva or a Tribhuvanadeva." See *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, p. 91.

his son Śivagupta and his son Bhavagupta, 3 generations, to fill up the gap between the last king of the Śrīpura and the first king of the Orissa branch. The position may be illustrated by the following table :

Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna (last of the Śrīpura line, c. 850 A.D.)
|
Mahābhavagupta?
|
Mahāśivagupta?
|
Mahābhavagupta?
|
[Mahā?]śivagupta (first of the Orissan line, c. 950 A.D.)

Rai Bahadur Hiralal suggested that the sons of Bālārjuna being driven out from the Śrīpura kingdom by the dynasty which is usually designated as the 'Śarabhapura kings,' gradually carved out a new kingdom in that portion of the Mahanadi valley which is now known as the Sambalpur tract in Orissa.[1] Whatever may be the value of this suggestion it appears certain that the memory of their sovereignty in Śrīpura did not prevent the Orissan Somavaṁśīs from changing some of the more important features of their administration. For though the Orissan kings had similar names and were also known as 'lord of Kosala' (*Kosalendra*), yet we miss the well-known *Garuḍa* of the Śrīpura kings on their seals Their seals, like those of the Kalacuris of Tripurī and Tuṁmāna, bear the figure of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī*. But this difference of the seal need not necessarily indicate a separate lineage, as branches of the same tribe are sometimes found to have different seals. Thus while the seals of the Kalacuris of Tripurī and Tuṁmāna contained the figure of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī*, those of the Kalacuris of Gorakhpur and Kalyāṇa bore the figure of a bull. The difference of the emblems on the seals however shows that the founder of the new branch must have been separated from his relatives of the old branch by a comparatively

[1] *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 186.

long interval. It is not unlikely that he may have been influenced by his neighbours the Haihaya and the Śarabhapur princes to adopt a new seal.

The name of the first king of the Orissan branch of the Somavaṁśīs so far available is Śivagupta. No inscription of this prince has yet been discovered. But in the grants of his successors he is given imperial titles (*Pb.-M.-P.*). On palaeographic considerations I have approximately referred him to *c.* 950 A.D. If this guess is correct, he is probably to be identified with the *Kosalendra* from whom the Tripurī Kalacuri Mugdhatuṅga is said to have taken a place named Pāli.[1] I have elsewhere suggested the identification of Pāli with the modern village of that name, situated about 12 miles N.E. of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur district (C.P.). The acceptance of these identifications would reveal one of the stages of that struggle between the Kalacuris and the Somavaṁśīs which gradually ousted the latter from their possessions in Chhattisgarh and restricted their power within the present limits of Orissa.

Śivagupta was succeeded by his son Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya. The following grants have so far been discovered for his reign :—

(1) *Sonpur grant.*—This was found in the State of Sonpur. The inscription contains 39 lines, and is incised on three plates. These are strung together on a ring, the ends of which are secured by a circular seal bearing in relief the figure of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī*, 'squatting apparently on a lotus,' and the legend *Śrī-Janamejaya-deva* (?). The grant opens with *Oṁ svasti*; then come the name and residence of the donor as follows: *Suvarṇapura*[2] *samānāsita-Śrīmato Vijaya-skandhāvārāt Pb.-M.-*

[1] Bilhari stone inscription, see *infra*, chapter on the Haihayas. Note that the Orissan Somavaṁśīs had the title *Kosalendra* while the Śrīpura branch bore that of *Kosalādhipati*.

[2] Modern town of Sonpur.

P.-*Śrī*-Śivagupta-deva-*pādānudhyāta-Parama-māheśvara-Pb*.-*M*.-*P*.-*Soma-kula-tilaka-Trikaliṅgādhipati-Śri*-Mahābhavagupta-rāja-devaḥ. It then records the gift of the village of Vakratentalī [1] belonging to the Lupattarā-*Khaṇḍa* [2] to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Jātarūpa, who was a resident of Meraṇḍā [3] and an immigrant from Rāḍhāphaṁvallikandara.[4] The grant is dated in lines 36-37 in the 3rd year of the victorious reign of *Pb*.-*M*.-*P*.-Janamejaya-deva. It was written by *Mahāsandhivigraha-prati-baddha-Kāyastha*-Koighoṣa son of Valla(bha?)ghoṣa, and engraved by Saṁgrāma, son of Rayaṇa Ojjhā.[5]

(2) *Patna grant* (*i*).—This is reported to have been found buried in an earthen vessel somewhere in the State of Patna in Orissa. The inscription consists of 45 lines incised on three plates. The ends of the ring, on which the plates are strung, are secured by a circular seal containing the figure of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī* in relief. The grant begins with: *Oṁ svasti*, and then come the name and residence of the donor as follows: *Mūrasīma*[6]-*Samāvāsitaḥ-Śrīmato Vijaya-kaṭakāt* [7] *Pb*.-*M*.-*P*.-*Śrī*-Śivagupta-deva-*pādānudhyāta-Parama-māheśvara-Pb*.-*M*.-*P*.- *Soma-kula - tilaka - Trikaliṅgādhipati - Śrī*-Mahābhavagupta-rāja-devaḥ. It next records the grant

[1] Modern Bantentuli, 16 miles West of Sonpur town.

[2] Probably Lepta, 6 miles S. E. of Bolangir (Patna State).

[3] Modern Mendā, 17 miles West of Sonpur town.

[4] Probably Modern State of Rairakhol.

[5] Edited by B. C. Mazumdar in *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 93-95. The editor calls the grant '*Vakratentalī charter*.' For the identifications and the place names in this and the following grants, see *ibid*, pp. 101 ff. and 201; also *OM*, pp. 163 ff. In most cases, the identifications proposed should only be accepted as tentative.

[6] Identified with present Mursinga, in the Patna State, situated about 11 miles from Binka in Sonpur: *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 102 and 198; see also Hultzsch's remarks, *ibid*, Vol. VIII, p 139.

[7] Fleet was the first to take *Kaṭaka* of this word as a place-name (Cuttack); see *EI*, Vol. III, p. 341, fn. 1. Hultzsch and then Hiralal have pointed out that the word must be accepted in its usual meaning of *camp*. In the Sonpur grant of this king the word *Kaṭakāt* is replaced by *Skandhāvārāt*. It is to be noticed that whenever the word *Vijaya-kaṭaka* occurs, the name of the camp is invariably given, except when they are issued from Vinīta-pura or Yayātinagara: *EI*, VIII, p. 139, and fn. 2; Vol. XI, p. 188.

of the village of Vakaveḍḍā in the Oṅgā-*taṭa-Viṣaya* [1] to the following four Brahmans :

(1) Dāmāka, an immigrant from Pampāsarasī and a resident of Leiśṛṅgā.

(2) (Unnamed) son of Nārapagaṇḍa, an immigrant from Oḍayasṛṅgā and a resident of Khaṇḍakṣetra.

(3) Vāsudeva, an immigrant from Koṅkaleḍḍa and a resident of Lipatuṅgā.

(4) Koṇḍadeva, an immigrant from Kaliṅga and a resident of Pampāsarasī.[2]

In lines 39-42 we are told that the charter was written by the *Kāyastha* Koighoṣa, son of Vallabhaghoṣa, who belonged to (the office of) *Mahāsaṁdhivigrahin* Mallā(datta ?), son of Dhāradatta in the 6th year of the victorious reign of the *Pb.-M.-P.*-Janamejaya-deva. The grant ends with a verse in praise of king Janamejaya of the lunar race (*Somavaṅśī*).[3]

(3) *Patna grant (ii)*.—It was found in the State of Patna. The inscription contains 46 lines written on three plates joined together by a ring, the ends of which are secured by the usual circular seal bearing the figure of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī* in relief. The grant opens with *Oṁ svasti,* and then gives the name of the camp and the titles of the donor and his father as in No. 2

[1] Onga is a small river which joins the Mahanadi in the State of Sonpur. *Oṅgā-taṭa-Viṣaya* is therefore 'the district on the bank of the river Oṅgā.' Hiralal suggests that Vakkāveḍḍā is probably Bakti, 15 miles north of Bolangir and 4 miles to the south of the Onga river : *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 198. But B. C. Mazumdar identified it with Bakebira, close to Salebhata Police Station, on the river Onga : see *ibid*, p. 101.

[2] Hiralal and B. C. Mazumdar have suggested (*EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 101 ff. and 198) the following identifications of some of the places mentioned here :

(1) *Leiśṛṅgā*—Loisinga, the headquarters of a Zamindari of the same name, in the Patna State, 11 miles north of Bolangir.

(2) *Lipatuṅgā*—Probably Lepta (?), 6 miles south-east of Bolangir.

(3) *Oḍayaśṛṅgā*—Oḍsinga in the native state of Athmallik (Mozumdar).

(4) *Koṅkaleḍḍa*—Probably Koknara in the Bora Sambhar Zamindari of Sambalpur district, 4 miles from Narsinghnāth.

[3] The grant was first noticed in 1877 by P. C. Ghosh in *JASB*, Vol. XLVI, Part I, pp. 173 ff.; then edited by Fleet, *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 340-44. On the name Mallā (datta ?) see *ibid*, Vol. VIII, p. 140.

above. It records the gift of the village of Pāsitalā [1] in the Potā (?)-*Viṣaya* to the *Bhaṭṭaputras* Keśava and Apya. It is dated, as in No. 2 above, in the 6th year of Janamejaya. The record was also written by the *Kāyastha* Koighoṣa, attached to the office of *Mahāsandhivirgahin* Malladatta [the same as in No. 2].[2]

(4) *Nagpur Museum grant.*—It was found in Satalma (or Satlama) in the Zamindari of Barpali, Sambalpur district. The inscription contains 44 lines, incised on three plates. The ends of the ring which holds the plates is secured by a circular seal which bears the usual figure of *Gaja-Lakṣmī* in relief. The inscription opens with "*Oṁ svasti*! From the fortunate Murasīma, where flights of merry pigeons rise up at the sound of the anklets of many beautiful maidens (and) whose fame is spread by bards coming from all quarters." Then follows the same verse which occurs at the end of No. 2 above. In the preamble of the grant which follows next (line 6 ff.) the donor and his father are mentioned with the same titles as in Nos. 1 and 2. The inscription then records the grant of the village of Satallamā [3] attached to the *Kaśaloḍa-Viṣaya* [4] to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Sāntha-kara, who was a resident of the village of Murujunga, and had immigrated from the village of Puruṣamaṇḍapa in the Oḍra-*deśa*. Lines 38-41 give the 8th year in the victorious reign of *Pb.-M.-P.-Soma-kula-tilaka-Trikaliṅgādhipati* Janamejaya-deva as the date of the grant. The *śāsana* was written by the *Kāyastha* Āllava, son of Kailāsa, who was attached to the *Mahāsandhivigrahin Rāṇaka* Malladatta, son of Dhāradatta. It was engraved by the same as in (1) above.[5]

[1] Modern Pointala, 2 miles east of Bolangir.

[2] Edited by G. M. Laskar, *JASB*, 1905, Vol. (N.S.) I, pp. 4-6 and 12-13. Hiralal has suggested that *Potā(?)-Viṣaya* may be *Povā*-Viṣaya of the Cuttack grant. He has identified the latter with Pow in Sonpur State, 19 miles south of Binka: See *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 199-200; also *infra*, p. 400, fn. 4.

[3] Modern Satalmā.

[4] Modern Kusarda, 10 miles N. W. of Satalma.

[5] Edited by Hultzsch, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 138-43. For the identifications of the localities see *ibid*, Vol. XI, pp. 101 ff. and 201.

(5-7) *The 3 Cuttack grants (i-iii)*.—These were found in ploughing a field at Chaudwar, "on the opposite side of the river to Cuttack." They form what is called in these grants (lines 46 of *i*, 48 of *ii* and 50 of *iii*) a *triphalī-tāmra-śāsana* or set of 3 connected charters. They are each written on 3 plates, which are strung together by sealed rings as in Nos. 1 to 4. The name and titles of the donor and his father are also the same as in the other charters. They are all issued from the *Śrīmad-ārāma-Samāvāsitaḥ śrīmato vijaya-kaṭaka*, and record grants of the following villages to the *Bhaṭṭa*, the *Mahattama* Sādhāraṇa.[1]

(*i*) Raṇḍā[2] and Alāṇḍalā[3] in Povā-*Viṣaya*[4] in the Kośala-*deśa*.

(*ii*) Arkigrāmā in Tulumva-*Khaṇḍa*.[5]

(*iii*) Tūleṇḍā (Trūleṇḍā?)[6] in Sandānā-*Viṣaya*.[7]

The charters were all written by the same person, the *Kāyastha* Māhūka who belonged to the office of *Mahāsandhivigrahin Rāṇaka* Malladatta in the 31st year of the reign of Mahābhavagupta. They end with "delivered by the *Kosalendra* and intended to give information to the *Mahattama*, it was received by Puṇḍarikākṣa; it was engraved by Mādhava, son of Vasu."[8]

1. Mentioned as *mantri* in (*i*), line 37.
2. Mod. Renda, 6 miles from Bolangir.
3. Mod. Alanda, 3 miles E. of Bolangir.
4. Mod. Pow, 8 miles N.E. of Bolangir.
5. Mod. Turun on the Mahanadi, 27 miles S. of Sambalpur.
6. Probably mod. Tulunda, near Pow.
7. Probably mod. Sonda, 11 miles E. of Sonpur.
8. Edited by Fleet, *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 345-51. For previous notices of the inscriptions Nos. 5 and 7 see *IA*, Vol. V, p. 55 ff. and *JASB*, Vol. 41, Part I, *Proceedings*, p. 9 ff. For the identification of the localities see *EI*, Vol. LI, p. 199, and *OM*, p. 166 ff. B. C. Mazumdar has suggested that the *ārāma* or "pleasure garden" from which these records were issued is the same as the *Vihārārāma*, situated near Sonpur of the Marañja-Mura grant of Mahāśivagupta. As the localities so far identified have no connection with Cuttack, and are distinctly stated to be situated in Kosala, Mr. Mazumdar may be right. In that case the find-spot of the grant seems to have no connection with the extent of Janamejaya's dominions. The grant uses *Kośala* for *Kosala*.

From the grants mentioned above we get very little information about the political incidents of the reign of Mahābhavagupta. Hẹ is of course given imperial titles and called the lord of Trikaliṅga and Kosala. But most of his inscriptions appear to have been issued from places situated in the states of Sonpur and Patna. The villages granted in the records, including those which were found near Cuttack, so far as they have been identified, are all situated within the area now occupied by the States of Patna, Sonpur and Athmallik and the district of Sambalpur. Until further discoveries are made, we must tentatively conclude that in spite of his high-sounding titles he was the ruler of Western Orissa only.[1] As his grants are issued both from Suvarṇapura (Sonpur) and Murasīma (Mursinga in Patna State), it is difficult to decide on the name of his capital. But it has been suggested by some scholars that it may have been the city of Vinītapura, which occur in his son's grants, and which has been identified with modern Binka on the Mahanadi, in Sonpur state.[2] As we have dated records of his reign up to his 31st year we can approximately assign him to the period 975-1010 A.D. If this period for him is correct, he may have been the *Kosala-nātha* who was defeated by the Tripurī Kalacuri Lakṣmaṇarāja.[3] We have seen that Pāli, near Ratanpur, was captured by Mugdhatuṅga, presumably from his father Śivagupta As the former was the great-grandfather of Lakṣmaṇarāja, the latter was possibly a very junior contemporary of Mahābhavagupta I.

Mahābhavagupta was succeeded by his son Mahāśivagupta Yayāti. The following grants are known for his reign :

(1) *Sonpur grant (i)*.—This was unearthed by a cultivator almost at the boundary of the villages of Jate Singa and Dungri, in the Sonpur State, some 14 miles N. E. of the town of

[1] Note that the Bilhari inscription of the Tripurī Kalacuris seems to refer to an *Oḍra-nṛpati* contemporaneous with a *Kosala-nātha*; see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 268.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 189.

[3] See *infra*, chapter on the Haihayas.

Sonpur. The inscription contains 46 lines, engraved in three plates. Ring and seal as in the grants of his father. The inscriptions opens with a praise of the confluence of the Mahanadi and the Tela, and then eulogises the king, who resides at Pattana-Suvarṇapura as follows :—

Karṇāṭa-Lāṭa-Gurjeśvara (*Gurjareśvara*?)-*Dāḍajvari* (*Drāviḍajayī* ?) *Kāñci - kalāpābharaṇa-lampaṭaḥ Kaliṅga - Koṅgad-Otkalaka-Kośalā-Svayambaraḥ prasiddha-Gauḍa-Rāḍhāmbara-prakarṣaṇotghāta*[1]*-māruta-Aṅga-Vaṅga-vimalāmbara-pūrṇa-candra-svabhujopārjita-Trikaliṅgādhipati-Parama-māheśvara-Pb.-Śrī-Mahābhavagupta - pādānudhyāta - P.-praṇamita-rājanoprasevita-*[2] *pādāravinda-yugalaḥ-Śrī-Mahāśivagupta-Śrī-*Yayāti-devaḥ. The inscription was issued from the victorious camp (*vijaya-kaṭaka*) situated at Suvarṇapura, and records the grant of two villages, Mārañja and Miorā belonging to Santovardā-*Khaṇḍa* of Samvaravādi-*Maṇḍala* and within the Bhraṇḍa-*Viṣaya*, which is attached to Kosala, to the Brahman Yaśaskara. The grant is dated in the 3rd year of Yayāti. It was written by the *Rāṇaka* Rudradatta.[3]

(2) *Patna grant* (*i*).—This was found in the Patna State. The inscription which contains 50 lines is written on three plates, and has the usual seal with the figure of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī*. It was issued from the camp (*kaṭaka*) at Vinītapura (mod. Binka in Sonpur State). The inscription contains the usual titles of the donor and his father, and records the grant of some land on the northern bank of the Dāśānarīya-nadī (or the river of the Daśārṇa country ?)[4] belonging to the village of Talakajja[5]

[1] *-odghāta?*

[2] *-vājanoprasevita.*

[3] The grant has been edited by B. C. Mazumdar in the *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 45-59, under the name *Maranja-Mura Charter*. In view of the importance of the inscription it deserves to be re-edited in the *EI*. Before its re-edition it would be risky to form any theory on the origin of the dynasty on the basis of the word *Vaṅgānvaya* which according to the editor describes the lineage of Yayāti. For his theory see *OM*, pp. 174 ff.

[4] Hiralal identifies this river with the Nimuruti river, which flows between Jalajodo and Talagaja; *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 200.

[5] Modern Talagaja, 10 miles S.E. of Bolangir.

in Sanūlā (or Sanṛtā)-*Viṣaya*,[1] in the Kośala-deśa, to a Brahman named Kāmadeva, a resident of Jalajaḍḍa [2] in Kosala. The inscription was written by the order of the *Rāṇaka* Dhāradatta, the *Mahāsandhivigrahin*, in the 8th year of Yayāti.[3]

(3) *Cuttack grant.*—This was found among the official records at Cuttack. The original find-spot is not known. The inscription contains 66 lines, and is as usual incised on three plates. Ring and seal lost. The record opens with four verses describing the beauties of Vinītapura, on the Mahanadi, from which it was issued. Then in three verses it mentions a king named Janamejaya and his son Yayāti. Then follows the names of the donor and his father, with the usual titles,[4] after which is recorded the grant of the village of Cāndagrāma in the Marada-*Viṣaya* in the *Dakṣiṇa*-Kosalā to the Brahman Śaṅkhapāṇi, an immigrant from Śrīvallagrāma in the Madhyadeśa and a resident of the Śilābhañja-pāṭī in the Oḍra-deśa. In lines 63-65 it is dated in the 9th year of Yayāti's reign. It ends with the name of the engraver, the *Vijñānī* Mādhava.[5]

(4) *Sonpur grant (ii)*.—This was found in the Sonpur State. The inscription contains 53 lines, and, as usual, is incised on three plates, strung together by a sealed ring; the figure on the seal is not clear. This grant, like No. (3), is also issued from Vinītapura, and contains the same titles for the donor and his father. It records a grant of the village of Nibiṇḍā (*l.* 5) or Nibinnā (*l.* 17) in the Ganuṭapāta-*Maṇḍala* in

[1] Hiralal accepts the reading as Sanūlā, and identified it with Soinnula, in the Patna State, 22 miles S. W. of Talagaja; *ibid.*

[2] Modern Jalajodo, near Talagaja.

[3] Edited by G. M. Laskar in *JASB*, 1905, Vol. I (N.S.), pp. 6-7.

[4] It is perhaps important that the father of the donor, Mahābhavagupta I, is here given in addition to the usual *Pb.-M.-P.*, the epithets *Parama-māheśvara*, *Somakula-tilaka*, and *Trikaliṅgādhipati*, which are wanting in the records of Mahābhavagupta I before the name of his father Śivagupta I.

[5] Edited by Fleet, *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 351-54. For the identifications see *ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 199. Has Śilābhañja-*pāṭī* of this inscription any connection with the Bhañja ruler Śilābhañja, the father of Vidyādharabhañja? If the names are accepted as identical, this may throw some light on the relationship of the Bhañjas and the Somavaṁśīs.

Kosala-deśa to the *Dīkṣita* Puṇḍarīka Śarman, who was a resident of the village Maramenḍā in the Kosala country and an immigrant from Bhaṭaparoli. The writer of the grant was *Mahākṣapaṭalaka* Ucchava Nāga, son of Allava Nāga, who was known to the *Mahāsandhivigrahika Rāṇaka* Cārudatta. The engraver was *Ṭhakura* Panāka. It is dated in lines 44-47 in the 15th year of Yayāti.[1]

(5) *Patna grant (ii)*.—Found in the Patna State. The grant consists of 64 lines, and was issued from Yayātinagara.[2] It grants the village of Ḍelāḍelī (or Helāheli ?) in the Telā-taṭṭa-*Viṣaya*[3] in Kosala-deśa, to the *Bhaṭṭa* Mahodadhi, a resident of Antaradi in the Lāvaḍā-*Viṣaya*.[4] It is dated in the 24th year of Yayāti. The charter was written by the *Kāyastha* Tathāgata, belonging to the office of *Mahāsandhi-vigrahin-Rāṇaka*-Dhāradatta, and engraved by *Vijñānī* Vāsuka [everything as usual in the other grants].[5]

(6) *Patna grant (iii)*.—Found in the Patna State. It contains 75 lines, and was issued from Yayātinagara on the Mahanadi. The object of the record is to grant the village Luttarumā of Telā-taṭṭa-*Viṣaya* to the donee of the grant No. 5, who was an immigrant from Śrāvasti-*Maṇḍala*. It was dated in the 28th year of Yayāti. The charter was written by the *Kāyastha* Sūryasena, belonging to office of the *Sandhivigrahin* of the Kośala-deśa [everything as usual in other grants].[6]

[1] Edited by B. C. Mazumdar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 93 and 95-98, under the name *Nibinnā Charter*. The editor has identified the village granted with the village of the same name (Nibinnā) where the inscription was found. He has also suggested that the *Viṣaya* may be Ghantapara, in the same neighbourhood.

[2] Identified by Hiralal with Binka on the Mahanadi. According to him the old capital Vinītapura was named Yayātinagara after the name of Yayāti. See *ibid*, p. 189. Fleet pointed out that as Yayātinagara was situated on the Mahanadi, it could not be identified with Jajpur, which is on the Baitarani (Lat. 21° 28′N. and Long. 85° 33′ E.), some 50 miles north of the Mahanadi; see *ibid*, Vol. III, p. 355. Yayātinagara is mentioned in Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta*.

[3] Country on the bank on the mod. Tel, a tributary of the Mahanadi.

[4] Probably modern Lebda, 48 miles south-west of Bolangir, Patna State.

[5] Edited by G. M. Laskar, *JASB*, 1905, Vol. I (N.S), pp. 7-8 and 16-18. For identification, see *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 189 and 201.

[6] Edited by G. M. Laskar, *JASB*, 1905, Vol. I (N.S.), pp. 8-12 and 19-23.

The records mentioned above were issued from places on the bank of the Mahanadi, which if the identifications proposed are accepted, were all located in the Sonpur State. The villages granted by these inscriptions were mostly included in Kosala or Dakṣiṇa-Kosala, and, so far as they have been identified seems to have been all situated in the States of Patna and Sonpur. On this evidence therefore we are led to conclude that the power of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti continued to centre round the same region over which his father had held sway.[1] But there is some evidence to show that Yayāti was a more powerful sovereign than his father, and he appears to have had some amount of military success. Unlike his father's grants, his inscriptions in their introductory parts sometimes contain references to conflicts with his neighbours. Thus one of his Sonpur grants (*i*) seem to tell us that he ' conquered the lords of Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara (?) and Drāviḍa ; denuded Kāñci of its glory, became the elected (*svayambara*) lord of Kaliṅga, Koṅgada, Utkala and Kośala ; was cooled by the wind of the famous countries of Gauḍa and Rāḍha, became as it were the full-moon in the pure sky of Vaṅga and became the lord of Tri-Kaliṅga after having conquered it with his own hands.' A Patna grant (No. 6) adds the information that he defeated Ajapāla in battle and captured 32 big elephants. It is difficult to determine how far these statements were founded on fact. As his grants record his 28th year, he may have flourished during the period *c.* 1010-1050 A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Rajendra Coḷa, and must have witnessed the latter's northern expedition, which was undertaken some time between 1021 and 1025 A.D. As the Tirumalai rock inscription of the latter refers to *Kosalai-nāḍu* as one of the countries through which the Coḷa conqueror passed on his way to the north but significantly enough, fails to record any military

[1] This area is sometimes described as the ' Sambalpur tract.'

success of Rajendra Coḷa there,[1] we may possibly be allowed to conclude that Yayāti met with some amount of success against the Drāviḍa king. But at present it would be risky to accept the theory of Mr. B. C. Mazumdar that Yayāti personally went to Bengal to help its king in repelling the attacks from 'Gurjara, Lāṭa, Karṇāṭa, and Kāñci invaders.'[2] Without accepting all that the *praśastikāra* claimed we may perhaps be right in concluding that Yayāti was an ambitious ruler who won military fame by raiding the territories of his neighbours. But the fact that he was a contemporary of the powerful Tripurī Kalacuri kings Gāṅgeyadeva and Lakṣmī Karṇa, the Pāla king Mahīpāla and the Coḷa Rajendra shows that his success must have been limited.

Mahāśivagupta I was succeeded by his son Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha. The following inscriptions are so far known for his reign :

(1) *Cuttack grant.*—This is reported to have been found "at Cuttack or closely in its neighbourhood," but there is no precise information about its find-spot. It contains 73 lines which are incised as usual on three plates. The figures on the seal is damaged and nothing can be distinguished now. The inscription opens with a description of the charms of the city of Yayātinagara on the Mahanadi. Then in five verses it praises king Janamejaya, his son Yayāti, and his grandson Bhīmaratha. Then we are told that from Yayātinagara Mahābhavagupta (titles and epithets as usual for him and his father), on the occasion of a solar eclipse, granted the village of Gauḍasiminilligrāma in the Kosala-sākhaṅgadyanhā-*Viṣaya* to the *Rāṇaka* Rāccho, an immigrant from the Śrāvastī-*Maṇḍala* and a

[1] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 233. The passage runs as follows : '..........*Oḍḍa-viṣaya* which was difficult to approach (and which he subdued in) close fights. The good *Kośalai-nāḍu*, where Brāhmaṇas assembled, *Taṇḍa-bhutti*, in whose gardens bees abounded, and which he acquired after destroying Dharmapāla (in) a hot battle...............'

[2] *OM*, pp. 174-75 and 183-85. Note that in his Patna grant No. 6 his *Sandhivigrahin* is described as of *Kosala-deśa*.

resident of Siṅgoāgrāma [1] in the Devibhoga-*Viṣaya* [2] in Kosala. Lines 66-69 are devoted to the praise of the *Sandhivigrahin* Siṅgadatta. Lines 69-70 state that the *Śāsana* was written by the *Kāyastha* Maṅgaladatta. The grant is dated in lines 70-73 in the 3rd year of Bhīmaratha. It ends with the name of the engraver, the *vijñānin* Madhumatta.[3]

(2) *Kudopali grant.*—This was found buried in the ground at the village of Kudopali in the Bargarh tahsil of Sambalpur district. It contains 36 lines, and is as usual incised on three plates strung together by a ring. The ends of the ring are soldered into a seal which " bears in high relief a sitting *haṁsa* facing the proper left and surmounted by a crescent, and, below the *haṁsa*, the legend *Rāṇaka-Śrī-*[*Pu*]*ṁ*[*ja*]." The top of the first side of the first plate contains the following line, the significance of which has not yet been understood :

Peṁṭṭā (?) *pamhālātalikatamvolabholichatrasatau.*

The inscription proper begins with the date, the 13th year of the reign of Mahābhavagupta-rāja II, at Yayātinagara. (The titles and epithets of this prince and his father are as usual.) Then follow the name and residence of his feudatory : *Parama-māheśvara-Maṭhara-vamśodbhava - kulatilaka-Kāleśvarī-vara - labdha - prasāda - Pañcadaśa - pallikādhipati - Samadhigata-pañcamahāśabda-Māṇḍalika-Rāṇaka Śrī*-Puñja, the son of Voḍā (?). The latter from his residence at Vā(?)maṇḍāpāṭī [4] granted the village of Loisarā [5] in the Giḍāṇḍā-*Maṇḍala* [6] to the *Bhaṭṭaputra*

[1] Probably Singar in the Khariar Zamindari, in the extreme south of the Raipur district (C. P.), *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 200.

[2] Identified with Deobhog in the Bindra Nawagarh Zamindari in the extreme south of Raipur district (C.P.); *ibid.*

[3] Edited by Fleet, *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 355-59.

[4] Identified with Bamra, a feudatory state in Orissa, called by the Oriyas Bāmaṇḍā. Bamragarh, the old capital of Bamra, is 60 miles N. E. of Binka, *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 201.

[5] *Identified with a village of the same name in Bargarh tahsil of Sambalpur district, 16 miles S. W. of Sambalpur; ibid.*

[6] Hiralal suggested the reading Siḍāṇḍā and identified it with Saraṇḍā, in Bargarh tahsil, 11 miles S. W. of Sambalpur town.

Nārāyaṇa, an immigrant from Hastipada. In the last two lines is given the name of the writer of the copper-plate, Pūrṇadatta, the son of the *Śreṣṭhin* Kiraṇa of Lenapura.[1]

The two grants mentioned above do not supply us with any record of the political incidents of the reign of Mahābhavagupta II. If however the suggested identifications of the place-names are accepted we may conclude that his dominions extended from the south of the Raipur district in the C. P. to Bamra in Orissa. His inscriptions show that he ruled for at least 13 years. On palaeographic evidence we may refer him approximately to the period 1050 to 1075 A.D.[2]

Hitherto Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha has been considered to be the last prince of the Somavaṁśīs of Kosala. The discovery of the *Sonpur grant* of *Kumāra* Someśvara-deva however seems to add some new names to the dynasty. This inscription was found buried in a field in the village of Kelga in the Uttara-tīra division of the Sonpur State, about 18 miles to the north of Sonpur town. It contains 70 lines, incised on four plates. The seal attached to the ring is fashioned in imitation of a lotus bearing a 'seated figure with the right arm outstretched to the knee,' which may possibly be a representation of Lakṣmī. The inscription then opens as follows :

Oṁ Svasti Śrī-Suvarṇapurāt Parama-māheśvara-Pb.-M.-P.-Soma-kula-tilaka-Trikaliṅgādhipati-Śrī- Mahābhavagupta-rāja-deva *pādānudhyāta-Śrīmad-*Ud[d]yota Kesari-rāja-deva-*prasādīkṛta-Kosala-rājyābhiṣikta-Śrī-* Abhimanyudevasya - *atīta - rājye Parama-māheśvara-Pb.-Kumārādhirāja-P.-Paścimalaṅkādhipati-*[3]

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *ibid*, Vol. IV, pp. 254-59.

[2] Kielhorn referred his Kudopali grant to about the first half of the 12th century; *ibid*, p. 256. But see Fleet's view on his Cuttack grant, which with the other grants of the family is referred to 1000-1100 A.D.; *ibid*, Vol. III, p. 333.

[3] B. C. Mazumdar, identified the Sonpur tract ' with *Paścima-Laṅkā*. He points out that according to popular tradition Sonpur was once known by that name. A small rock in the bed of the Mahanadi, within a stone's throw from the palace of the Maharaja, is still called Laṅkeśvarī; see *ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 239.

Soma-kula-kamala-kalikā-vikāsa-bhāsvara-Kumāra-Śrī-Someśvara-deva-pādaḥ-*kuśalinaḥ*.

The inscription, in the formal part, records the grant of the village of Atteṇḍā,[1] in the Uttaravalli-*Viṣaya*,[2] of the Kosala rājya-*Khaṇḍa*, to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Udayakara Śarman, an immigrant from Mahūvali in Sāvatthi (Śrāvastī ?)-*Maṇḍala* and a resident of Kamalapura.[3] The inscription is dated in lines 14-15 in the 'increasing victorious reign, year 1.'[4]

The first name in the grant is that of Mahābhavaguptadeva. "But from the manner in which this mention is made" the editor of the grant found it "difficult to say which Mahābhavagupta is referred to." From palaeographic considerations however it seems likely that this prince is not the first of that name and that he may possibly be either the Mahābhavagupta of the Kudopali grant mentioned above, or a later prince bearing the same name. The letters of the Sonpur grant of Someśvara, though agreeing in the main with the characters of the plates of the Kosala Guptas contain many modern Oriya and Bengali forms, which show that they are of a later time. The next difficulty is about the relationship between this Mahābhavagupta and Uddyotakesarin who is said to have granted (*prasādīkṛta*) the Kosala country to Abhimanyu. The word *pādānudhyāta* however may possibly signify that Uddyotakesarin immediately succeeded Mahābhavagupta and that the former was possibly a lineal or at least a collateral descendant of the latter. If this is accepted it would afford an interesting instance of the reappearance of *Kesarī* names in the family tree after more than 300 years. We have already shown that the name Raṇakesarin occurs twice in the genealogical list of the Śrīpura branch of this family. The occurrence of names ending in *Kesarin* and of

[1] Identified by the editor with the village of Achenda, 7 miles from Kelgā.

[2] The editor points out that Achenda is in the Uttara-tīra division of Sonpur. Thus it is likely that Uttaravalli-*Viṣaya* may be identified with the Uttara-tīra division.

[3] Sten Konow suggested that this name may be a Sanskritisation of Kelgā; see *ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 238, fn. 2.

[4] The grant was edited by B. C. Mazumdar, *EI*, Vol. XII pp. 237-42.

'Janamejaya' and 'Yayāti' in the Orissan branch of the family makes its identification with the *Kesari-vaṁśa* of the *Mādlā-Pāñji* seem probable.[1]

Uddyotakesarin of the Sonpur grant has been identified with the prince of the same name whose *Bhuvanesvar inscription*,[2] dated in his 18th year, was edited by Prinsep as early as 1838.[3] This record is damaged but the published text of the inscription gives the following genealogy of Uddyotakesarin :

In the lunar race

Trikaliṅgādhipa Janamejaya...killed in battle the *Uḍra-deśa-narapati*; called *Samrāṭ* and *Saptāṅga-rājyeśvara*.

Dīrgharava	Vicitravīrya
Apavāra	Abhimanyu
	Caṇḍīhara=Kolāvatī of the solarrace.
	Uddyotakesarin.

Some scholars have further identified the Uddyotakesarin of the Bhuvanesvar epigraph with the prince of that name whose inscriptions of his 5th and 18th years were discovered in Orissa in the Lalatendu Kesari and Navamuni caves respectively.[4] Thus according to the proposed identifications all these princes bearing the name Uddyotakesarin were identical. As an illustration

[1] For a summary of this part of the chronicle, see *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 335 ff. Fleet, who first proposed the identification of Janamejaya and Yayāti of the inscriptions with the Janamejaya Kesarī and Yayāti Kesarī of the chronicles, showed the utter unreliability of the chronological system of the *Pāñji*, and remarked that 'everything relating to ancient times, which had been written on the unsupported authority of these annals, has to be expunged bodily from the pages of history'; *ibid*, pp. 325-26 and 337-40. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar however thinks that the Kesarī kings of the *Pāñji* must be identified with the Coḷa kings who invaded Orissa and 'who bore the title Kesari'; see *OM*, pp. 187 ff.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 239.

[3] *JASB*, Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 557-62 and plate XXIV; *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 90, No. 668.

[4] Inscriptions in Udayagiri and Khandagiri, *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 165-166, Nos. XIV and XV.

however of the uncertainties of the history of this period of Orissa the interesting fact may be mentioned that the scholar who admits the identity of the two Uddyotakesarins of the Sonpur and Bhuvanesvar inscriptions refers the latter epigraph to the 12th century,[1] while the scholar who identifies the two Uddyotakesarins of the Bhuvanesvar and the Navamuni cave inscriptions refers the latter record to 'about the 10th century.' [2]

The identifications proposed have to face other difficulties. If the Janamejaya who appears at the head of the table in the Bhuvanesvar epigraph was the same person as Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, and if the Mahābhavagupta of the Sonpur grant is accepted as Mahābhavagupta II, then in one case Uddyotakesarin becomes the 3rd reigning king from Janamejaya and in another case the 6th. The difficulty is partly solved if we suppose that the Mahābhavagupta of the Sonpur grant was later than the prince of that name in the Kudopali grant. For this would make Uddyotakesarin of the Sonpur grant the 5th reigning prince from Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, with a possible Mahāśivagupta in between the two Mahābhavaguptas of the Kudopali and the Sonpur grants. This would tend to lessen the distance between the two Uddyotakesarins. The position may be illustrated by the following table :

1. Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya

2. Mahāśivagupta II Yayāti	**2. Dīrgharava**	
3. Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha	**3. Apavāra**	**4. Vicitravīrya**
4. Mahāsivagupta III (?)		**5. Abhimanyu**
5. Mahābhavagupta III		**6. Caṇḍīhara**
6. Uddyotakesarin		**7. Uddyotakasarin**

[1] Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 239; see also his *OM*, p. 179.

[2] Mr. R. D. Banerji, *ibid*, Vol. XIII, p. 165.

Under this scheme Dīrgharava is accepted as a son of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, and Uddyotakesarin a collateral descendant of the Mahābhavagupta (III ?) of the Sonpur grant. As I have already suggested, it is possible that Uddyotakesarin succeeded Mahābhavagupta (III ?) who possibly died childless.

The discovery of most of the inscriptions of Uddyotakesarin near Bhuvanesvar[1] may indicate the transference of the seat of the Somavaṁśīs' kingdom from the Sambalpur tract to the seaboard of Orissa. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the Sonpur grant of Someśvara distinctly states that Kosala was granted by Uddyotakesarin to Abhimanyu, who apparently founded a feudatory dynasty in the Sonpur tract. The *Kumārādhirāja* Someśvara was possibly a son of Abhimanyu, and apparently succeeded the latter at Suvarṇapura.

Nothing is known about the history of the successors of Uddyotakesarin. According to the *Mādlā-Pāñji* Suvarṇa Kesarī who ruled in *c*. 1123-32 A.D. was the last king of the Kesarī dynasty. We are told by this chronicle that Orissa was conquered by a king from the south named Coḍagaṅga (1132-52 A.D.) who established the 'Gaṅgā-vaṁṣa.'[2] Fleet rightly identified this Coḍagaṅga with Anantavarmā Coḍagaṅga of the later Gaṅga dynasty, for whom we have dates ranging from *Śaka* 998 to *Śaka* 1069 (*c*. 1076-1147 A.D.). Though Suvarṇa Kesarī is utterly unknown to epigraphic evidence, and may possibly be fictitious, yet it is not unlikely that the Orissan chronicles may have retained a reminiscence of the real facts when they make the later Gaṅgas the successors of the Kesarīs in Orissa. There is

[1] As another illustration of the uncertainties of Orissan history may be mentioned the fact that nobody yet knows who founded the magnificent Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvanesvar. According to the *Mādlā-Pāñji* Lalatendu Kesarī built the temple in *Śaka* 588 (A.D. 666). Recent studies however tend to show that it was probably erected by one of the ancestors of Uddyotakesarin in *c*. 1000 A.D. See R. P. Chanda, *ASI*, 1923-24, pp. 119-22; also B. C. Mazumdar, *OM*, pp. 196-99; N. Tripathi, in *JBORS*, 1928, June, p. 303; *AO*, Vol. II, pp. 56-58.

[2] *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 336 ff.

no inherent improbability in the proposition that the Somavaṁśī Kesarīs were destroyed during the vigorous reign of Anantavarmā Coḍagaṅga sometime before *c.* 1148 A.D.[1]

(2) *The Karas of Tosalī.*

The Karas appeared to have ruled in Orissa from about the 8th century down to the 11th century A.D. Most of their inscriptions were discovered in the districts of Cuttack, Puri, and Ganjam ; and it seems likely that they ruled, for some time at least, over portions of these districts synchronously with the Somavaṁśīs of Kosala. Most of their charters were issued from Guheśvara-pāṭaka,[2] and record grants either in *Uttara* or *Dakṣiṇa* Tosalī. Some of these grants include Kuṅgada-*Maṇḍala* in the latter division. Tosalī has been rightly identified with Tosalī mentioned in the Orissan edicts of the Maurya emperor Aśoka.[3] *Dakṣiṇa*-Tosalī is mentioned in the Patiakella grant of Mahārāja Śivarāja dated in (Gupta) *Saṁvat* 283.[4] Kuṅgada[5] is apparently the *Kung-yü-t'o* of Yuan Chwang,[6] which was situated 1,200 li to the South-West of *Wu-t'u* (Uḍra)[7] and 1,400 or 1,500 li to the North-East of *Ka-leng-ka* (Kaliṅga).[8] Cunningham and Fergusson identified *Kung-yü-t'o* with the region about the Chilka Lake, now included within the districts of Puri and Ganjam.[9]

[1] On the subsequent history of Kosala see the Patna Museum plates of Someśvara, who belonged to the *Colānvaya* and claimed to be lord of Kosala. The characters of this record belong to the 14th century. See *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 97-99.

[2] In some of their grants the name seems to be *Śubheśvara-pāṭaka*; see *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 419 ff.; 1928, June, p. 282 ff.; or *Śubhadeva-pāṭaka*, *EI*, Vol. XV, p. 3.

[3] Hultzsch, *CII*, Vol. I, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. 92 ff. Also fn. 1 on p. 95.

[4] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 287.

[5] Also spelt Kōṅgōda; see *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 141; *JBORS*, Vol. V, pp. 564 ff.

[6] Or *Kung-gu-t'o* or *Kung-ya-t'o*; see *YC*, Vol. II, pp. 196-98.

[7] Or *Oṭa* (Oḍra), *YC*, Vol. II, p. 193.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 198.

[9] *Ibid*, p. 197. Fergusson thought that its capital "was situated to the northward of the Chilka Lake and somewhere between Cuttack and Aska, where one of Aśoka's great edict tablets still exists."

The Kara grants, like most Orissa inscriptions are undated, or are dated in eras of uncertain epoch. Recently however Prof. Sylvain Lévi has greatly assisted the attempts of scholars to find the period of the Karas in Orissa by suggesting the identification of one of its earlier kings named Śubhakara with 'the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion,' 'king of the realm of Wu-Cha' who sent an autograph MS. to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong in 795 A.D.[1] The Ganjam plates of the Śailodbhava feudatory Mādhavarāja Sainyabhīta show that the Orissan coast-districts, including portions of Ganjam, were under the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka up to year 619-20 A.D.[2] After the defeat of Śaśāṅka these dominions of the latter may have passed under the control of Harṣa for some time.[3] It was probably during the confusion that followed the death of Harṣa that the Karas succeeded in establishing their power in Orissa. In their earlier inscriptions the Karas claim descent from the *Bhaumānvaya* or *Bhauma-kula*,[4] while in the later records they are said to have sprung from the *Vaṁśa* of the *Kara* kings. Sometimes their dynasty is simply referred to as *Kara-kula*.

The earliest inscription of the family appears to be the *Neulpur grant* of Śubhakara. It was found among the old records of a Zamindar of Darppan, in the Cuttack District. It contains 34 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. The circular seal which is attached to a projection on one side of the plate bears in its upper part the figure of a bull couchant. Its lower part contains the legend *Śrī-Śubhakaradevasya*. The inscription is undated, but on palaeographic grounds can be referred to the 8th century A.D. It opens with *Oṁ Svasti-*

[1] *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 363-64.
[2] *Ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-46.
[3] *Life*, p. 154. It refers to the assignment of 'the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa' by Śīlāditya to the learned Jayasena.
[4] *Cf.* Genealogies of the dynasties of Assam, see *supra*, pp. 237 ff.

Jaya-skandhāvārāt Śubhadevapāṭakāt, and then gives the following genealogy of the donor :

In the *Bhaumānvaya*

|

Paramopāsaka-Nṛ(?)gatāpha(?)-nāmā Kṣemaṅkara-deva

|

Parama-tathāgata Svadharmāropita-varṇāśrama-Bharasaha-Śivakaradeva.

|

Parama-saugata Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāta Mahārāja Subhakaradeva.

It then records the grants of the villages of *parvata-droṇī*-Komparāka and Daṇḍāṅkiyoka, situated in the *Viṣayas* of Pañcāla and Vubhyudaya in *Uttara*-Tosalī, to one hundred Brahmans (names given). The date *Saṁvat* 8 occurs in line 30. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikarādhikṛta* Samudradatta. It was written by the *Mahākṣapaṭalika Bhogika* Brahmadatta, heated (*tāpitam*) by *Peṭṭāpāla* Nārāyaṇa, and engraved by *Taṭṭhakāra* Eḍadatta.[1]

From the titles of the kings it is clear that the kings were Buddhists. But, like the Pālas of Bihar and Bengal, they did not find it conflicting with their tenets to pose at the same time as guardians of the *Varṇāśramas*. The figure of the bull on their seal shows the curious blending of later Buddhism and Śaivism. Prof. Sylvain Lévi has identified the donor of the grant with the Mahāyāna Buddhist king of Wu-ch'a (Uḍra) who sent an autograph MS. to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong in A.D. 795.[2] The Sanskrit equivalent of the name of the king given in Chinese as ' the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion' is Śubhakara *Kesarin* or *Siṁha*.

Śivakara, the father of Śubhakara of the Neulpur grant, has been identified by some scholars with Śivaṅkara, the first prince mentioned in the *Chaurasi grant* of Śivakara.[3] This grant

[1] Edited by R. D. Bannerji, *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 1-8. The editor reads the name of the donor as Śubhākara; but I have accepted the correction suggested by Prof. Lévi and accepted by Prof. F. W. Thomas; *ibid*, p. 364.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 363-64.

[3] *JBORS*, 1928, June, p. 304.

was found in the village of Chaurasi, in the pargana Antarodh, thana Nimapara, in the Sadar division of the Puri district. It contains 29 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. On a projection of the plate on its left side is the circular seal formed like an expanded lotus flower bearing the figure of a bull. The inscription on the seal is illegible. The letters of the grant are not later than the 9th or 10th century A.D. It opens with *Oṁ siddhiḥ*, and then follows (lines 2-3) the name of the residence of the donor—*Guha*(*Śubha* ?) *devīpāṭikār-vāsinaḥ vijaya-skandhāvārāt*. Then follows the genealogy :

In the mighty *kula* of Bhauma.
|
Śivaṅkara
| = *Mahādevī* Jayābalī-devī.
Pb.-M.-P.-Śubhakara......*Utkalendra*
| = *Mahādevī* Mādhava-devī.
Pb.-M.-P. Śivakara.

The inscription then records the grant of the village of Vuvradā in the Anarudra-*Viṣaya* of *Dakṣiṇa*-Tośalī to the Brahman Jāllu-bhaṭṭa. It is dated in line 10 in *Saṁvat* 13. It was written by the *Taṣṭākāra* Harivardhana.[1]

If we accept the identification proposed above, we may have to reject the suggestion of Mr. R. D. Banerji that *Mahārāja* Śubhakara was a feudatory ruler.[2] For in this grant his family is given all the imperial titles that sovereign rulers assumed during this period. Unfortunately we do not know the names of the immediate successors of Śivakara II. The grants of Daṇḍimahādevī, which undoubtedly belong to a later period, contain the names of a number of her predecessors. But the name of Śivakara (II) does not occur amongst them. In the present state of our knowledge we must remain contented with the suggestion that Śivakara (II) and his ancestors preceded

[1] Edited by Narayana Tripathi, *JBORS*, 1928, June, pp. 292-306. This editor also gives the name of the father of the donor as Subhākara. *Toinli* is probably a mistake for *Tosalī*.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XV, p. 2.

Lolabhāra or Loṇabhāra, the first prince in the direct line from Daṇḍi-mahādevī.[1] The following grants of this queen are known :

(1) *Ganjam grant (i).*—It was found in the office of the Collector of Ganjam ; find-spot unknown. The inscription contains 43 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. On its proper right is soldered a seal resting on an expanded lotus-flower, bearing the figure of a couchant bull, and below it is the legend *Śrīmad-Daṇḍi-mahādevī*. The characters of the inscription may be classed together with those of the Nadagam (in Ganjam) plates of Vajrahasta of *Śaka Saṁvat* 979 (A. D. 1058), and with those of some other inscriptions belonging to about the 12th or 13th centuries A. D.[2] The grant opens as usual with *Oṁ svasti,* and then comes in the 3rd line the name of the donor's place of residence : *Śrīmad Guheśvara-pāṭaka-nivāsī vijaya-skandhavārāt.* Next comes the following genealogy of the donor :

A king named Unmaṭṭa-siṁha[3]
From his family (*Tad-vaṁśād*)
Maṅgapāḍa (?) and others.
In their family (*Tad-vaṁśe*)

(1) King Loṇabhāra

(2) Kusumabhāra — (3) Lalitabhāra

(4) Śāntikara — (5) Śubhākara = (6) Gaurī (?)

Parama-māheśvarī-Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyātā-Pb.-M.-P.
(7) Daṇḍi-mahādevī

[1] *JBORS*, 1923, June, p. 304.

[2] *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 153-54, Nos. 568, 655, 659-60, 664, 665, 672-73 and 711-14 of Kielhorn's list of Northern Inscriptions in *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*. Kielhorn though not venturing to express any definite opinion on the age of the inscription, remarked that it 'could hardly be older than the 13th century.' But I think the date of the grant must be placed sometime before the middle of the 12th century, for there could hardly be any place for a sovereign ruler in the Ganjam area during the reign of Coḍagaṅga (c. 1076-1147 A.D.). In fact it seems likely that either Daṇḍi-mahādevī or her immediate successors were destroyed by that powerful ruler of Kaliṅganagara.

[3] The name is sometimes given as Unmaṭṭa-kesarin ; see *infra*, p. 421.

The inscription then grants the village of Villa, belonging to the eastern division of the Varadā-khaṇḍa-*Viṣaya* of the Kōṅgōda-*Maṇḍala*, to the *Pratihāra* Dhavala, on the occasion of a *Saṁkrānti* in *Saṁvat* 180. Line 41 adds that a quarter (?) of this village again was given by Dhabala to the Brahmans on the occasion of a *Saṁkrānti*. The grant ends with the name of the engraver, Sambhaka.[1]

(2) *Ganjam grant* (*ii*).—This was found with (1). The inscription contains 39 lines. It records the grant of the village of Garasāmbhā in the Arttani-*Viṣaya* in Kōṅgōda-*Maṇḍalaka* in *Dakṣiṇa*-Kōśalā[2] to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Puruṣottama by the donor of No. 1. Lines 38-39 record that half of this village was given by the donee to *Bhaṭṭaputra* Ravika. It was written by the *Mahākṣapaṭalika* Bhogada, and engraved by the *Tāmrakāra* (Kaṇṭha?)kaka. The inscription is not dated. [Seal, genealogy, place of residence, titles, etc., as in No. 1.] [3]

(3) *Banpur grant*.—This was found in the possession of a Brahman family of Kumurang Sasan, a village near Banpur in the Puri district, some 5 miles from the Balugan Station of the B. N. Ry. It is reported to have been discovered in the deserted village of Mansinghapur, about 7 miles from Kumurang. The inscription consists of 45 lines, incised on a single plate. It records the grant of Kantsarānagarī-*grāma* in the Khiḍiṅgahāra-*Viṣaya* in the Kuṅgada-*Maṇḍala* of *Dakṣiṇa*-Tosalā to some Brahmans by the donor of No. 1. It is dated in the 18th year of an unspecified era. At the end of the inscription occurs the name of the *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta Rāṇaka* Bhūṣana Nāga and *Mahākṣapaṭalika Bhogī* Padmasena. Genealogy of the donor nearly the same as in No. 1, with the following exceptions: *Śrīmad*-Gayāḍa and others is substituted for 'Maṅgapāḍa and others,' Lolabhāra is substituted for Loṇabhāra and Unmaṭṭa-siṁha

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 135-40.
[2] Could it be a mistake for Tośalā (*i.e.*, Tośalī = Tosalī).
[3] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 140-42.

is said here to have been born in the family of Kara kings. Everything else as in No. 1.[1]

Of the princes mentioned in the genealogy of Daṇḍi-mahādevī Gayāḍa is identified by some scholars [2] with Gayāḍatuṅga-deva, for whom we have the two following inscriptions :

(1) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant.*—The find-spot of this is unknown. It contains 40 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. The seal is elliptical, and bears the figure of a bull and the legend *Śrī-Gayāḍatuṅga-devasya.* The characters are similar to those of the plate of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, and may be referred to the 10th or 11th century A. D. The inscription opens with the praise of a mountain called *Mahāparvata,* whose body was marked by the kings of the Tuṅga dynasty. Then occurs the name of Yamagartta-*Maṇḍala.* Next comes the genealogy of the donor, as follows :

In the Tuṅga-*vaṁśa,* Śāṇḍilya-*gotra* *Rājā*-Jagattuṅga, who came from Rohitāgiri (mod. Rohtasgarh in Shahabad district, Bihar ?).

In his line Salāṇatuṅga
|
Parama-māheśvara-Samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda-
Gayāḍatuṅga-deva.

The inscription then records the grant of some land in the village of Toro in the Veṇḍuṁga-*Viṣaya,* in the Yamagartta-*Maṇḍala,* to a number of Brahmans settled at the village of Kuruvābhaṭa in the Oḍra-*Viṣaya.*[3]

(2) *Talcher grant.*—This belongs to the Talcher State of Orissa ; find-spot not known. The inscription contains 36 lines.

[1] Edited by H. Panday, *JBORS,* Vol. V, pp. 564-78.

[2] *JBORS,* Vol. V, p. 568, fn. 2 ; *ibid,* 1928, June, pp. 295-96.

[3] Edited by Prof. N. Chakravarti, *JASB.* 1909, Vol. V (N.S.), pp. 317-50. The editor thinks that the word Vānāryaśatru occurring in line 11 may be a surname of Jagattuṅga or of a predecessor of the latter. The Candras of Bengal also claimed to have come from Rohitāgiri ; see *EI,* Vol. XXII, pp. 116 ff. ; also *supra,* p. 322.

It records the grant of the Vāmāitāllo-*grāma* in the Tuṅkerā-*Viṣaya* in the Yamagartta-*Maṇḍala* to 3 Brahmans who were settled in the Oḍra-*Viṣaya*. One of the donees came from the Varendra-*Maṇḍala*, while another came from Sāvathī. (= Śrāvastī). [Everything else as in No. 1.] [1]

These grants seem to indicate that Gayāḍatuṅga was a worshipper of Śiva, and possibly a feudatory. The find-spot of his second grant shows that his territory was not far-removed from the centre of power of the Kara rulers. The seals of his inscriptions also bear the figure of a bull like those of the Karas. The designation of the family name as *Tuṅga-vaṁśa* should be no insuperable bar to the acceptance of these rulers as members of the Kara family. Family names in Indian dynasties sometimes start from an accidental similarity of the ending of the names of some of its members, and I think the occurrence of 3 successive names ending in *Tuṅga* may have led the *praśasti-kāra* of the 3rd prince to call his dynasty *Tuṅga-vaṁsa*. On the evidence available we cannot be sure on the point but on the whole it seems more reasonable to accept tentatively the identification proposed. But we must at the same time conclude that the period between Śivakara II and Loṇabhāra was a period of disruption in the family history of the Karas. It is not unlikely that during this period a more powerful neighbour, possibly the Somavaṁśīs of Kosala completely destroyed their sovereignty. Unmaṭṭa, Maṅgapāḍa and Gayāḍa were probably representatives of the family who held a precarious power as feudatories in different parts of the seaboard of Orissa.

[1] Edited by R. D. Banerji, *JASB*, 1916, Vol. XII (N.S.), pp. 291-95. Previously edited by N. Vasu in the *Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhañja*, Vol. I, p. 152 ff. For another inscription of the Tuṅga family see the *Bonai grant* of *Mahārāja Rāṇaka Parama-māheśvara-Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda-Aṣṭādaśa-Gondamādhipati*-Vinītatuṅga II, son of Khaḍgatuṅga and grandson of Vinītatuṅga I, who came from Rohitāsi (Rohtasgarh ?). The seal is circular, and bears in relief 'a couchant deer with trees in front, symbols for the sun and moon, a lotus,' and the legend *Śrī-Vinītatuṅga-deva*. It was edited by H. P. Śāstrī in *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 236-40.

Loṇabhāra was descended from one of these branches, and appears to have succeeded in reviving the lost prosperity of his family.

No records have yet been discovered of Loṇabhāra and his two sons Kusumabhāra and Lalitabhāra. But the *Dhenkanal grant* of Tribhuvana-mahādevī, the queen of the last prince, throws important light on his reign and the period immediately following. This inscription was discovered in the State of Dhenkanal in Orissa. It contains 42 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. The seal has the figure of a bull couchant and the legend *Śrīmat Tribhuana(vana?)-mahādevī.* It was issued from the *Vijaya-skandhāvāra* at Śubheśvara-*pāṭaka* and is dated in year 35 of an unspecified era. It records the grant of the village of Kontaspārā in the Tosala-*Viṣaya* to *Bhaṭṭa* Jagaddhara for the object of 'bringing down rain,' by the queen Tribhuvana-mahādevī. The genealogy of the donor is given as follows:

When the *Mahārājas* Unmaṭṭa-kesarin[1] and Gayāḍa
had gone to the city of Indra:
In the *Kara-kula* (line 16)
M.-P.-Lalitabhāra = *M.-P.-Pb.-Parama-vaiṣṇavī-Mātāpitṛ-pādānudhyātā*
Tribhuvana-mahādevī.

We are told by this inscription that the donor of the grant was the daughter of *Rājā* Malladeva the ornament of the southern regions. This Malladeva appears to have helped the Karas to uphold their power after the death of a prince who was possibly his own son-in-law. We are then told that Tribhuvana-mahādevī, though at first unwilling to take up the reins of the government, was at last prevailed upon by a very pious lady named Purāyidevī. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was

[1] Same as Unmaṭṭa-siṁha of the Ganjam grant of Daṇḍi-mahādevī; see *supra*, p. 417.

the *Mahākṣapaṭalika* Balabhadra, and the writer *Mahākṣapaṭalika Bhogī* Nāgaḍadeva.[1]

In the genealogy given in the Ganjām grant (*i*) of Daṇḍi-mahādevī we have 7 rulers of the line of Loṇabhāra. The inscription noticed above gives us the name of an additional member and the total number of princes from Loṇabhāra to Daṇḍi-mahādevī now stands at 8. The only other member of this family for whom we have epigraphic records is Śāntikara, the son of Lalitabhāra. One of his inscriptions was discovered in a small cave near Aśoka's rock-edict at Dhauli in Puri district.[2] Another short inscription of 5 lines belonging to this prince was discovered in the Gaṇeśagumpha at Khandagiri, in Puri district[3] which appears to record some dedication made by Bhīmaṭa, a physician (*bhiṣak*).

We do not know the name of any other ruler of this family after Daṇḍi-mahādevī. As the characters of the grants of this queen belong to the period *c*. 1058-1200 A. D., it is not unlikely that the dynasty was destroyed during her reign or in that of one of her immediate successors by the growing power of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara. It seems almost certain that the Karas must have been swept away before the advance of Avantavarman Coḍagaṅga (*c*. 1076-1147 A. D.) who conquered the ruler of Utkala and apparently extended the frontiers of his kingdom from Godavari valley to the Ganges.

[1] Edited by H. P. Śāstrī, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 419-27. The editor takes Unmaṭṭa, Kesarin and Gayāḍa as members of different dynasties each of which was distinct from the Karas. But see above, p. 417, the Ganjam grant (*i*) of Daṇḍi-mahādevī where the line of Loṇabhāra is said to be descended from the line of Unmatta-siṁha and Maṅgapāḍa.

[2] Noticed in *EI*, Vol. XV, p. 3.

[3] Edited by R. D. Banerji, *EI*, Vol. XIII, p. 167, No. XVII. A difficulty in the way of accepting the identification of this Śāntikara with the son of Loṇabhāra is the period of the script of this inscription. According to the editor it belongs to about the first half of the 9th century A.D., which, considering the nature of the script of the Ganjam grant of Daṇḍi-mahādevī, is much too early for her uncle.

The Bhañjas.

Princes bearing names which end in *bhañja* appear to have ruled in Orissa and the northern portion of Ganjam district for about three or four hundred years. Their grants, most of which are undated or dated in eras whose epochs have not yet been fixed, have been referred by various authorities to periods ranging from about the 10th or 11th to the 14th or the 15th centuries. These inscriptions were mostly discovered in the states of Mayurbhanj, Sonpur, Baudh, Despalla and the northern portion of the Ganjam district. The proposed identification of the localities mentioned in these grants, if accepted, would show that with a few exceptions most of them were situated in the area indicated above. It is evident that there were at least two main branches and more than one minor branch of these princes. Some of the inscriptions actually say that like the Rudras, the Bhañja princes were many thousands in number. The seals and the stories of the origin of the different branches also often vary considerably from one another. In many of the grants the princes are designated 'lords of Khiñjali', while some of the oldest records seem to give Khijiṅga as one of the capitals of the Bhañjas. If the identifications of Khiñjali-*Maṇḍala* and Khijinga with Keonjhar and Khiching in Mayurbhanj are accepted,[1] it is possible that one of the two main branches ruled in the region now occupied by those two states. The other important branch appears to have held sway in the valley of the Rushikulya river in the north of Ganjam district. From the fact that none of these princes had any imperial titles it seems certain that none of these Bhañja princes ever attained sovereign rank, and it appears that they were feudatories of their

[1] Accepted by Hiralal; but see R. D. Banerji, *JBORS*, March-June, 1929, pp. 83-84. He proposes its identification with "the country on both banks of the Mahanadi near and about the modern states of Sonpur and Baudh."

more powerful neighbours. But unfortunately their charters never mention the names of their overlords. Thus though in different localities and periods they may have acknowledged the authority of the Somavaṁśīs of Kosala, the Karas of Tosalī, or the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara, yet there is little definite evidence to conclusively prove this suggestion. The absence of the names of their overlords in their grants may however indicate a larger degree of autonomy and freedom from control than usually falls to the lot of subordinate rulers.

Attempts have been made from time to time to reduce the genealogical data found in the introductory portion of the Bhañjas' grants to one family tree.[1] But in spite of these attempts "Bhañja chronology still remains a subject of great controversy." In the present state of our knowledge it would perhaps be too risky to attempt any synthetic study of all these Bhañjas. In the following pages therefore I shall simply give a description of their epigraphic records and their contents, indicating wherever possible their age and the identifications of the localities mentioned therein. To avoid confusion and facilitate reference, I have, following Hiralal, given the letters A to P to the records included in his list.[2] The letters after P will mark those inscriptions which are not noticed in his list.

(1) A. *Baudh grant of Raṇabhañja.*—This was found in the Baudh State. The inscription contains 49 lines, incised on three plates held together by a ring. The seal soldered to the ring is round in shape. 'The impression of the seal consists of a crescent above, the name of the king *Śrī-Raṇabhañja-devasya* in the middle and a seated bull facing the proper left below. The characters of the inscription, according to the editor, are more archaic in form than those of the Bamanghati grant of

[1] The most recent attempt is that by Hiralal in the *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 282-303. But see R. D. Banerji in *JBORS*, Vol. III, pp. 319-23; also B. C. Mazumdar in *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 90-99; the same author in *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 359-67; *ibid.* Vol. VI, pp. 267-68, and fn. 6 on p. 268.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 283-84 and 291.

the same king or the Sonpur grant of his father Śatrubhañja. They are more akin to the characters of the Gumsur grant of Netṛbhañja and the Orissa plates of Vidyādharabhañja.' The inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor :—

In the line of Bhañja rulers

Nṛpa Gandhaṭa

|

Aṇḍaja-vaṁśa-prabhavaḥ Parama-māheśvara-Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāto Bhañjāmala-kula-tilako Mahārāja Raṇabhañja-devaḥ.

The inscription was issued from Dhṛtipura, and granted the village of Konatinthi,[1] in the Khātiyā-*Viṣaya* of the Khiñjalī-*Maṇḍala*,[2] to a Bhāṭa(*Bhaṭṭa*?)-putra, the son of Vasudeva, an inhabitant of Amvāsara-*caraṇa*. The grant was written in the 54th year of the king in the dark half of Bhādrapada by the *Sāndhivigrahiya*(*hika*?) Himadatta, and incised by the *Arkaśālī* Gonaka. It ends with *lāṁchitaṁ Mahārājakiya-mudrcṇa.*[3]

(2) B. *Baudh grant of Raṇabhañja.*—This was also found in the Baudh State. It comprises 59 lines, incised on three plates strung together by a ring. The seal is oval in shape and 'bears in high relief, a couchant bull facing the proper left, and above it the crescent and the sun.' Below the bull is the legend *Śrī-Raṇabhañja-devasya.* Below this is an expanded lotus-flower with stem. The introductory portion of the record gives the following genealogy of the donor :—

[1] Hiralal suggests : Kontinthi (Kontinvi) = Kontuani, about 2 miles south of Baudh; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 300.

[2] Identified by Hiralal with Keonjhar State; *ibid*, pp. 288-89 and 292. According to T. C. Rath it was the name of a tract of country which is now known as Baudh Des-palla, and Gumsur; *ibid*, Vol. XIX, p. 42. According to him *Khiñjalīya-gaḍa-Viṣaya* signifies the former name of Gumsur and *Khiñjalīya-gaḍa* corresponds to the present name of "*Gaḍamuṭha*," a subdivision of the old Gumsur State. According to B. C. Mazumdar it is identical with modern Kimedi in the N. W. of the Ganjam district; but see Hiralal above.

[3] Edited by R. D. Banerji in *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 321-35. First noticed by N. N. Vasu, in *Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja*, Vol. I, pp. 129 ff.

In the *Bhañja-kula*
Śatrubhañja

Aṇḍaja-vaṁśa-prabhavaḥ Parama-vaiṣṇava-Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāto Bhañjā-mala-kula-tilaka-Ubhaya-Khiñjaly-adhipatih[1] *Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabdo Mahāsāmanta-vandita-Stambheśvarī-labdha-vara-prasādo*[2] *Rāṇa-kaḥ*-Raṇabhañja-deva.

This inscription was also issued from Dhṛtipura, and records the grant of the village of Vāllāśriṅgā,[3] in the Khātiā-*Viṣaya* to *Bhaṭṭaputra* Dāmodara, in the 26th year of the *Rāṇaka*. The inscription was incised by the *vaṇik* and *Suvarṇakāra* Śivanāga, son of Pāṇḍi, and sealed with the Royal Seal.[4]

(3) C. *Sonpur grant of Śatrubhañja*.—This was discovered in the State of Sonpur. The inscription of 44 lines is incised on 3 plates, strung together on a circular ring, the ends of which are secured by an oval seal bearing in relief the legend *Śrī-Śatrubhañja-devasya*. Above this there is a crescent, and below the figure of a recumbent bull. The introductory portion of the inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor :

In the Bhañja line
Śilābhañja-deva
|
Aṇḍaja-vaṁśa-prabhava-Parama-vaiṣṇava-Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāto Bhañjāmala-kula-tilakaḥ Śatrubhañja.

The inscription was also issued from Dhṛtipura, and grants Milupāḍī-khaṇḍakṣetra in the Royarā-*Viṣaya*,[5] in *Ubhaya*-Khiñjali-*Maṇḍala* to *Bhaṭṭaputra* Kṛṣṇa. It was sealed by Śivanāga, son of Pāṇḍi.[6]

[1] On Ubhaya-Khiñjali, see Hiralal, *ibid*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 288-89.

[2] On the origin and cult of this goddess, see *JASB*, 1911, pp. 444-47. The same epithet is also used by the Śulkī rulers of Orissa, see *infra*.

[3] Mod. Balasinga, about 2 miles from Baudh and situated on the confluence of the Mahanadi and Salanki (*i.e.*, Salki) in Baudh State, *ibid*, p. 300.

[4] Edited by R. D. Banerji, *ibid*, Vol. XII, pp. 325-28.

[5] Mod. Royra on the borders of the Sonpur State ; *ibid*, p. 300 ; Vol. XI, p. 101.

[6] Edited by B. C. Mazumdar, *ibid*, Vol. XI, pp. 98-101. The Śivanāga of this grant appears to be the same as the Śivanāga of No. 2.

(4) D. *Bamanghati grant of Raṇabhañja.*—This was found buried in the ground in the Bamanghati subdivision of Mayurbhanj State. The inscription contains 36 lines incised on both sides of a single plate. The seal is shaped like a full-blown lotus, and bears the figure of a bull standing before a trident. Below the bull there is the legend *Śrī-Raṇabhañja-debasya,* and above it a crescent moon. The characters belong to the 12th century. The inscription begins by an invocation to Bhava (Śiva) and then gives the following genealogy of the donor:

Vīrabhadra......who had pricked the pea-hen's egg (*māyurāṇḍam bhittvā*) and who was protected by the sage Vasiṣṭha.
⋮
In the Bhañja-*Vaṁśa*

Koṭṭabhañja
|
Digbhañja
|
Raṇabhañja-deva......resident in Koṭṭa and a worshipper of Hara.

The inscription was issued from Khijjiṅga[1] and records the grant of the villages of Timaṇḍirā,[2] Konkola, Jambupadraka[3] and Prasannā[4] in the *Viṣayas* of Korandiā[5] and Devakuṇḍa[6] in the Uttara-*Khaṇḍa* to Bodhāka Sāmanta. The inscription is dated in *Saṁvat* 288 (?) of an unknown era.[7]

(5) E. *Bamanghati grant of Rājabhañja.*—Found with No. 4. It contains 34 lines incised on both sides of a single plate. The seal has the legend *Śrī-Rājabhañja-devasya,* and

[1] Mod. Kiching to the west of Baripada, the present capital of the Mayurbhanj State; *ibid*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 289 and 300.

[2] Probably Teṇḍrā, S.W. of Bamanghati; *ibid*, p. 300.

[3] Probably Jamda, 8 miles west of Bamanghati; *ibid.*

[4] Mod. Pasauā, 7 miles N. W. of Bamanghati; *ibid.*

[5] Mod. Korinjiya, 5 miles from Kiching; *ibid.*

[6] Place of the same name about 8 miles W. of Bamanghati; *ibid*, p. 301.

[7] Edited by P. C. Ghosh, in *JASB*, Vol. XL, Part I, 165-67. For the date, see *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix 88, No. 655 and f. notes 6-7. According to B. C. Mazumdar *Saṁvat* 288 is to be referred to 'Coḷa-Gaṅga' era and is equivalent to A.D. 1060.

bears the same figures as in No. 4 ; genealogy as far as Raṇabhañja same as in No. 4. His son was Rājabhañja. It records the grant of the village of Brāhmaṇavasti[1] in the *Viṣaya*[2] of the same name in the Uttara-*Khaṇḍa* to *Mahāsāmanta* Vuṭṭa, son of *Sāmanta* Muṇḍi. It is undated.[3]

(6) F. *Orissa grant of Vidyādharabhañja.*—Find-spot unknown. It contains 38 lines incised on three plates. The seal soldered to the ring bears in relief, on a countersunk surface a couchant lion facing to the proper right, and below this the legend *Śrī-Vidyādhara-bhañja-devasya.* The inscription was issued from Vañjulvaka. The genealogy of the donor is as follows :

Raṇabhañja-deva.
|
Digbhañja-deva.
|
Śilābhañja-deva.
|
Parama-māheśvaro-Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāta Bhañjāmala-kula-tilako
Mahārāja-Vidyādharabhañja-deva Amoghakalaśa.

It records the grant of the village of Tuṇḍurāva[4] in the Ramalavva[5]-*Viṣaya* to *Bhaṭṭa* Dārukhaṇḍi. It was engraved by the *Akṣasālin* Kumāracandra.[6]

(7) G. *Ganjam grant of Netṛbhañja (i).*—This was found in Gumsur, in Ganjam district, "amongst other effects" of the local *raja*. It contains 36 lines, incised on three plates. The

[1] Mod. Brahmanavas, 6 miles from Bamanghati, *ibid*, Vol. XVIII, p. 301.

[2] Bamanghati subdivision of Mayurbhanj ; *ibid.*

[3] Edited by P. C. Ghosh, *JASB*, Vol. XL, Part I, pp. 168-69. Here also the donor is said to be *Koṭṭa-vāsī* and a devotee of Hara.

[4] Mod. village of Tuṇḍura in the Aska taluka of the Ganjam district, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 301.

[5] Probably Revulabado in the Aska taluka ; *ibid.*

[6] First imperfectly edited by R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. LVI, Part I, pp. 154-60, plate IX. Then edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 271-77. According to this scholar the script of the grant is similar to that of the Buguda plates of Mādhava-varman (*c.* 10th century A. D.), *ibid*, Vol. VII, p. 101.

characters are referred to the 10th century A.D. The grant was issued from Vañjulvaka and gives the following genealogy of the donor :

In the Bhañja line

Śatrubhañja-deva.
|
Raṇabhañja-deva.
|
Parameśvara-Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāna-rataḥ Netṛbhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa.

It records the grant of the village of Mācchaḍagrāma,[1] belonging to the *Viṣaya* of the same name, to a Brahman. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was *Bhaṭṭa* Stambhadeva. It was written by *Sāndhivigrahī* Kakka and incised by *Akṣaśālin* Durgadeva.[2]

(8) H. *Ganjam grant of Netṛbhañja (ii)*.—Find-spot not known. It was sent to the Government Epigraphist of India by T. C. Rath, the District Munsiff of Aska, Ganjam district. The inscription contains 41 lines incised on three plates. The ring which held the plates carried 'a fixed seal,' circular in form, the engravings on which are all lost. The characters are similar to those of the Orissa plates of Vidyādharabhañja. The inscription, which was issued from Vañjulvaka, gives the following genealogy of the donor :

In the Bhañja line

Śilābhañja.
|
Śatrubhañja.
|
Raṇabhañja.
|
Parama-māheśvara-Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāna-rata
Netṛbhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa.

[1] According to Hiralal Machgaon in the Cuttack district. But I prefer to accept Krishnamacharlu's identification with Majhigam in Berhampur (Madras); *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 301 and 303.

[2] Edited by Prinsep, *JASB*, Vol. VI, Part II, pp. 667-71, plate XXXII (copper-plate grant from Gumsur). See corrections by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 272, fn. 2.

The inscription records a grant of the village of Rātaṇga [1] in the Vāsudebakhaṇḍa-*Viṣaya* [2] to a number of *Agnihotrins*. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was *Bhaṭṭa* Sumaṅgala. It was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* Savarāja, engraved by the *Akṣaśālika* Durgadeva, and sealed by Māmmā. [3]

(9) I. *Ganjam grant of Netṛbhañja (iii).*—Find-spot, etc., as in No. 8. It contains 37 lines, incised on 3 plates. The seal is damaged, and nothing remains of its original engravings. Characters as in No. 8. It was issued from Vañjulvaka, and gives the same genealogy of the donor as in No. 8. It records the grant of the village of Macchaḍagrāma [4] of the Machāḍa-*Khaṇḍa* to the *Bhaṭṭa* Rūdaḍa (Rudraṭa ?). The name of the *Dūtaka* is lost. It was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* Kunera (Kubera ?), incised by the *Akṣaśālika* Durgadeva, and sealed by (the lady ?) Jacchikā. [5]

(10) J. *Ganjam grant of Vidyādharabhañja.*—Find-spot, etc., as in No. 8. The inscription contains 30 lines, incised on 3 plates. The engravings on the seal are all lost. It was issued from Vañjulvaka, and it gives the same genealogy as in No. 6. It records a grant of the village of Mūla-Māchāḍa (*i.e.*, Māchāḍa proper) in Māchāḍa-khaṇḍa-*Viṣaya* to *Bhaṭṭa* Purandara, an emigrant from Manmāṇā [6] in Taḍisama-*Viṣaya* [7] in Varebdhi. [8]

[1] Mod. Rottongo, in Gumsur Taluk, Ganjam district; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 301. The name of the village was read by Krishna Sastri as Arūtaba; see his *Epigraphic Report for 1917-18*, p. 12, No. 6.

[2] Mod. Vasudevapur, 4 miles from Rottongo, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 301.

[3] Edited by Hiralal, *ibid*, pp. 283 and 293-95. First noticed by Krishna Sastri in his *Epigraphic Report for 1917-18*. According to Hiralal Māmmā is a short form of Mahāmāyā (the queen).

[4] See *supra*, p. 429, fn. 1.

[5] Edited by Hiralal, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 283, 285 and 296-98. First noticed by Krishna Sastri in his *Epigraphic Report*, 1917-18.

[6] Hiralal suggests its identification with Mandāra (?) in the Gumsur Taluk, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 301.

[7] Pobably Taḍasinga (?) in the Gumsur Taluk, 20 miles from Mandāra *ibid*.

[8] Krishna Sastri suggests the reading Varendhi (*EI*, 1917-18, p. 136, para. 13). Could it be a mistake for Varendrī?

pāṭaka [1] in the district of Koṇṭarāvaṅga-*Viṣaya*, [2] an emigrant from Vapabhūmi,[3] situated in the middle of Thihāra[4] -*Viṣaya* ....The grant is dated in line 30 in *Saṁvat* 3.[5]

(12) L. *Ṭāsapaikerā grant of Raṇabhañja.*—This was found buried at Binka, in Sonpur state. It contains 51 lines, incised on 3 plates. The seal is damaged, but seems to bear the figure of a bull. The grant contains almost the same text (excepting the names of the donees and donors) as in No. 3. The seal bears the legend: *Rāṇaka Śrī-Raṇabhañja-devasya.* The inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor:

Śatrubhañja-deva

|

Aṇḍaja-vaṁśa-pr bhava-Parama-vaiṣṇava-Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāta-Bhañjā-mala-kula-tilaka-Ubhaya-Khiṁjalyādhipati [6] *Samadhigata-Pañca-mahāśabda-Mahāsāmanta-vandita-Stambheśvarī-labdha- vara - Rāṇaka-* Raṇabhañja-deva.

The inscription grants to the Brahman Śrīdhara the village of Ṭāsapaikerā [7] in the Uttara-palli on the river Mahānadī. It was incised by the same as No. 3. It is dated in the 16th year of the donor.[8]

(13) N. *Baudh grant of Kanakabhañja.*—This was found in the possession of a Khond peasant in Baudh. It contains

[1] May be Paṭatupuram in the Chatrapur taluk, *ibid.*

[2] May be Kotayagaḍa in the Chatrapur taluk, *ibid.*

[3] May be Boppangi in Gumsur taluk, *ibid.*

[4] Identified with Tikkarapada in Gumsur, *ibid*, p. 303.

[5] Edited by Hiralal, *ibid*, pp. 284-85 and 298-99. The editor says (*ibid*, p. 302) that it was issued from Vanjulvaka. But I cannot find the name of the place in the grant. The editor also mentions Jaipuri as conquered by this line of kings. Did he derive the name from the epithet given to Rāyabhañja II ?

[6] The editor misread it as *Khiṇḍinyādhipati*. See *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 292.

[7] The village of the same name in Binka, to the north of Mahanadi, *ibid*, p. 302.

[8] dited by B. C. Mazumdar, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 167-77. One serious mistake of the editor is his misreading of the word *bodhayati* as *Baudhapati* (line 7, plate II, first side). He has thus been led to identify the prince as ruler of Baudh.

43 lines, incised on three plates. The ring is closed 'in a lump of copper shaped like the bud of a lotus.' [1] The editor has referred the script of the grant to about 1475 A.D.[2] The genealogy of the donor is as follows :—

The Sage Kāśyapa, in his family the
Bhañja-*vaṁśa*.
⋮
Solaṇabhañja...retired to Benares, having entrusted his kingdom to able ministers.
|
Durjayabhañja.
|
Kaṇakabhañja...*Maṇḍaleśānām-cuḍāmaṇir-iva nṛpasattamaḥ*

The inscription grants to the Brahman Harivaṁśa some villages[3] on the southern bank of the Tela-nadī[4] in the 3rd year of the donor.[5]

(14) N. *Kumurukela grant of Śatrubhañja*.—This was discovered in the village of Kumurukelā, in the Sonpur State. It contains 45 lines, incised on three plates. The editor refers the inscription to about 1325 A.D. The seal contains the legend *Śrī-Śatrubhañja-devasya* and a crescent moon. The genealogy of the donor is given as follows :—

In the Bhañja line

Aṅgati (?)
|
|
?

Aṇḍaja-Parama-vaiṣṇavo Mātāpitṛ-pādānudhyāta-Bhañjā mala-kula-tilakaḥ Rāṇaka Satrubhañja-deva.

[1] See the seal of No. 11 above.

[2] But see *ibid*, Vol. III, p. 323, where R. D. Banerjee 'safely assigns its script to the beginning of the 12th century A. D.'

[3] Names uncertain and they have not yet been identified. The names of the villages appear to be contained in the following line : *Bāhulā-Beṇḍaki-Jamarāpura-Siṁhapura-ubhaya-pāṭakau Dharmapurā(?)bhi-Rāṇaka-śāsitam.*

[4] River Tel, which joins the Mahanadi in the State of Baudh.

[5] Edited by B. C. Mozumdar, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 356ff. According to the editor and Hiralal the charter refers to Baudh State as the kingdom of the donor; see *ibid*. p. 368 and *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 302.

The inscription grants in the 15th year (of the donor) the village of Kumurukelā [1] together with Jaintāmurā in the Uttara-palli of Khiñjali-*Maṇḍala* to the Brahman *Bhaṭṭa* Manoratha. The grant was written by the *Sandhivigrahika* Sarvadatta, and incised by the goldsmith Devala. It was sealed with the royal seal, *mahārājakīyamudrā*.[2]

(15) O. *Khandadeuli grant of Narendrabhañja*.—This was found in the village of Khandadeuli in the Bamanghati subdivision of the Mayurbhanj state. It contains 38 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. The seal of the grant contains the figure of a bull and a *goddess* and a *Svastika*. The genealogy of the donor is as follows :

In the hermitage of Kautsa after breaking the pea-hen's egg

Galadaṇḍo Vīrabhadra
:
Koṭṭabhañja.
|
Digbhañja.
|
Khijjiṁga-Koṭṭa-vāsī Raṇabhañja.
|
Pṛthvībhañja.
|
Narendrabhañja-deva.

The inscription grants the village of Banula connected with the Sidhāhiṁbā-*Viṣaya* of the Uttara-*Khaṇḍa* to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Rāncho.

[1] The village where the inscription was discovered.

[2] Edited by B. C. Mazumdar, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 429-35. Here also the editor in the 8th line of the first side of the 2nd plate wrongly reads the word *bodhayati* as *Baudhapati* and *Khiñjali* as *Khiñjaṇi*.

[3] Edited by H. P. Śāstrī in the *JBORS*, Vol. IV, pp. 172-77. He referred the grant to Raṇabhañja; but see on the point Hiralal, *EI*, XVIII, p. 292. Hiralal takes *Galadaṇḍa* as *Gaṇadaṇḍa*, which according to him has been abbreviated in No. 1 as *Gandhaṭa*. But in No. 15 the letter on the plate after *Ga* appears to be distinctly *la* and not *ṇa*.

(16) P. *Patna Museum grant of Raṇabhañja.*—It refers to 'Dhṛtipura as the old capital of Ubhaya-Khiñjala' and records the grant of the village of Vāhiravāḍa on the Mahanadi in the Dakṣiṇapalli (or the tract to the south of the Mahanadi).[1]

(17) Q. *Antirigam grant of Jayabhañja.*—This was found in the village of Antirigam of Pūrva-*khaṇḍa*, Chatrapur Taluk, Ganjam district. It contains 37 lines, incised on three plates. The ring from which the plates are suspended bears "a lump of copper of a rather peculiar *conical* shape, the top of which is marked by a number of circular ridges."[2] At the base of this lump of copper is written, according to the editor, the legend *Śrīmad-sūbha-Jadeva-nṛpatiḥ*.[3] The characters closely resemble the Oriya script.[4] The following genealogy of the donor is given :

In the Bhañja-*vaṁśa*

Vīrabhañja
|
Rāyabhañja
|
Nṛpati Jayabhañja-deva.[5]
|
Yuvarāja Vīravañja-deva

The inscription grants the village of Reṅgaraḍā, situated in *Khiñjalīya-gaḍa-Viṣaya*, to the Brahman Jagaddhara, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the 15th of Jyeṣṭha-śukla. The charter was issued from the camp (*kaṭaka*) at Kolāḍa in the 3rd

[1] Awaiting publication in *EI*. Noticed by Hiralal in *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 303.

[2] Compare the rings of Nos. 11 and 13.

[3] Hirananda Śāstrī suggests *Śrimad-Yaśabhañja-deva-nṛpatiḥ*; see *EI*, XIX, p. 41, n. 1. The editor of the grant suggests that *Jadeva* is a mistake for Jayadeva. But Hirananda seems to be right, because the word after *su* clearly reads *bhaṁ*.

[4] The editor thinks that this grant is later than Nos. 1, 2, and 7, and that it is probably to be assigned to the 12th century.' See *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 43.

[5] Hirananda Śāstrī suggests that Jayabhañja was a younger brother of Yaśabhañja and the former issued this charter under the seal of his elder brother the king; *ibid*, p. 43 fn. 1. But note that Jayabhañja is also called *nṛpati*.

year of the victorious reign. It was written by *Vanig*-Gaṇeś-vara.[1]

(18) R. *Daspalla grant of Raṇabhañja.*—This was found in the course of cultivation in a field in the village of Chakradharpur, in the Daspalla State. It contains 52 lines, incised on 3 plates. The circular seal attached to the ring bears the figure of a couchant bull, a double lotus, the symbol of the sun and the moon, and the legend *Śrī-Raṇabhañja-devasya.* The inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor :

In the Bhañja line

Śilābhañja.
|
Satrubhañja.
|
Aṇḍaja-vaṁśa-prabhava -Parama-vaiṣṇava -Mātāpitṛ-pādānudhyāta -Bhañjāmala-kula-tilako Ubhaya-Khiñjalyādhipati-Samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda-Mahāsāmanta-vandita-Stambheśvarī-labdhavara-prasāda -Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja-deva.

It records the grant of the village of Hastilenḍā in the Tullāsidgā-*Viṣaya* of Khiñjali-*Maṇḍala* to the Brahman Padmākara, an immigrant from Varendrī. It was incised by the same as in Nos. 2 and 3. It is dated in year 24.[2]

(19) S. *Daspalla grant of Neṭabhañja.*—Same find-spot as that of No. 18. It contains 53 lines, incised on 3 plates. The circular seal bears in relief a couchant lion and the legend *Śrī-Neṭabhañja-devasya.* The grant was issued from Vañjulvaka, and gives the following genealogy of the donor :

Digbhañja
|
Śilābhañja.
|
Vidyādharabhañja.
|
Parama-vaiṣṇavo-Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāta-Bhañjāmala-kula-tilaka- Neṭabhañja.

The inscription grants a piece of land (*valkā-khaṇḍa-kṣetra*)

[1] Edited by T. C. Rath, in *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp 41-45.

[2] Edited by B. Bhattacharyya, *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 266-73.

in the village of Drolladā(?) in the Rāmalavva-*Viṣaya* of Khiñjali-*Maṇḍala*, to the Brahman *Bhaṭṭa* Puruṣottama.[1]

(20) T. *Singharā grant of Raṇabhañja.*—It was unearthed near the Bhagavatī temple in the town of Sonpur in the Sonpur State. It contains 47 lines, incised on three plates. The seal attached to the ring has the figure of a recumbent bull, a crescent, and the legend *Śrī-Raṇabhañja-devaḥ*. The genealogy of the donor is given as follows :

In the Bhañja line

Śilābhañja.
|
Śatrubhañja.
|
Aṇḍaja-vaṁśa-prabhava-Parama-māheśvara-Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāta-Bhañjāmala-kula-tilaka-Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda-Mahāsāmanta-vandita-Stambheśvarī-labdha-vara-prasāda-Ubhaya-Khiñjanyādhipati-Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja.

It records the grant of the village of Mahallopi on the banks of the Vyaghra-nadī[2] in the Bhogī-*Khaṇḍa* of Dakṣiṇa-palli in Khiñjaṇi[3]-*Maṇḍala* to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Vohe (?) who was an immigrant from the village of Bhadrapalāśī in Magaha (Magadha?). It is dated in *Vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare* 9. The grant was incised by the *Vanik-Suvaṇṇakāra* Padmanābha, the son of Pāṇḍi.[4]

[1] Edited by B. Bhattacharyya, *ibid*, pp. 274-79.

[2] Mod. Bagh River, which forms the boundary between the states of Sonpur and Baudh. *JBORS*, Vol. VI, p. 481.

[3] Is Khiñjaṇi a mistake for Khiñjali? See *supra*, p. 434, fn. 2, and *infra*, p. 440, fn. 1.

[4] Edited by B. C. Mazumdar, *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 480-86. This Pāṇḍi is probably the same as the Pāṇḍi of the grants Nos. 2 and 3. The *Bonai grant* of Udayavarāha is referred by H. P. Śāstrī to the Bhañja line, *ibid*, pp. 241-45. But this seems to be improbable. Apart from the difference of the name which does not end in *bhañja*, the donor distinctly refers himself to the *Mayūra-vaṁśa*. The seal which bears the figure of a peacock, dagger, and a double lotus, is also different from the known seals of the Bhañjas. The genealogy of Udayabarāha is as follows :

In the Mayūra-*vaṁśa*
Uditavarāha
|
Tejavarāha
|
Parama-saugato-Samadhigata-pañcamahāśabda-Mahārāja-Rāṇaka Udayavarāha.

The inscription grants the village of Kodāsamā in the Telai-*Maṇḍala* to two Brahmans.

(4) *The Śūlkīs.*

The Śūlkīs are apparently the same as the Śūlikas mentioned in the Harāhā inscription of the Maukhari Īśānavarman (554 A.D.).[1] We are told by this record that Īśānavarman conquered the *Andhrādhipati* "who had thousands of three-fold rutting elephants," vanquished in battle "the Śūlikas who had an army of countless horses," and caused "the Gauḍas, living on the sea-shore, in future to remain within their proper realm." By mentioning the Śūlikas between the Gauḍas and the realm of the lord of the Andhras, the writer of the record probably gives us some idea about the location of the Śūlikas. As the records of the Śūlkīs have all been found in Orissa, they can roughly be said to be the rulers of that area which was in the possession of the Śūlikas in the middle of the 6th century A.D. Nothing is definitely known about the origin of these Śūlikas or Śūlkīs, but it is not impossible that their name may be one of the variation of the name *Caḷukya*.[2] Their records are not dated in any era, but are referred on palaeographic grounds to about the 9th and 10th centuries A.D.

The first king of the Śūlkī or Śūlika line for whom we have epigraphic records is Raṇastambha *alias* Kulastambha. His Talcher grant supplies us with the names of two of his predecessors, *viz.*,

1. Rājā Kāñcanastambha.........*Śūlkīkāṁśa-vaṁśa-bhūṣaṇa.*
   |
2. *Mahānṛpati* Kalahastambha Vikramāditya.

[1] *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 117 and 120, V. 13. In the Taḷcher grant of Kulastambha, his family is described as *Śūlkīkāṁśa-vaṁśa*, see *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff.

[2] For the variations of the name Caḷukya, see *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 336, fn. 3, and *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 95, fn. 10. See also *JASB*, 1895, Part I, p. 124. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar rejects the identification of the Sūlkis with the Caḷukyas and wants to *identify* them with the modern Sulkis of Midnapore; see *ibid*, 1911, p. 447, and *OM*, pp. 103-06. R. D. Banerji thinks that Sūlkī is the equivalent of Solāṅki, *JASB* 1911, p. 443. Hirananda Śāstrī identifies the *Śūlikas* with the *Śaulika* of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, and locates them in the S. E., with Kaliṅga, Vidarbha, Cedi, etc.; see *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 112.

The following records are known for the reign of Raṇastambha *alias* Kulastambha.

(1) *Talcher grant.*—This belongs to the chief of the Talcher State. Exact find-spot not known. It contains 28 lines incised on both sides of a single plate bearing on its left a round seal. The impression of the seal "consists of a plane circle with a row of lotus petals along its circumference." In the upper part is "a deer couchant with a bough or some foliage in its mouth and a crescent, and a conch over its back." Below this is the legend *Śrī-Kulastambha-deva*. The space below the legend is "occupied by an expanding lotus flower." The inscription opens with *Oṁ svasti* and an invocation to Hara (Śiva). It belongs to *Kodālādhivāsī Śrī-Stambheśvarī-ladbha-vara-prasādo parama-Māheśvaro-mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāyī Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabdo Mahārājādhirājaḥ Śrī-Raṇastambhaḥ parama-nāmadheyaḥ*[1]*-Pb.*-Kulastambha-*rāṇaka*, son of Kalahastambha. It records the grant of the village of Siṅga in the Paścima-*khaṇḍa* of the Pūrva-*Viṣaya* to *Bhaṭṭa* Viśvarūpa who has come from Maṅgalavilā, on the occasion of the *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti*. The income of the village is given in the last two lines as 44 *rūpya*. It was engraved by Dūrvadāsa.[2]

(2) *Puri grant.*—This was preserved in the Rāghava Dāsa *maṭh* in the town of Puri in Orissa. It contains 43 lines incised on both sides of a single plate. 'From the middle of the top of both the plates rises a circular piece' which contains on its face a half-moon; below this is the figure of a boar (or a bull), and below this is the legend *Śrīmān Kulastambha-deva*. "The letters look like the 10th century Kuṭila inscription

[1] This word has been taken by the editor in the sense of *alias*. *Parama* may mean *first* or *chief*. But H. P. Śāstrī apparently regards Kulastambha as the son of Raṇastambha; see *JBORS*, Vol. II, p. 400.

[2] Edited by R. D. Banerji, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 156-59. It was originally edited by N. N. Vasu in (1) *Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhañja*, Vol. I, pp. 157 ff.; (2) *Baṅger Jātiya Itihāsa, Vaiśya Kāṇḍa*, pp. 303-04; (3) *Journal of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 59 ff. Mr. R. D. Banerji refers the script of the grant to the 9th century A.D.

given in Princep's work.'' It opens with an invocation to Śiva, then follows the praise of Kulastambha-deva—born in the *Śūlkī-kula* by a boon from the goddess Stambheśvarī. In lines 14-15 occurs the name of Kacchadeva, who may have been the governor of Kodāla. In lines 21-22 the donor seems to address the officers of Kaliṅga (?). It records grants of the village of Kāṅkanira in the Ulā(lo ?)-*Khaṇḍa* to *Bhāṭaputra* Madhusōdana (Madhusūdana ?) by *Parama-māheś-vara Mahārāja* Rala(ṇa ?)stambha-deva. The grant was written by the *Kāyastha Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Kanānaya Jāka.[1]

(3) *Dhenkanal grant.*—This is reported to have been washed out of a field called Bhīm Nagarī Gaḍh, close to the Brahmani river in the State of Dhenkanal. It contains 44 lines incised on both sides of a single plate. The circular seal attached to the top of the inscription contains a crescent, a deer couchant, and the legend *Śrī-Kulastambha-deva.* It gives the following genealogy of the donor:

In the Sulki (Śūlkī?)-*kula*

Vikramāditya......*Stambheśvarī-labdha-vara-prasāda.*

|

Raṇastambha.

It records the grant of the village of Jharabāḍa in the Goyilla-*Khaṇḍa* of the Saṅkhajoṭivalaya-*Maṇḍala* by *Parama-māheśvara-Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda-Sakala-Gondamādhinātha*[2]*-Mahā rāja* Kulastambha-deva to *Bhaṭṭa* Bṛhaspati.[3]

Nothing is known of the political incidents of the reign of Kulastambha. But from his titles we may assume that he was a feudatory of some stronger neighbour. It is not unlikely that he may have acknowledged the sovereignty of either the Somavaṁśīs

[1] Edited by M. Chakravarty, *JASB*, 1895, Vol. 64, pp. 125-27. The editor suggested *Kula* in the place of *Rala*. But he probably mistook the cerebral ṇ for l; both the letters are almost alike in the script of the period (*OM*, p. 115). The Talcher grant shows that Kulastambha was also known as Raṇastambha. Dr. Barnett suggests that the 'division of names' in Kanānaya Jaka is 'probably wrong.'

[2] According to the editor it means 'lord of all the Gonds.'

[3] Edited by H. P. Śāstrī, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 395-96 and 400-05. The relation between Raṇastambha and Kulastambha is not clearly stated in this record.

of Kosala or the Karas of Tosalī. His son was Raṇastambha.[1] The following grants may be referred to his reign :

(1) *Dhenkanal grant.*—Found in the State of Dhenkanal; exact find-spot not given by the editor. It contains 35 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. The characters belong to the 10th century. The seal attached to the left of this inscription is no longer legible. The record, which was issued from Kodālaka, does not give any genealogical details. It records the grant of the village of Kolampoṅka, attached to this (Kodāla ?)-*Viṣaya* to *Bhaṭṭa* Sudarśaṇa by *Parama-māheśvara-Mātā-pit(ā?)-pādānudhyātaḥ Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda-Samastamahāsāmantādhipati* Raṇastambha-deva. The date *Saṁvat* 33 comes in lines 31-32. It was written by the *Bhogī* Kalyāṇa-deva and incised by Muṇḍaka.[2]

(2) *Puri grant.*—Found in the Rāghava Dāsa *maṭh* in the town of Puri. It contains 37 lines incised on both sides of a single plate. The circular seal attached to the middle of the top of the plate contains the legend *Śrīmāṁ Raṇa(?)stambha-deva*[3] and the figure of a boar.[4] The letters belong, according to the editor, to the 10th century A.D. It begins with an invocation to Śiva. It records the grant of the village of Pajara in the Ulo-*Khaṇḍa* to *Bhaṭṭaputra* Veluka.[5]

[1] This is known from the Dhenkanal grant of Raṇastambha's son Jayastambha; see *ibid*, p. 406.

[2] Edited by H. P. Śāstrī, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 396-400. The editor refers the grant to 'Raṇastambha who is known to us from the grants of his son Kulastambha.' But the word *parama-nāmadheya* which separates the names Raṇastambha and Kulastambha in the Talcher grant, if properly interpreted by R. D. Banerji, shows that the former was not the father of the latter. The two names belonged to the same person.

[3] The editor read it as *Ralastambhadeva*; but see Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, No. 666; also B. C. Mazumdar, *OM*, p. 115.

[4] As the dynasty appears to have been a *Śaiva* family, could the editor have mistaken the *Nandi* for a boar ? Unfortunately he gives no plates, and we cannot verify our guess.

[5] Edited by M. Chakravarti, *JASB*, 1895, pp. 123 ff. He refers the inscription to Kulastambha. It is true that with some differences this grant agrees generally with the Puri grant of Kulastambha. But as in all the grants of Kulastambha, the legend on the

(3) *An incomplete grant.*—Find-spot not stated. It contains 21 lines on one side of a single plate. The seal bears the figure of a bull, a crescent moon, and the legend *Śrī Raṇa-stambha-devasya*. It was issued from Kodālaka. It records the grant of the village of Jārā in the Jārā-*Khaṇḍa* in the Rāḍhā-*Maṇḍala* to Paucuka by the *Parama-māheśvara-Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda-Raṇastambha-deva*. Among his ancestors can be read the names of Kaṁ(Kāñ)canastambha and Kula-stambha.[1]

Raṇastambha was succeeded by his son Jayastambha, for whose reign the following grants are known :

(1) *Dhenkanal grant* (*i*).—Found in the State of Dhenkanal. Exact find-spot not mentioned. It contains 22 lines incised on both sides of a single plate. The circular projection of the plate on the left which usually carries the seal in the grants of this family has been left vacant. The characters belong to the 10th century. It was issued from Kodālaka. After the usual invocation of Śiva, it gives the following genealogy :

In the Śolkī (Śūlkī ?)-*kula*.
|
Stambheśvarī prāpta-vara-prasāda Kulastambha...*Kṣitipa*.
|
Raṇastambha...*Kṣitīndra*.
|
Parama-māheśvara-Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda Sakala-Gondamādhinātha-Mahārājādhirāja Jayastambha-deva.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Candrapura in the Koṅkula-*Khaṇḍa* of the Goilla-*Viṣaya*, attached to this

seal gives the name *Kulastambha* and not *Raḷa*(or *ṇa*)*stambha*, I venture to suggest that this grant may belong to his son. But unfortunately for want of plates our guess again cannot be verified.

[1] Edited by H. P. Śāstrī, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 168-71. The editor points out the existence of a village named Jara in the Hooghly district and of an influential body of cultivating middlemen who call themselves Sukli and trace their origin to a place called Kedālaka. Note that in a Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha, No. (*iii*) the family name of the king is given as *Sulki-vaṃsa*.

(Kodālaka ?)-*Maṇḍala*, to the Brahman Vāvana, who came from Kolañca. It was incised by the *Vaṇik* Īśvara.[1]

(2) *Dhenkanal grant* (*ii*).—Find-spot, etc., as in No. 1. It contains 32 lines incised on both sides of a single plate. The seal attached to the upper portion of the record is damaged. Characters belong to the 10th century. It was issued from Kodālā-*pāṭaka*. It is a joint grant of *Parama-māheśvara-Mahārāja* [2] Jayastambha-deva and his son Nidayastambha-deva. It records the grant of the village of Llolapura (*sic*?) in the Kodāla-*Maṇḍala* to the Brahman Riṣivaka.[3]

(3) *Dhenkanal grant* (*iii*).—Find-spot, etc., as in No. 1. It contains 31 lines incised on both sides of a single plate, and written 'in a scribbling hand, much effaced and very incorrect.' The circular seal attached to the left of the plate is in the form of a full-blown lotus. It contains the figure of a bull couchant, behind which is a stag; on the top of the seal is a crescent; in the centre is inscribed the legend: *Śrī-Jayastambha-deva*. The genealogy of the donor is as follows:

In the Śukli (Śūlkī)-*vaṁśa*
|
Rājā Kāñcanastambha
|
Mahānṛpati Vikramāditya *apara-nāmadheya*-Kaṇada-stambha (Kalahastambha?)
|
Alānastambha-deva (Raṇastambha ?)
|
Kodālakādhipati-Śrī-Stambheśvarī-labdha-vara-prabhāvo (*prasādo* ?) *Parama-māheśvara-Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda-Pb*.-Jayastambha-deva.

It records the grant of some land (name of village not mentioned) to the Brahman Gobbarahūli Śarmā.[4]

[1] Edited by H. P. Śāstrī, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 405-409. The editor points out that Kolañca is mentioned in the genealogical works of Bengal as the place from which Ādiśūra is said to have procured his Brahmans.

[2] There are various other empty titles which I have omitted here.

[3] Edited by H. P. Śāstrī, *ibid*, pp. 409-12.

[4] Edited by H. P. Śāstrī, *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 412-7. This record is so corrupt that it requires to be re-edited. Possibly the writer of the record or the editor may have dropped a name (Kulastambha?) in the genealogy. The editor takes *Kaṇada* as a mistake for *Kula* but on the evidence of the Talcher grant I suggest *Kalaha*.

(5) *The Sailodbhavas.*

The Sailodbhavas appear to have been ruling in the S.E. of Orissa and the Ganjam district from about the 7th to the 10th or 11th century A.D. Excepting one inscription, which is dated in G.S. 300 (619-20 A.D.) most of their records are undated, and we have to depend only on palaeographic evidence to fix their age. Their documents are usually dated from Kōṅgōda-*Maṇḍala,* which is generally taken to be the region now occupied by the Ganjam district. There is nothing in their inscriptions to indicate that they ever became a sovereign power. Though with one exception they never mention the the names of their overlords, it would seem from their titles that they always occupied a feudatory rank. The following records are known for their reigns :—

(1) *Ganjam grant of Mādhava-rāja.*—This was found in the office of the Collector of Ganjam. Exact find-spot not known. It contains 3i lines, incised on 3 plates. The ends of the ring on which the plates are strung are 'secured in the base of an elliptical seal. In the depression of the seal are, in relief, a couchant bull facing the proper right,' and below this the legend *Śrī-Sainyabhītasya.* The inscription opens with the date Gupta year 300 (A.D. 619-20) in the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja*-Śaśāṅka-rāja. It was issued 'from the victorious Kōṅgeda, near the bank of the Śālimā river.' The genealogy of the donor is as follows :—

Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta-Mādhava-rāja
|
Mahārāja Yaśobhīta
|
Svaguṇa-marīci-nikara-prabodhita-Śilodbhava-kula-kamala-Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta Mādhava-rāja.

It records the grant of the village of Chavalakkhaya in the Kṛṣṇagiri-*Viṣaya* [1] to the Brahman Charampa Svāmin, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun.[2]

[1] Hultzsch suggests that this 'might be identical with its synonym Nīlagiri, which is a name of Jagannātha (Puri) in Orissa;' see *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 144, and fn. 3.

[2] Edited by Hultzsch, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-46.

(2) *Khurda grant of Mādhava-rāja.*—Reported to have been found in Khurda, in the Puri district. It contains 27 lines, incised on 3 plates. The parabolic seal attached to the ring contains in relief the figure of a bull and the legend *Śrī-Sainya-bhītasya*. The characters, according to the editor, belong to the latter half of the 7th century. It was issued from the victorious camp at Kōṅgōda. It gives the following genealogy :

Sainyabhīta
|
Yaśobhīta
|
Mādhava-rāja.[1]

The inscription records the grant of some land in the village of Ārhanna in the Thorana-*Viṣaya* to the Brahman Prajāpati Svāmin.[2]

(3) *Buguda grant of Mādhavavarman.*—This was found buried in a field in the village of Buguda, in Gumsur taluk, Ganjam district. It contains 52 lines incised on three plates. The ring which holds the plates has a round seal which is too much worn for the emblems on it to be made out with certainty. The characters according to the editor, are similar to the Nāgarī of about the beginning of the 10th century. The genealogy of the donor is given as follows :

Pulindasena...famous amongst the peoples of Kaliṅga.
He created out of a rock a fit ruler of the land,
named Sailodbhava, through the favour of Brahman
|
(In his family)
Raṇabhīta
|
Sainyabhīta I
|
(In his family)
Yaśobhīta.[3]
|
Sainyabhīta II Mādhavavarman, also called Mādhavendra and Śrīnivāsa.

[1] *Śailodbhavānvavāya-nata-sakala-Kaliṅgādhipatya*..................

[2] Edited by G. M. Laskar, *JASB*, 1904, pp. 282-86.

[3] Hultzsch considered this prince to be the remote descendant of the Mādhava-rāja of grant No. 1; *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 144. He regarded the alphabet of No. 3 as considerably more modern than that of No. 1.

From his residence at Kaiṅgōda (line 29) this last prince granted the village of Puipiṇa, in the Khadira-*pāṭṭaka* of the Guḍḍa-*Viṣaya,* to the *Bhaṭṭa* Vāmana. The record was written by Upendrasiṁha, sealed by Jayasiṁha, and engraved by Daḍḍi Bhogin. The *Dūtaka* for the grant was *Pratihārin* Gaṅgabhadra.[1]

(4) *The Parikud grant of Madhyama-rāja.*—Found in the collection of records of the Raja of Parikud, in the Puri district. It contains 59 lines incised on three plates. The seal is so damaged that nothing can be read. It gives the following genealogy of the donor :

Śailodbhava [2]
|
(In his family)
Raṇabhīta.
|
Sainyabhīta
|
(In his family)
Yaśobhīta.
|
Sainyabhīta II
|
Yaśobhīta II
|
Madhyama-rāja.

The inscription records the grant of some land (*dvādasa-timmīra-pramāṇa*) in the Kaṭaka-bhukti-*Viṣaya* of the Kōṅgōda-*Maṇḍala* to Śīla Svāmin and 11 other Brahmans (names given) in the 26th year of the victorious increasing reign (*Vijaya-vardhamāna-rājye*) of the donor.[3]

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 41-46. For corrections see *ibid*, Vol. VI, p. 144, fn. 1, and Vol. VII, pp. 100-02. At first Kielhorn took Sainyabhīta II to be the name of the father of the donor.

[2] The story of his origin is given as in No. 3 above.

[3] Edited by R. D. Banerji, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 281-87. The editor read ' Sa[mvat] [88] Kārttika-śukla' at the end of the record. He then referred it to Harṣa era (88 + 606) and found its equivalent in 694 A.D. But Venkayya notices that the date is so badly damaged that nothing can be read clearly. ' What is seen is a circle which may denote 20. It is just possible that the regnal year of the king is simply repeated in numerical symbols preceded probably by the word *Saṁvatsare* '; see *ibid*, p. 282, fn. 1. Could *Kaṭaka-bhukti-Viṣaya* be connected with modern Cuttack ?

(5) *Tekkali grant of Madhyama-rāja.*—Exact find-spot unknown; seems to have been received from the *Yuvarāja* of Tekkali, Ganjam district. It is only the 2nd of at least 3 plates, which seem to belong to the Śailodbhavas of Kōṅgōda. The editor refers the script to the 11th century, and notices its similarity with the script of the Śūlkī plates. It gives the following genealogy :

Madhyama-rāja.
|
Dharmarāja Mānabhīta
|
Madhyama-rāja II
|
Raṇakṣobha. — Petavyālloparāja.
⋮ (under Petavyālloparāja)
Madhyama-rāja III
son of *Yuvarāja* Traillapanibha.[1]

(6) *The Gaṅgas.*

Kings who traced their descent to the *Gaṅga-kula* appear to have ruled in the territories round about the Mahendragiri, in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency, from about the 7th century onwards. These princes may be conveniently divided into an earlier and a later group. The names of the rulers of the first group usually end in *Varman.*[2] They all claim to be lords of *Sakala-Kaliṅga* and devout worshippers of Gokarṇeśvara, who resided on the top of mount Mahendra.

[1] Edited by H. P. Śāstrī, *JBORS*, Vol. IV, pp. 162-67. It is not unlikely that the *Śailavaṁśa*, to which Jayavardhana belonged, was a branch of the Sailobdhavas; see for Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 41-47. Hiralal considers the two families to be identical. About the name Traillapanibha Dr. Barnett suggests : *Traillapa* seems to = Kanarese Tailapa ; but *nibba*(?) an error for *nṛpa* or its Prakrit equivalent *ṇiva* ?

[2] Though all the donors of the land-grants of this family so far known had names ending in *varman*, yet it is to be noted that at least in one case king Indravarman (years 137 and 154) is stated to have been the son of Dānārṇava (*EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 362, and Vol. XVIII, pp. 307 ff.).

With some exceptions,[1] most of their grants are issued from Kaliṅganagara, which has been identified with Mukhaliṅgam, some 20 miles from Parlakimedi, in the Ganjam district.[2] These grants bear dates ranging from about the year 51 to 351 'of the reign of the Gāṅgeya race.' But unfortunately the epoch of this era has not yet been determined. It is however clear that they continued to hold sway in the region about the southern portion of Ganjam district for about 300 years. They often assumed imperial titles, and on the whole appear to have been sovereign rulers. From the fact that they occasionally describe themselves as lords of the city of Kolāhala [3] it is clear that they considered themselves to be a branch of the Gaṅgas of Mysore. But the story of their migration and settlement from Kolar to Ganjam and the details of their subsequent history, must in the present state of our knowledge remain shrouded in considerable obscurity.[4] It is however likely that

[1] These are issued from Śvetaka.

[2] Ramamurti, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 187 ff. See also *JBORS*, Vol. XV, pp. 105-15; for a recent attempt to revive the old identification with Kaliṅgapatam, see *ibid*, pp. 623-34.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 198 ff. The identification of Kolāhala with Kolar in east Mysore, first proposed by Rice is now generally accepted.

[4] *The following inscriptions are known for these Gaṅga princes* :

(*i*) Dhanantara (in Gumsur) plates of Sāmantavarman, *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 275-78.

(*ii*) Ganjam plates of Pṛthvīvarman, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 198-201.

(*iii*) Achyutapuram (near Mukhaliṅgam) plates of Indravarman, year 87, *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 127-30.

(*iv*) Parlakimedi plates of Indravarman *alias* Rājasiṁha, year 91, *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131-34.

(*v*) Godavari grant of Pṛthvīmūla (of the time of *Adhirāja* Indra), *JBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 114-20.

(*vi*) Chicacole plates of Indravarman, year 128, *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 119-22.

(*vii*) Chicacole plates of Indravarman, year 138. *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 122-24; also *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 317 ff.

(*viii*) Vishamagiri (in Aska, Ganjam) grant of Indravarman, *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 134-37.

(*ix*) Chicacole plates of Devendravarman, year 183, *EI*, Vol. III. pp. 130-34.

(*x*) Vizagapatam grant of Devendravarman, year 254, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 143-46.

(*xi*) Chicacole grant of Devendravarman, year 51 (?), *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 273-76.

(*xii*) Alamanda (in Vizagapatam dist.) grant of Anantavarman, year 304, *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 17-21.

(*xiii*) Chicacole plates of Satyavarman, year 351, *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 10-12.

they may have suffered a temporary eclipse on account of the encroachments of the Karas of Tosalī, some of whose grants were discovered in Ganjam.

In the first half of the 11th century we find another series of kings claiming descent from the same line as the above. Like the first group of Gaṅga princes, they were also worshippers of Gokarṇeśvara on mount Mahendra. With some exceptions, they also issued most of their grants from Kaliṅganagara. That they also traced their descent from the Gaṅgas of Kolar is proved by the Vizagapatam grant of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, which clearly mentions Kolāhala, the founder of Kolāhalapura, in the Gaṅgavāḍi-*Viṣaya*, as one of his ancestors.[1] The same inscription distinctly says that Kāmārṇava, a distant descendant of Kolāhala, leaving Kolāhalapura with his brothers, came to the Mahendra mountain, and having conquered Bālāditya through the favour of the god Gokarṇasvāmin, took possession of the Kaliṅga countries.[2] As Vajrahasta (*c*. A.D. 1038), the earliest Gaṅga prince for whom we have any authentic date, is the 17th prince from Kāmārṇava, we may place the latter approximately somewhere in the 7th or 8th centuries A.D.[3] But unfortunately there are so many discrepancies in the genealogical lists supplied by

(*xiv*) Siddhantam (near Chicacole) plates of Devendravarman, year 195, *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 212-16.

(*xv*) Urlam plate of Hastivarman, year 80, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 330-34.

(*xvi*) Tekkali (in Ganjam dist.) plates of Indravarman, year 154, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 307-11.

(*xvii*) Tekkali plates of Devendravarman, year 310, *ibid*, pp. 311-13.

(*xviii*) Durmila (in Ganjam dist.?) grant of Devendravarman, *JBORS*, June, 1929, pp. 274-77.

(*xix*) Korashanda (in Ganjam district) grant of Viśākhavarman, *ibid*, pp. 282-84.

(*xx*) Purle (near Palkonda, Vizagapatam district) grant of Indravarman, year 137, *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 360-63; Vol. XVIII, pp. 307 ff.

[1] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165 ff.

[2] *Ibid*, lines 43-47.

[3] According to the Vizagapatam grant of Coḍagaṅga the total of the reign-period of the 16 predecessors of Vajrahasta was 301½ years; see *ibid*, p. 171. This would place Kāmārṇava in *c*. 737 A.D. (1038 − 301½ = 737½).

the different grants that we cannot accept these calculations with absolute certainty. It is however possible that the forefathers of the earlier and later groups of the Gaṅgas, if not identical, had at least migrated to Kaliṅga, about the same time. It is certain that they belonged to the same stock.

The causes that led to the revival of the Gaṅga power in Kaliṅga is at present uncertain. I have already suggested that the power of the earlier Gaṅgas may have been eclipsed by the encroachments of the Karas of Tosalī. Though there is at present no direct evidence to support our guess, it is not impossible that the renewal of Gaṅga power may have been connected with the invasions of the Coḷa kings. Rājarāja (*c.* 985-1016 A. D.) conquered Gaṅgavāḍi, Veṅgināḍu, and Kaliṅga sometime before 1005 A.D., while the armies of his son, Rājendra Coḷa, advanced even up to the Ganges about 1021-25 A.D.[1] From two inscriptions in Sanskrit and Tamil we learn the interesting fact that Rājendra Coḷa, having defeated his brother-in-law, the Eastern Cāḷukya Vimalāditya (*c.* A.D. 1015-1022), set up a pillar of victory on the Mahendra mountain.[2] Both these inscriptions with the Tiger crest of the Coḷa kings were found on the top of the Mahendragiri, where still exists the sacred shrine of Gokarṇesvara, the tutelary deity of the Gaṅgas. As the date of the invasion of Rājendra Coḷa is only removed by about 25 years from *Saka* 960 (A.D. 1033), the earliest known date of the later Gaṅgas, it is not unlikely that the Coḷas may have revived the power of one of the local Gaṅga rulers as their feudatory in Kaliṅga. The period of comparative weakness in Coḷa administration which followed the death of Rājendra about 1044 A.D. possibly helped Vajrahasta in asserting his complete freedom from Coḷa hegemony about 1045 A.D.

[1] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 230. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, London, 1911, pp. 104 ff.

[2] *MER*, pp. 7 and 94, Nos. 396 and 397.

The earlier Gaṅga inscriptions supply us with no pedigrees of their mythical and semi-mythical ancestors. Some of the later grants however contain long lists of this kind. These names, as contained in the Vizagapatam plates,[1] of Avantivarman Coḍagaṅga (S. 1003)[2] may be tabulated as follows :

Ananta (Viṣṇu): From his navel
Brahman
|
Atri [3]
|
Saśāṅka (the Moon)[4]
|
Budha
|
Purūravas.
|
Āyus
|
Nahuṣa.
|
Yayāti.
|
Turvaśu...Through the favour of Gaṅgā, was born to him
|
Gāṅgeya [5]...his descendants were known under the name of the *Gaṅgānvaya.*
|
Virocana
|
Saṁvedya...The glory of the *Gaṅgānvaya*
|
Saṁvedin.
|
Dattasena

[1] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165 ff. With some slight variations this is also found in the Kendupatna plates of Narasiṁha II (*JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff.), and the Puri plates of Narasiṁha IV (*ibid*, Vol. LXIV, pp. 128 ff.).

[2] *Ś*=*Śaka.*

[3] From this ancestor the Gaṅgas got their *Gotra* name : *Ātreya-gotra*, see *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 162, 168, 173, etc.

[4] Thus the Gaṅgas belonged to the Somavaṁśa or the Lunar race.

[5] Fleet pointed out that the descent here branches off from the Pauranic genealogy. According to *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* Turvaśu's son was Vahni, his was Gobhānu, see *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 170, fn. 45.

Dattasena
|
Soma
|
Aṁsudatta
|
Saurāṅga
|
Citrāmbara
|
Sāradhvaja
|
Dharmākhya
|
Parikṣit
|
Jayasena I
|
Jayasena II
|
Jitavīrya
|
Vṛṣadhvaja
|
Pragarbba (Ibha?)
|
Kolāhala [1]... built the city named Kolāhalapura in the Gaṅgavādi-*Viṣaya*.
|
Virocana
|
In his lineage, after 81 kings had ruled in Kolāhalapura.
Vīrasiṁha

(1) Kāmārṇava I, ruled for 36 years. | (2) Dānārṇava | Guṇārṇava I | Mārasiṁha | Vajrahasta I

We are told that Kāmārṇava I gave over his own territory to his paternal uncle (line 43), and with his four brothers, set out to conquer the earth. He came to the mount Mahendra and worshipped the god Gokarṇasvāmin. Having through his favour obtained the excellent crest of a bull (*Vṛṣabha-lāñchana*), and being decorated with the insignia of universal sovereignty, he descended from the summit of mount *Mahendra* and took possession of the Kaliṅga countries, after defeating Bālāditya. His

[1] Called Anantavarman Kolāhala in the Kendupatna grant.

capital was the city named Jantāvura.[1] He ruled for 36 years and was succeeded by his younger brother Dānārṇava. To Guṇārṇava, Mārasiṁha and Vajrahasta the three other younger brothers, he assigned Ambavāḍi-*Viṣaya*, Sodā-*Maṇḍala*, and Kaṇṭaka-vartanī respectively.[2] Then the succession continues as follows :—

(2) Dānārṇava............ruled 40 years.

(3) Kāmārṇava II...... 50 built a *pura* named Nagara,[3] in which he built a lofty temple of the god *Īśa* (Śiva) under the name Madhukeśa.

(4) Raṇārṇava............ruled 5 years.

(5) Vajrahasta II, ruled 15 years.

(6) Kāmārṇava III.........ruled 19 years.

(7) Guṇārṇava II......... ,, 27

(8) Jitāṅkuśa, ruled 15 years.

× ?

(9) Kaligalāṅkuśa, ruled Kaliṅga for 12 years.

(10) Guṇḍama, ruled for 7 years.

(11) Kāmārṇava IV, ruled for 25 years.

(12) Vinayāditya, ruled for 3 years.

(13) Vajrahasta IV, ruled for 35 years.

(14) Kāmārṇava V, ruled for ½ year.

(15) Guṇḍama II. ruled for 3 yrs.

(By another wife) (16) Madhu-Kāmārṇava VI, ruled for 13 years

(17) Vajrahasta V, ruled for 30 years.

[1] Ramamurti suggested that this may be a mistake for Jayantapuram which is mentioned in the *Kṣetramāhātmya*, as one of the names of Kaliṅganagara, *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 188.

[2] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 167-68 and 170-74.

[3] Was this city Kaliṅga-nagara, the capital of the Gaṅgas? Ramamurti pointed out that Mukhaliṅgam (=Kaliṅganagara) still contains the temple of Śiva *Madhukeśvara*. *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 188. See *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī (Ed. by C. Chakravarti, Calcutta, 1926), V. 21 where 'Nagarī' is described as the capital of Kaliṅga (*Nagarīm nāma tāṁ rājadhānīm*).

A somewhat different *list* of the predecessors of Vajrahasta is given in some other records of the Gaṅgas. The Nadagam grant of Vajrahasta[1] (Ś. 979) gives us the following list of his predecessors :—

In the *Ātreya-gotra* and Gaṅga family.

(1) Guṇamahārṇava...acquired the glory of *Sāmrājya*.

(2) Vajrahasta I...united the earth which has been formerly divided into five kingdoms; ruled for 44 years.

(3) Guṇḍama I, ruled for 3 years

(4) Kāmārṇava I, ruled for 35 years,

(5) Vinayāditya, ruled for 3 years.

(6) Vajrahasta II *alias* Aniyaṅkabhīma, ruled for 35 years.

(1) Kāmārṇava II, ruled for ½ year = Vinaya-mahādevī of the Vaidumba family.

(8) Guṇḍama, ruled for 3 years.

(By another wife) (9) Madhu Kāmārṇava III, ruled for 19 years.

(8) Vajrahasta III (crowned in May 1038 A.D.).

The above list is also found in two Vizagapatam grants of Coḍagaṅga, dated in Ś. 1003 and 1057.[2] A comparison of the two lists would show that while in the first the *praśastikāra* tries to trace the genealogy of the dynasty from the beginning of things, the second traces it from Guṇamahārṇava, who may have been the real founder of this branch of the Gaṅgas. Possibly the latter is to be identified with Guṇārṇava II, the 7th prince of the first list. There is some amount of agreement in the names of the kings in the two lists who follow this prince. But there are the following discrepancies :—[3]

[1] *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 183 ff.
[2] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 161 ff. and 172 ff.
[3] *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 187.

(*i*) List II shows that Guṇamahārṇava-Guṇārṇava of list I had a son named Vajrahasta who reigned for 44 years; but list I omits his name, evidently through an oversight of the officer who drafted the inscription. For the fifth king in the 1st list is called Vajrahasta II and the 13th king Vajrahasta IV. (*ii*) List I gives the names of two kings, Jitāṅkuśa and Kaliṅgalāṅkuśa (his brother's son), who are said to have preceded Guṇḍama I and to have reigned for 15 and 12 years respectively, but these names are omitted in list II. (*iii*) The reigns of Guṇḍama I and that of (his brother) Kāmārṇava IV are stated in list I to be 7 and 25 years, while list II has the figures 3 and 35 instead. (*iv*) Finally list I makes Vajrahasta V the son of Madhu-Kāmārṇava VI, while the 2nd list states that Vajrahasta was born from Kāmārṇava, the eldest son of Vajrahasta.

In spite of these discrepancies there is on the whole substantial agreement in the total reign-period assigned by the two lists to the predecessors of Vajrahasta from Guṇamahārṇava-Guṇārṇava onwards. According to the first list, the total is $146\frac{1}{2}$ years $(27+15+7+25+3+12+35+\frac{1}{2}+3+19)$, while according to the second it is $142\frac{1}{2}$ years $(x+44+3+35+3+\frac{1}{2}+3+19)$. Calculating backwards from S. 960 (A.D. 1040), the date of Vajrahasta's coronation, we arrive at the last decade of the 9th century as the date for Guṇamahārṇava-Guṇārṇava. There is no inherent improbability in this date. It is possible that after the first Gaṅga dynasty lost power through the encroachment of the Karas of Tosalī the kingdom became dismembered into a number of smaller Gaṅga principalities. Towards the end of the 9th century Guṇamahārṇava-Guṇārṇava, the chief of one of these principalities, began to grow powerful. His son, Vajrahasta III, who is credited with the conquest of 5 kingdoms, may have by his ambitious policy consolidated his position by incorpor-

[1] Dr. Barnett suggests that this name is perhaps a mixture of Dravidian and Sanskrit: *Kaligaḷa* + *aṅkuśa*, 'a goad to heroes'?

ating some neighbouring principalities. When the Colas came to Kaliṅga, they probably found the successors of Vajrahasta III willing agents of their ambitious policy on this frontier.[1] I have already suggested that Vajrahasta V may have thrown off the Cola yoke by taking advantage of the disasters that fell on the rulers of the South after Rājendra Cola's death (*c.* 1042-43).[2] Though it is stated that Vajrahasta V was crowned in Ś. 960 (A. D. 1038)[3] it is significant that his earliest inscription so far discovered bears the date Ś. 967 (1045 A.D.).[4]

The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Vajrahasta V :

(1) *Narasapatam grant.*—This was 'received from Narasapatam taluka of the Vizagapatam district.' The inscription consists of 74 lines, incised on 5 plates held together by a circular ring. The oval seal attached to the ring is surmounted by a high recumbent bull with various emblems round it which represent 'a conch, an elephant goad, a *triśūla,* a battle axe, a crescent, a mace, a rope and a drum.' The alphabet is Nāgarī, the language Sanskrit. Like other grants of the kings of this dynasty, the inscription 'opens with a panegyrical passage describing the virtues and valour of the Gaṅga kings, their royal insignia,' *viz.,* the unique *Śaṅkha,* the *bherī,* the *pañcamahāśabdas,* the white parasol, the golden *caurī,* and the excellent bull-crest, acquired by the favour of Gokarṇasvāmin of mount Mahendra. Then comes the genealogy of the donor, as given in list II above. We are then told that from Dantipura *Parama-māheśvara-Pb.-M.-Trikaliṅgādhipati* Vajrahasta-deva granted the whole of Gorasatta-*Viṣaya* with its 35 villages outside Tam-

[1] On the strategic importance of this frontier, see *JL*, 1927, Vol. XIV, pp. 15 ff.

[2] *Cf.* death of Rājādhirāja (*c.* 1043-53 A. D.) in the battle of Koppam; see *Ancient India*, p. 118.

[3] *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 190-91 and 193, V. 8.

[4] *Ibid*, Vol. XI, pp. 147 ff.

pavā-*grāma* to Irugana Mānāditya Cotta[1] and Vīra Bhūriśrava. Amongst the boundaries of the *Viṣaya* is mentioned 'to the west Kāñcaśilā on the Vaṁśadharā.'[2] The charter was written by the *Śāsanika-Kāyastha Sandhīvigrahin* Dhavala of Taṁpavā (village). The date, *Śakābda* 967 (A. D. 1045), is given in line 73. It ends with *Kāraki-Meṇṭojunāpi likhitam.*[3]

(2) *Nadagam grant.*—Discovered in a field at Nadagam, a village in the Narasannapeta taluk of the Ganjam district. It contains 57 lines, incised on 5 plates. The ring which holds the plates has the same circular seal as in No. 1. The inscription opens as in No. 1 and gives the same genealogy. It records the grant of the Erada-*Viṣaya* containing the 12 villages of Velpūra, Trumumkā, Vappuḍām,[4] Vallurama, Arnago ...... (tpemmimbā, Konūrana, Poduru, Vāḍām,[5] Muringām, Kanamarampa, Devaremacikīḍamba, and Gudrapī, having been (clubbed together and) named Vepūrā-*Viṣaya* to one Pāṅgu-Sāmaya,[6] by *Parama-māhesvara-Pb.-M.-Trikaliṅgādhipati* Vajrahastadeva. It was issued from Kaliṅganagara,[7] in the *Śaka* year of Aja (9), the mountains (7) and the treasures (9), *i.e.*, Ś. 979 (A. D. 1058). Verse 9 tells us that the donor was anointed

[1] The editor suggests that the name of this donee may be Śrīmān Āditya Cotta, though 'this reading would imply a serious grammatical slip in line 60.' The donee is said to be the son of Śrī-Mānāditya (*Śrīmān Āditya* ?) Cotta, son of Cotta Vādayarāja and Rūpadevī, 'the sun of the Vaidumba family.' This donee was therefore a relative of the donor. See above, list II; the wife of Kāmārṇava, No. 7, and the mother of the donor, Vinayamahādevi also belonged to the Vaidumba family. On the word *Vaidumbāditya* see *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 158, fn. 1.

[2] Apparently the river of the same name which flows between the Ganjam and Vijagapatam districts, *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 149.

[3] Edited by Sten Konow, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 147-58. First mentioned in Krishna Sastri's *Annual Report cn Epigraphy*, 1908-09, p. 111.

[4] The editor suggests its identification with Boppadam, a village at a distance of about 15 miles from Badam.

[5] The editor suggests its identification with the village of Badam in the Narasannapeṭa taluka.

[6] The editor suggests Somāya (?). But Dr. Barnett thinks the form given in the grant 'quite good.' *Somāya* to him 'seems almost impossible.'

[7] The editor identified this city with Mukhaliṅgam.

when the aggregate of the *Saka* years was reaching the number of the sky (0), seasons (6) and treasures (9), *i. e.*, Ś. 960 (A. D. 1038). In the last line is further recorded the grant of the village of Nugila in the *Viṣaya* of Kōlu-vartanī.[1] The last line (line 57) is in portions indistinct apparently being written on three lines of partially effaced writing.[2]

(3) *Madras Museum grant.*—Its find-spot is not known. It contains 54 lines, incised on 5 plates. The seal and the introductory portion are nearly the same as in No. 1.[3] It records the grant of the village of Tāmaraceru [4] in Varāha-vartanī, together with Cikhalī-*vāṭaka*, as an Agrahāra to 500 Brahmans by Anantavarmā Vajrahasta-deva,[5] and also the grant by the same of land with the produce of 200 *Murakas* of grain to the god Koṭīśvara for *bali, caru, naivedya, dīpa-pūjā*, etc. It was issued from Kaliṅganagara in the *Śaka* year of the dice (4), vasus (8) and treasures (9), *i. e.*, Ś. 984 (A. D. 1061).[6]

(4) *Parlakimedi grant.*—Found in the Parlakimedi Zamindary of Ganjam district. It consists of 29 lines, incised on three plates. According to the editor the script belongs to about the 11th century A. D. The seal bears in relief a bull couchant, a crescent, and the legend *Śrī Dāraparaṇo.* It opens with praise of *Parama-māheśvaro Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāto Gaṅgāmala-kula-tilaka M.-P.* Vajrahasta-deva, resident of Kaliṅganagara and a devout worshipper of Gokarṇasvāmin

[1] Krishna Sastri wanted to identify this place with Varāha-vartanī, occurring in other grants (*EI*, Vol. IV, p. 185, fn. 5, etc.) on the ground that *Kōla* is a synonym for *Varāha.* See *EI*, Vol. III, p. 127, fn. 5, for references to two other Gāṅga grants, which mention Varāha-vartanī.

[2] Edited by Ramamurti, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 183-93. The grant is now in the Madras Museum. More than two lines of the original writing on the second side of the 4th plate can still be read; *ibid*, p. 184 (lines 57-59).

[3] The emblems of the seal are somewhat differently described by Venkayya, *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 94.

[4] This village and *Viṣaya* are mentioned in an early Gaṅga grant. see *IA*, Vol. XIII, p. 275, lines 11-12.

[5] Titles as in Nos. 1 and 2.

[6] Edited by Sten Konow, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 94-98.

installed on the summit of mount Mahendra. Then we are told that in his reign *Parama-māheśvara Gaṅgāmalakula-tilakaḥ Pañca-viṣayādhipati* Dāraparāja, son of Cola-Kāmadirāja and a resident of Laṅkākoṇa, gave a village named Hossaṇḍi to the *Rājputra* Kāmadi, the ornament of the Naggari-Saluki family. It is undated. It was written by ***Mahāsandhivigrahin*** Droṇācārya, and incised by *Sūtradhāra* Naṁkañcyemācari.[1]

According to these records, Vajrahasta V appears to have reigned over Kaliṅga from at least 1038 to 1061 A.D. In the Vizagapatam grants of his grandson Coḍagaṅga, he is assigned a reign of 30 to 33 years.[2] It is difficult to know the real extent of his power but as he assumed imperial titles and in the opening panegyrics of his grants even lays claim to universal sovereignty (*Sāmrājya*) for his family, we may conclude that he at least succeeded in consolidating his rule over portions of Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. He was succeeded sometime before 1075-76 A.D. by Rājarāja, his son, through the queen Naṁgamā. The *Dirghasi stone-inscription* is the only record of this reign. It was found among the ruins of a temple near a hill called *Durgā-meṭṭa* in the village of Dirghasi 4 miles north of Kaliṅgapatam in Ganjam district. It contains 23 lines, the first 16 being in Sanskrit verse and the rest in Telugu verse. The alphabet is Telugu. It records that the *Maṇḍalika Mahāpratihāri-mukhya Calamarti-gaṇḍa Bhaṇḍana-vijaya Gaṇḍa-gopāla* Vanapati, son of Gokarṇa, of Ātreya-*gotra* and Brahman caste built a *maṇḍapa* (or *nāṭyaśālā* ; see lines 15 and 20) in front of the temple of Durgā, in the town of Dīrgharsī in the reign of Gaṅga king Rājarāja, in the

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 220-24. The editor identified the Vajrahasta of this grant with the grandfather of Coḍagaṅga. But I have a suspicion that this Vajrahasta belongs to the early Gaṅga dynasty. This grant begins like the grants of Indravarman and other early Gaṅga princes and is, like those grants, incised only on 3 plates. Note the connection of Saluki with Sūlika, Sūlkī, and Cāḷukya.

[2] An inscription at the Bhīmeśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgam is dated in the 32nd year of Anantavarmā Vajrahasta, see *MER*, p. 18, No. 258.

Śaka year 997 (*c.* A.D. 1075-76). It also records the grant of a lamp by Padmāvatī.[1]

This inscription supplies a list of the victories of Vanapati who appears to have been the Commander-in-chief of Rājarāja. We are told that he became in battle "a conflagration to the great forest (which was) the army of the Coḍa king." He also completely burnt "the trees which were the commanders of the troops of elephant and horses of the Utkala," and took away the whole property of the Veṅgi king by frequently defeating him in battle. Daddārṇava was sent by him "to Yama as an envoy to report his conquest of the whole world."[2] In the Telugu portion of the record we are told that he "defeated in battle the kings of the Veṅgi country, Kimiḍi Kosala, the Gidrisiṅgi country, and Oḍḍa country."[3] The victory of Rājarāja over the Coḷas and the Eastern Cāḷukyas (Veṅgi) is also referred to by a Vizagapatam grant (Ś.1040) of Coḍagaṅga. We are told by this grant that Rājarāja "first became the husband of the goddess of victory in battle with the Dramilas, and then wedded Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Coḍa king, and when Vijayāditya,[4] beginning to grow old, left Veṅgi, as if he were a sun leaving the sky and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Coḍas, he, Rājarāja, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western regions."[5] The Coḷa king referred to above is probably to be identified with Vīra-Rājendra[6] (*c.* 1062-72 A.D.), who is reported to have invaded Kaliṅga, no doubt in an attempt to recover the lost hegemony of his family over that region. Three other grants of Coḍagaṅga distinctly state that

[1] Edited by Ramamurti, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 314-18.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 317, Vs. 4-6.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 318.

[4] This Vijayāditya was the uncle of the Eastern Cāḷukya Rājendra. The latter was the daughter's son of Rājendra Gaṅga-koṇḍa (*c.* 1013-44 A.D.) and son-in-law of the latter's son Rājendra (*c.* 1052-62 A.D.). He later succeeded in unifying Veṅgi and the Coḷa kingdoms under his authority and assumed the name of Kulottuṅga (*c.* 1072-1118 A.D.).

[5] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 169 and 171, lines 83-89.

[6] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, 1911, p. 145.

Rājasundarī was the daughter of Rājendra Coḷa.[1] The Utkala (or Oḍḍa) ruler was probably one of the later Karas of Tosalī, while the ruler of Kosala was possibly a scion of the Somavaṁśīs of that country. Kimiḍī appears to be identical with the Zamindari of that name in the Ganjam district. I am unable to identify either Daddārṇava or the Giḍrisiṅgi.

In the grants of his son Rājarāja is assigned a reign of only 8 years (*c.* 1069-77 A.D.). He was succeeded some time before 1078 A.D. by his son Anantavarmā Coḍagaṅga.

The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Anantavarman :—

(1) *Vizagapatam grant* (*i*).—This was ' obtained from the Collector of Vizagapatam ' ; its exact find-spot is not known. It contains 43 lines incised on 5 plates. The seal attached to the ring bears the usual figure of the bull couchant and other emblems ;[2] The introductory portion is nearly the same as in Vajrahasta's Nos. 1 and 2. The additional genealogical information is as follows :—

Vajrahasta-deva V   Rajendra Coḷa.
| |
Rājarāja = *Agramahiṣī* Rājasundarī
|
Parama-māheśvara-Pb.-M.-Trikaliṅgādhipati Ananta-varma-Coḍagaṅga-deva.[3]

The inscription records that this last prince from Kaliṅganagara, in the *Śaka* year (that is numbered by) the eyes of Hara (3), sky (0), sky (0), and moon (1), *i.e.*, 1003 (A.D. 1081), granted the village of Cākivāḍa in the Saṁvā-*Viṣaya* to the Rājarājeśvara (Śiva) whose temple was at the village of

[1] Vizagapatam grants dated in Ś. 1003 and 1057, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 163 and 174. See also the newly discovered Korni grant, dated in Ś. 1003. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Society*, July 1926, pp. 40 ff.

[2] These are somewhat different from those on Vajrahasta's seals; see for details *IA*, Vol. XVIII, 161.

[3] For a complete list of Coḍagaṅga's *birudas* and titles see *JASB*, 1903, pp. 108-10. Among the more important may be mentioned *Gaṅgeśvara*, *Cālukya-Gaṅga* and probably *Vikrama-Gaṅga*.

Reṅgujeḍ. Lines 30-33 give the date of the donor's accession to the throne as the *Śaka* year that is numbered by the Nandas (9), apertures of the body (9), and planets (9), *i.e.*, 999, 'while the sun was standing in the sign of Kumbha (A.D.1078).[1] The inscription does not give us the names of its writer or engraver.[2]

(2) *Korni grant* (*i*).—This was discovered in a pot while digging for the foundation of a house in the village of Korni, near Kaliṅgapatam, in the Ganjam district. It contains 55 lines, incised on 5 plates. In its introductory portion, script, language, seal, and royal titles, it closely resembles No. 1. It records the grant of the village of Khonna in Varāha-vartanī to 300 Brahmans by Anantavarmā Coḍagaṅga-deva from Kaliṅga-nagara in the *Śaka* year 1003 (A.D. 1082). It was written by Dāmodara the son of the *Mahākāyastha Sandhivigrahin* Māvuraya and engraved by *Mahākṣasāli* Vallemoja.[3]

(3-4) *Mukhaliṅgam stone-inscriptions* (*i-ii*).—Written in the Telugu language and alpbabet 'on a slab to the left of the second entrance, west face' in the temple of Mukhaliṅgeśvara at Mukhaliṅgam.[4] Each of them records the gift of a lamp in the 8th year of Anantavarman in Ś.1004.[5]

(5-6) *Roṇaṅki stone-inscriptions*.—Written in the Telugu language and script 'on a stone lying on the bank of the Vaṁśadharā at Roṇaṅki.' They record the gift of some land in the 19th year of Coḍagaṅga in Ś.1015 to the temple of Siddheśvara by queen Lakṣmīdevī.[6]

[1] On the date see Fleet, *ibid*, pp. 161-62; also M. Chakravarti, *JASB*, 1903, pp. 107-8.

[2] Edited by Fleet, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 461-65. The language of the grant is Sanskrit; the script is a southern variety of Nāgarī.

[3] Edited by G. V. Sitapati, *Quarterly Journal of Andhra Historical Society*, July 1926, pp. 40 ff. The editor has identified the village Khonna with mod. Korni. For this and other suggestions about the localities mentioned in the grant, see *ibid*, p. 43.

[4] In later references I shall use the abbreviation *MM* to designate this temple.

[5] Noticed in *MER*, p. 18, Nos. 244 and 246. The editor reads the date of (2) as Ś. 1005; but see *JASB*, 1903, pp. 99 ff.

[6] Noticed in *MER*, p. 24, Nos. 392 and 393.

(7) *Mukhaliṅgam stone-inscription* (*iii*).—Written in the Telugu language and alphabet 'on the second pillar in the right row of the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa*' in the *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 23rd year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1020.[1]

(8) *Mukhaliṅgam stone-inscription* (*iv*).—Written in the Telugu language and alphahet 'on a pillar to the left of the entrance to the central shrine' of the *MM*. It mentions Vīra-Coḍa-deva, and is dated in the 28th year of Anantavarman, in Ś. 1024.[2]

(9) *Korni grant* (*ii*).—Found with No. 2. It closely resembles No. 10. It records a grant similar to No. 2 of a piece of 'land in the vicinity of Khonna, Tuluvu, and Gara,[3] by the same king in Ś.1034.'[4]

(10) *Mukhaliṅgam stone-inscription* (*v*).—It is incised on the 3rd pillar on the left row of the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa* in the *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp by a dancing girl in Ś. 1039 in the reign of Coḍagaṅga.[5]

(11) *Vizagapatam grant* (*ii*).—Found as No. 1. It contains 117 lines engraved on 5 plates. The seal[6] and language as in No. 1; but the characters 'are ordinary old Kanarese of the regular type of the period.' In the introductory portion, the genealogy of the donor is drawn from Ananta (Viṣṇu).[7] It records the grant of the village of Tāmarakhaṇḍi in the Saṁvā-*Viṣaya*[8] to a person named Mādhava by Anantavarmā-*mahārājo Rājādhirāja-Rāja-Parameśvaraḥ Pb.-Paramavaiṣṇavaḥ Parama-brahmaṇyaḥ Mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyātaḥ* Coḍa-

[1] *Ibid*, p. 15, No. 167.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 14, No. 140.

[3] These three places are mentioned in No. 2.

[4] Noticed by the editor of No. 2 in the same Journal, pp. 40 ff. Not yet edited.

[5] *MER*, p. 16 No. 211.

[6] For slight differences see *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 165.

[7] For this genealogy up to Vajrahasta, see above List No. I, on pp. 451-52. From Vajrahasta as in No. 1, only it does not mention the name of the maternal grandfather of the donor.

[8] The same as in No. 1.

gaṅga-deva, 'decorated with the rank of entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala and residing at the town of Sindurapora,' in the *Śaka* year numbered by the sky (0), oceans (4), sky (0), and moon (1), *i.e.*, 1040 (A.D. 1118-19).[1]

(12) *Rayipādu stone-inscription.*—Incised 'on a stone in the bed of a tank at Rayipādu. It records the gift of a lamp in the 44th year of Anantavarma-deva in Ś. year 1040 (A.D. 1118). The language and alphabet are Sanskrit and Telugu.[2]

(13) *Mukhaliṅgam stone-inscription (vi).*—Incised on the 'left of the entrance into the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa*' in the *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 45th year of Coḍagaṅga in Ś. 1043. Language and alphabet; Telugu.[3]

(14) *Mukhaliṅgam stone-inscription (vii).*—Incised on the second pillar in the left row of the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa* of the *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp by a military officer in the 48th year of Coḍagaṅga in Ś. year 1045. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[4]

(15) *Mukhaliṅgam stone-inscription (viii).*—Found as No. 7. It records the gift of a lamp in the 49th year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1015. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[5]

(16) *Mukhaliṅgam stone-inscription (ix).*—Incised on the second pillar in the left row of the *Āsthāṇamaṇḍapa* in the *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 49th year of Coḍagaṅga in Ś. 1045. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[6]

(17) *Mukhaliṅgam stone-inscription (x).*—Found as No. 16. It records the gift of a lamp in the 49th year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1046. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[7]

[1] Edited by Fleet, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-72.

[2] Noticed in *MER*, p. 24, No. 390, Hultzsch read the date as *Śaka* 10(7)0, 4th year; for corrections see *JASB*, 1903, pp. 99 ff.

[3] *MER*, p. 19, No. 234.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 17, No. 221.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 15, No. 177.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 17, No. 224.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 17, No. 222.

(18) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*xi*).—Incised on the first pillar in the right row of the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa* of *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 50th year of Coḍagaṅga in Ś. 1047. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[1]

(19) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*xii*).—Found as No. 7. It records the gift of a lamp in the 53rd year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1048. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[2]

(20-21) *Mukhalingam stone-inscriptions* (*xiii-xiv*).—Incised on the pillar to the right of the entrance to the central shrine of the *MM*. They record grants of lamps in the 53rd year of Anantavarman and Coḍagaṅga in Ś. 1049. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[3]

(22) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*xv*).—Found as No. 7. It records the gift of a lamp in the 54th year of Coḍagaṅga in Ś. 1050. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[4]

(23) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*xvi*).—Found as No. 18. It records the grant of a lamp in the 55th year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1051. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[5]

(24) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*xvii*).—Found as No. 16. It records the gift of a lamp in the 57th year of Coḍagaṅga in Ś. 1053. It mentions Varāha-vartanī. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[6]

(25) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*xviii*).—Found as No. 18. It records the gift of a lamp by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga in his 58th year, in Ś. 1054 (A.D. 1133). Language and alphabet, Telugu.[7]

(26). *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*xix*).—Found as No. 18. It records the gift of a lamp by the wife of Coḍagaṅga's

[1] *Ibid*, p. 14, No. 152.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 15, No. 166.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 14, Nos. 143-44.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 14, No. 151. The date corresponds to A.D. 1129; see *JASB*, 1903, pp. 99 ff.
[5] *Ibid*, No. 156.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 17, No. 220.
[7] *Ibid*, p. 14, No. 149.

younger brother. It is dated in the 59th year on Anantavarman in Ś. 1055. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[1]

(27) *Mukalingam stone-inscription* (*xx*).—Incised on the 3rd pillar in the right row of the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa* in *MM*. It is dated as in No. 26. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[2]

(28) *Mahendragiri stone-inscription*.—Incised on a slab to the left of the entrance to the Kunti shrine in the Gokarṇeś-vara temple on Mahendragiri. It records the gift of a lamp to the temple by an inhabitant of Arasavilli in the 60th year of Anantavarma-Coḍagaṅga in Ś. 1055.[3]

(29) *Srikurman stone-inscription*.—This is dated in the reign of Anantavarman in Ś. 1055. It is incised on a stone in the Vaiṣṇava temple at Srikurman near Chicacole, Ganjam district.[4]

(30) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*xxi*).—Found as No. 18. It is dated in the 5(?)th year of Anantavarman, in Ś. 1056. The end of the inscription is built into the temple. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[5]

(31) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*xxii*).—Found as No. 27. It records the gift of a lamp in the 59th year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1056. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[6]

(32) *Vizagapatam grant* (*iii*).—Found as No. 1. The introductory portion is exactly like No. 1. The seal, language, script, are also similar. It records the grant of the village of Samuda with the Tittiliṅgi (Trilliṅgi ?)-*vāṭaka* in the Sammaga-*Viṣaya* to a person named Coḍagaṅga by Anantavarman[7] in the *Śaka* year numbered by the sages (7), arrows (5), sky (0), and moon (1), *i.e.*, 1057 (A.D. 1135-36). In

[1] *Ibid*, No. 153.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 15, No. 185.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 24, No. 395.
[4] Noticed by M. Chakravarti, *JASB*, 1903, pp. 99 ff.
[5] *MER*, p. 14, No. 154.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 15, No. 187.
[7] Titles and epithets as in No. 1.

lines 20-23 it gives the same date as in No. 1, for the donor's coronation.[1]

(33) *Muhkalingam stone-inscription (xxii)*.—Incised as No. 18. It records the gift of a lamp in the 59th year of Coḍagaṅga, in S. 1057. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[2]

(34) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xxiii)*.—Incised on the 4th pillar in the right row of the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa* in *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 61st year of Anantavarman in S. 1058. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[3]

(35) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xxiv)*.—Incised on the 4th pillar in the left row of the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa* in *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 63rd year of Anantavarman, in S. 1060. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[4]

(36) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xxvi)*.—Found as No. 35. It records the gift of a lamp in S. 1060, in the 64th year of Anantavarman. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[5]

(37) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (xxvi)*.—Incised on the right of the entrance into the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa* of *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in S. 1061, in the 64th year of a Anantavarman. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[6]

(38) *Arasavilli stone-inscription (i)*.—Incised on a slab built into the wall of the *prākāra* of the Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa temple at Arasavilli. It records the gift of a lamp in the 72nd year of Anantavarman, in S. 1068. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[7]

(39) *Arasavilli stone-inscription (ii)*.—Incised on a slab in front of the same temple as in No. 38. It records the gift

[1] Edited by Fleet, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 172-76. M. Chakravarti has suggested for the date 1059. He takes *Muni* as 9; see *JASB*, 1903, pp. 99 ff. I think Fleet is right.

[2] *MER*, p. 17, No. 219.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 16, No. 193.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 16, No. 201.

[5] *Ibid*, No. 205.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 17, No. 236.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 23, No. 387.

of a lamp in the 72nd year of Anantavarman, in S. 1069. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[1]

(40) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*xxvii*).—Incised on the 3rd pillar in the right row of the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa* in *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 73rd year of Anantavarman. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[2]

The above inscriptions contain dates from *Śaka* 999, the year of Coḍagaṅga's coronation to *Śaka* 1069. This gives him a reign of 70 years, which agrees with the total reign-period assigned by the Kendupatna plates (S. 1213) of Narasiṁha II.[3] But the inscriptions of Coḍagaṅga give 73 as his total reign period. The confusion is increased by the fact that the Kendupatna grant mentioned above gives *Śaka* 1064 as the year of the coronation of Coḍagaṅga's son Kāmārṇava while a Telugu inscription of Kāmārṇava gives the year S. 1070, as his 3rd regnal year. Another element of confusion is added by an examination of the dated records of Coḍagaṅga containing his regnal years, according to some of which his first year would fall in *Śaka* 999, while others seem to give *Śaka* 998, 997 and in one case 996. All these dates cannot be correct and probably there are mistakes in some of these figures.[4] Coḍagaṅga's accession cannot be pushed further back than *Śaka* 998, for we have his father's inscription dated in *Śaka* 997. As we have inscriptions dated in Coḍagaṅga's reign up to *Śaka* 1069 we must conclude that his reign extended from *Śaka* 998 to 1069 (*c*. 1076-1147 A.D.).

[1] *Ibid*, No. 888.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 15, No. 182. M. Chakravarti gives the date of this inscription as S. 1069. See *JASB*, 1903, pp. 99 ff. As so many of the inscriptions of Coḍagaṅga use the Telugu language and alphabet, it is, I think untenable, to hold with Mr. B. C. Mazumdar that the language and script of the Gaṅga rulers of Orissa 'were not Telugu but Tamil.' See his *OM*, p. 205; note also the Dirghasi inscription of Rājarāja above.

[3] *JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff., V. 32. The same figure is also given by the Puri plates; see *ibid*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 128 ff.

[4] Dr. Barnett suggests 'Perhaps the muddle arises from a confusion of year of inauguration as *Yuvarāja* and year of *Abhiṣeka* as supreme sovereign.'

The coronation of Kāmārṇava in *Śaka* 1064 may possibly have been as a regent, for in that year his father was very old, probably more than 80, and he may have arranged to transfer the active duties of kingship to his eldest son.[1]

During this long reign of more than 70 years the Gaṅgas reached the height of their greatness. The Kendupatna plates referred to above tell us that Coḍagaṅga 'exacted tribute from all land between the Gaṅgā and the Gotama-Gaṅgā (Godavari).'[2] In his Vizagapatam grant, dated in *Śaka* 1040, we are told that he 'first placed the fallen lord of Utkala in his kingdom in the eastern region and then the waning lord of Veṅgi in the Western region, and propped up their failing fortunes.' The friendship with the *Utkala-pati,* did not last long, for the Kendupatna plates inform us that Gaṅgeśvara (Coḍagaṅga) by 'defeating the king of Utkala as if churning another sea..............obtained Lakṣmī like kingdom, thousands of maddened elephants, tens of thousands of horses and gems innumerable.' The evidence of the further extension of Coḍagaṅga's arms towards the North-east is supplied by some other verses of the same grant, which refer to the destruction of the king of Mandāra's capital by the Gaṅga king and his struggles on the banks of the Ganges. It is not unlikely that this Mandāra is to be identified with the Sarkār Mandāran of the *Ā'īn-ī-Akbarī,* whose head-quarters, Garh-Mandāran (now known as Bhitargarh), is about 50 miles from the Ganges. This place was a well-known frontier town from the 14th to the 16th centuries.[3] This extension of the Gaṅgas' power towards the Ganges brought them into

[1] See *JASB*, 1903, p. 108. Considerable confusion prevails about the time and years of reign of these Gaṅga kings. M. Chakravarti has discussed these difficulties and suggested solutions, *ibid*, pp. 98-108.

[2] This is also mentioned in the Bhubanesvar inscription of Narasiṁha II (*Śaka 1200*); see *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 150 ff.

[3] See M. Chakrabarti in *JASB*, 1903, pp. 109,10. See also *supra*, pp. 341-43 and 359-60.

contact with the Senas of Bengal. If the *Ballāla-carita* of Ānanda Bhaṭṭa is to be believed, the Senas maintained friendly relations with their powerful southern neighbours.[1] In the North-west Coḍagaṅga came into conflict with the kings of Tuṁmāna. The Malhar inscription of Jājalladeva II (*c.* 1160-68 A.D.) and the Kharod inscription of Ratnadeva III (*c.* 1181-82 A. D.) inform us that the Kalacuri prince Ratnadeva II (*c.* 1120-35 A.D.) defeated Coḍagaṅga.[2] In the South the extension of Coḍagaṅga's power to the Godavari and his conflicts with the Eastern Caḷukya kings of Veṅgi must have brought him into touch with Kulottuṅga I (*c.* 1072-1118 A.D.), who united the Veṅgi and Coḷa kingdoms under one sceptre. The inscriptions of this king show that he penetrated in the north as far as Wairagarh and Cakrakoṭṭa in the C. P.[3] The *Kalingattu Parani*, a long Tamil poem by Jayaṅkoṇḍān, gives a graphic account of an expedition into North Kaliṅga conducted by Karuṇākara, the feudatory Pallava king and prime-minister of Kulottuṅga.[4] Canto XII of this poem describes a battle between the Kaliṅga king and Karuṇākara, in which the former was defeated. Unfortunately Jayaṅkoṇḍān does not mention the name of the Kaliṅga king. But as the expedition seems to have been undertaken some time between 1084 and 1090 A.D. the defeated Gaṅga prince must have been Coḍagaṅga (*c.* 1076-1147 A.D.).[5] It has been suggested that Kulottuṅga retained his hold at least on a part of Kaliṅga till his death, about 1118

[1] Ānanda Bhaṭṭa describes Vijayasena as *Coragaṅga-sakhaḥ* ; see *supra*, *Dynastic History of Bengal and Behar*, p. 359.

[2] See *infra*, my chapter on the Haihayas of C. P. Also Ratnapur inscription of Pṛthvīdeva III (?), *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 45-52.

[3] Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part II, 1903, Madras, pp. 132-34, Vayiragarh has been rightly identified by Hiralal with Wairagarh in the Chanda district of C. P. Śakkarakoṭṭam is apparently the Cakrakoṭṭa of the inscriptions of the Nāgavaṁśīs (Sindas) of Bastar.

[4] *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 329 ff. This poem also refers to the conquest of 'Śakkarakoṭṭam.

[5] This is the view of Kanakasabhai Pillai, *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 338 ; see also S. K. Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, pp. 144 ff.

A.D.[1] Whatever may be the truth in this guess, it is certain that the Gaṅga king took full advantage of the decline of Coḷa power after Kulottuṅga's death. From 1118-19 A.D., the date of one of his Vizagapatam grants, his authority on the Godavari seems to have been unchallenged.

Coḍagaṅga's success in the domain of peace was perhaps greater than in war. The great temple of Jagannātha at Puri is a standing evidence of the artistic vigour and prosperity of Orissa under his reign.[2] His patronage of religion and charities is also proved by the numerous inscriptions belonging to him, his family and officers. Though no poem of his age has come down to our time, his inscriptions show that Sanskrit and Telugu were well cultivated. Mr. M. Chakravarti drew attention to the astronomical work *Bhāsvatī*, which according to the *Sūrya-siddhānta* was composed by Satānanda of Puruṣottama (Puri) in *Śaka* 1021 (*c.* 1099-1100 A.D.). According to commentators, he is said to have based his calculations on the meridian of his native city.[3]

Coḍagaṅga had a large family and had at least one younger brother. One of the Mukhalingam inscriptions, records a gift by the wife of his younger brother in *Śaka* 1055.[4] Amongst his wives the names of six have been preserved in inscriptions,[5] *viz.*, (1) Kastūrikāmodinī, (2) Indirā, (3) Candralekhā, (4) Somalamahādevī, (5) Lakṣmī-devī, and (6) Pṛthvī-mahādevī. Copper-plates of his successors preserve the names of 4 of his sons.

[1] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 145. The Teki plates, dated in the 17th year (*c.* 1087 A.D.) of Kulottuṅga I, show that his son Vīra-Coḍa was governor of Veṅgi. The boundary of Veṅgi is given as Mahendra (mountain) in the N. and Manneru (in the Nellore Dist.) in the S. *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 346. Also *Ancient India*, p. 145.

[2] *JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff., Vs. 27-28; *ibid*, 1898, pp. 328-31; *AO*, Vol. II, pp. 112-42.

[3] *Ibid*, 1903, p. 110.

[4] *MER*, p. 14, No. 153.

[5] Puri and Kendupatna plates of Narasiṁha II, *JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff.; Vol. XLIV, pp. 128 ff. *MER*, p. 14, No. 146; *ibid*, p. 16, Nos. 210-11; *ibid*, p. 24, Nos. 392-93.

Their births from the queens mentioned above may be shown in a tabular form as follows.[1]

Kastūrikāmodinī = Coḍagaṅga = Chandralekhā.
=Indirā

(1) Kāmārṇava

(2) Rāghava

(3) Rājarāja (4) Aniyaṅkabhīma.

Coḍagaṅga was succeeded by his son Kāmārṇava VII, who, like his father, was known as Anantavarman, sometimes also as Anantavarma-Madhu-Kāmārṇava, Kumāra and possibly also as Jaṭeśvara. No copper-plates of his reign have yet been discovered. But we have the following stone-inscriptions of his reign at Mukhalingam and Srikurmam.

(1) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*i*).—Incised on the second pillar in the right row of the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa* in *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 3rd year of the reign of Jaṭeśvara (Kāmārṇava?) in Ś. 1070. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[2]

(2) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*ii*).—Incised on the 4th pillar in the left row of the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa* in *MM*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 3rd year of Anantavarman (Kāmārṇava), in Ś. 1070. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[3]

(3) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*iii*).—Incised on a slab to the left of the second entrance into the central shrine of the Bhīmeśvara temple at Mukhalingam. It records the gift of

[1] A Mukhalingam inscription dated in Ś. 1064 refers to Umāvallabha as the son of the Gaṅga king; see *MER*, p. 17, No. 239. He may have been the son of some other queen.

[2] *MER*, p. 15, No. 178. Hultzsch gives the name of the king as Jaṭeśvaradeva; but see M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1903, p. 111.

[3] *MER*, p. 16, No. 204. Hultzsch gives the name of the king as Anantavarmadeva. But see M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1903, p. 111.

a lamp in the 3rd year of Anantavarman (Kāmārṇava) in Ś. 1070. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[1]

(4) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (i).*—Incised on a slab to the right of the south entrance to the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Srikurmam. It records the gift of a lamp in the 4th year of Anantavarma-Madhu-Kāmārṇava in Ś. 1071. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[2]

(5) *Srikurmam stone-inscripiion (ii).*—Incised on a pillar to the left of the first entrance to the central shrine of the same temple as in No. 4. It records the gift of a lamp in the 7th year of Anantavarman. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[3]

(6) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (iii).*—Incised as in No. 4. It records the gift of a lamp in the 9th year of Anantavarman in Ś. 107 (6 ?). Language and alphabet, Telugu.[4]

(7) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription (iv).*—It is incised on the same temple as No. 3. It records the gift of a lamp in the 10th year of Anantavarman in Ś. 1077. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[5]

In these records the dates of Kāmārṇava range from *Śaka* 1070 to 1077. As 1070 is referred to as his 3rd year, his date of accession ought to be *Śaka* 1067. But we have seen that the dates of his father came down up to *Śaka* 1069. The Kendupatna grant gives *Śaka* 1064 as the date of his *Abhiṣeka*. I have already suggested that this year probably marks his formal consecration as the regent of his old father. As he is usually assigned a reign of 10 years, and as *Śaka* 1077 is said to be his 10th year, it is likely that his actual reign extended from *Śaka* 1069 to 1077 or 1078.[6] Kāmārṇava was succeeded by his half-brother

[1] *MER*, p. 18, No. 269. Hultzsch gives the name of the king as in No. 2; but see *JASB*, 1903, p. 111.

[2] *MER*, p. 23, No. 383.

[3] *Ibid*, No. 385.

[4] *Ibid*, No. 332. For the date see *JASB*, 1903, p. 111.

[5] *MER*, p. 18, No. 270.

[6] *JASB*, 1903, pp. 112-113.

Rāghava. No inscription of this king have yet been discovered. In the Kendupatna grant he is assigned a reign of 15 years. As we have inscriptions of the 3rd year of his successor dated in *Śaka* 1093, he probably reigned from *Śaka* 1078 to 1090.[1] Rāghava was succeeded by his half-brother Anantavarmā Rājarāja II, also known as Rājendra.[2] The following inscriptions are known for his reign.

(1) *Makhalingam stone-inscription* (*i*).—This Telugu inscription is incised on a slab to the right of the southern entrance into the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa* of the Bhīmeśvara temple at Mukhalingam. It records the gift of a lamp in the 3rd year of Anantavarman in S. 1093.[3]

(2) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*ii*).—This Telugu inscription is incised on the right door-pillar of the entrance into the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa* of *MM*. It is dated in S. 1097, in the reign of Anantavarman.[4]

(3) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*iii*).—This Telugu inscription is incised on the 2nd pillar in the right row of the *Āsthānamaṇḍapa*, in *MM*. It records the gift of some land by the *Maṇḍalika* Puruṣottama in the 22nd year of Anantavarman, in S. 1109.[5]

(4) *Mukhalingam stone-inscription* (*iv*).—This Telugu inscription is incised on a slab to the left of the southern entrance of the Bhīmeśvara temple at Mukhalingam. It records the gift of some land in the 23rd year of Anantavarman in S. 1110.[6]

In the above inscriptions the dates of Rājarāja II range from *Śaka* 1093 to 1110. The latter date marks his 23rd year.

[1] M. Chakravarti takes the regnal years as *aṅka* years, and tries to establish harmony in the dates. See *ibid*, pp. 99-109 and 113. He gives S. 1092 as the last year of Rāghava.

[2] For this name see Cāṭesvara stone-inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III, *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 317 ff.

[3] *MER*, p. 18, No. 266.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 17, No. 242.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 15, No. 180.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 18, No. 265.

In the Kendupatna plates he is assigned a reign of 25 years.[1] The Megheśvara temple-inscription of Svapneśvara gives us the name of Suramā as that of one of his queens.[2] The same inscription tells us that when Rājarāja grew old he anointed his younger brother Aniyaṅkabhīma. The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Aniyaṅkabhīma II, also known as Anaṅgabhīma.[3]

(1) *Bhuvanesvar stone-inscription.*—Incised on a slab of stone which is now in the western wall of the courtyard of the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhuvanesvar in Puri district. It contains 36 lines of writing. The whole of the text except the introductory *Oṁ oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*, is in Sanskrit verse. The characters are northern Nāgarī. The first two verses praise the moon and the sage Gautama (Akṣapāda). It then gives the genealogy and connections of one Svapneśvara as follows :—

In the Gautama-*gotra*
Rājaputra Dvāradeva.
|
Mūladeva
|
Ahirama.
|
Svapneśvara — Suramā-devī = Rājarāja

In the lunar race
Coḍagaṅga
|
Rājarāja — Aniyaṅkabhīma

Verses 18-21 praise Svapneśvara as being in war, 'a divine weapon of the king's of the Gaṅga lineage,' a man more powerful than a complete army. We are next told that this person founded a magnificent temple of god (Śiva) Megheśvara. He gave a number of female attendants to the god, laid out a garden near the temple, built a tank near it, and in connection with the tank erected a *maṇḍapa* or open hall. He also provided

[1] For M. Chakravarti's calculations, see *JASB*, 1903, p. 114. According to him 1093 is his 3rd *aṅka*, year. *i.e.*, 2nd regnal year. So 1092 was his first year. As *Śaka* 1114 is given as the 4th (*aṅka*) year, *i.e.*, 3rd regnal year of his successor, the latter's first regnal year would be *Śaka* 1112. This would give him a reign of 21 years or 25 *aṅka* years.

[2] *JASB*, 1897, pp. 11 ff.; *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 198 ff.

[3] See the Cāṭeśvara stone-inscription, *JASB*, 1898, pp. 317 ff.

wells and tanks on roads and in towns, lights in temples, cloisters for the study of the Vedas ; and to pious Brahmans he gave *Brahmapura* which was superintended by the Saiva teacher Viṣṇu. By the latter's orders this poem was composed by Udayana. It was written by Candradhavala and incised by *Sūtradhāra* Śivakara.[1]

(2) *Bhuvanesvar stone-inscription* (*i*).—Incised on the south jamb of the porch of the great temple of Kṛttivāsa at Bhuvanesvar. It is dated in *Śaka* 1114 (A.D. 1193) in the 4th year of Aniyaṅkabhīma.[2]

(3) *Bhuvanesvar stone-inscription* (*ii*).—Incised and dated as No. 2 above.[3]

In the Kendupatna plates Aniyaṅkadeva is said to have ruled for 10 years. The lower limit of his reign is fixed by the *Śaka* year 1128, the 11th year of his successor.[4] The Cāṭeśvara stone-inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III gives us the name of *dvijendra* Govinda as one of his ministers.[5] Anaṅgabhīma was succeeded by Anantavarmā Rājarāja III, his son through his queen, the *paṭṭamahiṣī* Bhāgalla-devī. The only record known for his reign is his *Srikurmam stone-inscription*. This is incised on a slab to the left of the south entrance to the *Bhoga-maṇḍapa* in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Srikurmam, and records the gift of a lamp in the 11th year of Anantavarman in *Śaka* 1128. Its language and alphabet are Telugu.[6] The

[1] It was first edited by Prinsep in *JASB*, Vol. VI, pp. 278-88, plate XVII. Next N. Vasu edited it, *ibid*, 1897, Vol. LXVI, pp. 11-23. Finally edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 198-203.

[2] Noticed by M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1903, p. 115.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] M. Chakravarti, applying his theory of *aṅka* years, accepts 1119 *Śaka* as his first year and *Śaka* 1120 as his successor's first year. This would give him a reign of 9 years. See *JASB*, 1903, pp. 115-16.

[5] *JASB*, 1898, pp. 317 ff.

[6] *MER*, p. 23, No 381.

Kendupatna plates assign him a reign of 17 years.[1] The only important incident during his reign appears to have been the first Muslim attack on Orissa. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* tells us that when Muhammad-i-Bhakht-yār led his troops towards the mountains of Kāmrūd and Tibet, he had dispatched the two Khalj Amīrs Muḥammad-i-Sheran and his brother Aḥmad-i-Sheran, "with a portion of his forces towards Lakhaṇ-or and Jāj-nagar."[2] According to Raverty this expedition took place towards the close of 601 A.H., or about 1205 A.D.[3] We are told that when the news of the death of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār reached Muḥammad-i-Sheran "he came back from that quarter and returned again to Dīw-koṭ." The expedition therefore terminated in 602 A.H.

Rājarāja III was succeeded by Anaṅgabhīma III,[4] his son by the Cāḷukya *mahiṣī* Maṅkuṇa-devī.[5] The following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Cāṭeśvara stone-inscription.*—This is on a stone slab in the temple of (Śiva) Cāṭeśvara at Kisanpur village, in the Padmapur Pargana of the district of Cuttack. The temple is about 12 miles North-East from Cuttack. The inscription of 25 lines opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and verses in praise of the Ocean, the abode of Viṣṇu and the birthplace of the Moon, who adorns the crest of Mahādeva. It then traces the genealogy of the Gaṅga rulers from Coḍagaṅga to Anaṅgabhīma.

[1] As no inscriptions with regnal years have been found for the next 3 rulers, it is difficult to find his last year. M. Chakravarti took his 11th year in *Śaka* 1028 as an *aṅka* year, and so fixed upon *Śaka* 1120 as his first year. By taking the reign-periods of the 3 successors of Rājarāja III as given in the Kendupatna plates as *aṅka* years and calculating backward from 1200-01 *Śaka*, the first year of Narasiṁha II, he finds *Śaka* 1133 just fits in with the 17th (*aṅka*) year, *i.e.*, the 14th regnal year of Rājarāja III; *JASB*, 1903, p. 117.

[2] *TN*, Vol. I, p. 573. Orissa was known to Muslim historians under the name of Jājnagar. For the boun ries of Jājnagar, see *TN*, Vol. I, p. 587, fn. 4.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 560, fn. 4.

[4] Also called king Bhīma, see *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 150 ff.

[5] Kendupatna plates, *JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff.; in the Puri plates the name is given as Guṇa or Sadguṇa-devī, *ibid*, XLIV, pp. 128 ff.

We are next told that this last king had a *Sacira* named *Viṣṇu* who united the empire of Trikaliṅga. He defeated a *Yavanāvanī-vindu* (lines 14-15) and the *Tuṁmāna-pṛthvīpati* (line 15) and trampled on the heads of the enemies of the *Utkala-pati*. The immediate object of the inscription is to record that this Viṣṇu erected a temple for the god Śiva.[1]

(2) *Bhuvanesvar inscription*.—A Sanskrit inscription, dated in the 4th-year after *abhiṣeka*. This is No. 3 on the south jamb of the porch of the great temple at Bhuvanesvar.[2]

The Kendupatna plates assign him a reign of 34 years.[3] According to the *Mādlā-Pāñji*, he was one of the most powerful princes of the family. We are told by this chronicle that he built or finished the temple of Jagannātha at Puri, surveyed the whole kingdom and made numerous grants. Excepting his liberality, which seems to be supported by the Kendupatna plates, none of these statements are corroborated by epigraphic evidence. It is however likely that the great temple of Jagannātha and the buildings connected with the shrine may have been actually finished during his reign. As to his military achievements, the Cāṭeśvara inscription shows that he waged successful wars against his Kalacuri neighbours of Chhattisgarh. It was probably after his victory over the rulers of Tuṁmāna that he gave his sister Candrikā in marriage to the Haihaya king Paramardī.[4] The reference in the same inscription to his fight with a Yavana ruler is obscure. But the authenticity of the struggle is established by the Bhuvanesvar inscription of Narasiṁha II, which also refers to Anaṅgabhīma's victory

[1] Edited by N. Vasu, *JASB*, 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 317-27. First noticed in the *Viśvakoṣa*, Vol. VI, p. 229.

[2] This, together with some other minor records, is noticed by M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1903, p. 118.

[3] Calculating as indicated in fn. 1, p. 477 above, M. Chakravarti has fixed upon his reign-period as *Śaka* 1133-60, which gives him 28 years = 34 *aṅka* years ; see *JASB*, 1903, p. 118.

[4] *EI*, Vol. XIII, p. 152, V. 7. *Haihayā-vaṁśa-vataṁsaḥ Paramardī*. Paramardī died fighting for Nṛsiṁha II, see *ibid*, p. 151 and V. 20.

over a Ja(Ya)vana enemy.[1] It probably contains a hint of his conflict with the Khalj Ghiyāth ud-Dīn 'Iwaẓ, the fourth Bengal ruler. We are told by the *Ṭabaqat-i-Nāṣirī* that "the parts around the state Lakhaṇavatī, such as Jāj-nagar, the countries of Bang, Kāmrūd, and Tirhut, all sent tribute to him."[2] It is possible that this invasion took place after the accession of 'Iwaẓ, *c.* 608 A. H., and before the invasion of Bengal by Iltutmish in 622 A. H., *i. e.*, between 1211 and 1224 A.D.[3]

Anaṅgabhīma III was succeeded by Narasiṁha I,[4] his son by his queen Kastūrā-devī. The following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Srikurmam stone-inscription.*—It is incised ' on the 14th pillar in the *Tirucuṭṭamaṇḍapa*, east, north, west, and south faces.' It records the gift of some land by a feudatory of Pratāp-vīra-Narasiṁha-deva, son of Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma in *Śaka* 1172. The language is Sanskrit, the alphabet Telugu.[5]

(2) *Bhuvanesvar stone-inscription.*—It was discovered while digging the foundation of a monastery near the Gauri-Kedar temple at Bhuvanesvar in Orissa. It is incised on a stone, on the top of which is figured 'a beautiful image of Gaṇeśa.' It is bilingual inscription in ' Bengali' and Tamil characters, the one being a translation of the other. The 'Bengali' portion contains 30 lines and the Tamil portion 29. The language of the 'Bengali' portion of the inscription is Oria. The inscription seems to record the gift of some land by Vīra-Narasiṁha to Taparaja Mahāmuni, the head of the Siddheśvara-*matha* on 'Sunday, the 7th lunar mansion of the Black fortnight in the month of Kārika in the 11th year of the donor.'[6]

[1] *Ibid*, p. 151, V. 3.

[2] *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 587-88 ; *JASB*, 1903, pp. 119-20.

[3] *JASB*, 1903, pp. 119-20.

[4] Sometimes written Nṛsiṁha. He was also known as Vīra-Narasiṁha and Pratāpa-Vīra-Narasiṁha.

[5] *MER*, p. 20, No. 307.

[6] Edited by Ganapati Sirkar *JASB*, 1924, pp. 41-45. According to the editor the date corresponds to 1263 A. D.

The Kendupatna plates assign him a reign of 33 years.[1] They give him credit for having reached the Ganges after having defeated the Yavanas of Rāḍhā and Varendrī.[2] This is supported by the following extracts from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*:

"In the year 641 H., the Rāe of Jāj-nagar commenced molesting the Lakhaṇavatī territory; and in the month of S̲h̲awāl 641 H., Malik Ṭug̲h̲ril Ṭug̲h̲ān Khan marched towards the Jāj-nagar country, and this servant of the state accompanied him on that holy expedition. On reaching Katāsin,[3] which was the boundary of Jāj-nagar (on the side of Lakhaṇavaṭī) on Saturday, the 6th of the month of Zī-Qa'dah, 641 H., Malik Ṭug̲h̲ril-i-Ṭug̲h̲ān made his troops mount, and an engagement commenced. The holy warriors of Islam passed over two ditches and the Hindu infidels took to flight. So far as they continued in the author's sight, except the fodder which was before their elephants, nothing fell into the hands of the footmen of the army of Islam. When the engagement had been kept up until mid-day, the footmen of the Musalmān army,—every one of them returned (to the camp) to eat their food and the Hindus in another direction, stole through the cane *jangal*, and took five elephants, and about 200 foot and 50 horsemen came upon the rear of a portion of the Musalmān army. The Muḥammadans sustained an overthrow, and a great number of those holy warriors attained martyrdom; and Malik Ṭug̲h̲ril Ṭug̲h̲ān K̲h̲ān retired from that place having effected his object and returned to Lakhaṇavatī."

* * * * *

"In the same year likewise (642 H.), the Rāe of Jāj-nagar, in order to avenge the plundering of Katasīn, which had taken the preceding year, as has been already recorded, having turned

[1] According to Mr. M. Chakravarti's calculations this reign-period is equal to 24 regnal years. He has estimated the reign-period of this king as *Śaka* 1160-88, by counting back from 1200-01 *Śaka*, the first year of Nṛsiṁha II, *JASB*, 1903, p. 121.

[2] *JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff., V. 84.

[3] More correctly Katāsinghah, on the left or northern bank of Mahanadi, in about Lat. 20°32', Long. 84°50'; see Raverty, *TN*, Vol. I, p. 588 fn.

his face towards the Lakhaṇavatī territory, on Tuesday, the 13th of the month of Shawāl, 642 H. the army of the infidels of Jāj-nagar, consisting of elephants, and *pāyiks* (footmen) in great numbers, arrived opposite Lakhaṇavatī. Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān came out of the city to confront them. The infidel host, on coming beyond the frontier of the Jāj-nagar territory, first took Lakhaṇ-or; and Fakhr-ul-Mulk, Karīm ud-Dīn, Lāghrī, who was the feudatory of Lakhaṇ-or, with a body of Musalmāns, they made martyrs of and, after that, appeared before the gate of Lakhaṇavatī. The second day after that, swift messengers arrived from above (the Do-ābah and Awadh, etc.) and gave information respecting the army of Islām that it was near at hand. Panic now took possession of the infidels, and they decamped." [1]

* * * * *

"After he (Malik Ikhtiyār ud-Dīn, Yūz-Bak-i-Ṭughril Khān) went to that part of the territory (Lakhaṇavatī) hostility arose between him and the Rāe of Jāj-nagar. The leader of the forces of Jāj-nagar was a person, by name, Sāban-tar (Sāwantara?),[2] the son-in-law of the Rāe, who, during the time of Malik 'Izzud-Dīn, Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān, had advanced to the bank of the river of Lakhaṇavatī, and having shown the greatest audacity, had driven the Musalmān forces as far as the gate (of the city) of Lakhaṇavatī. In Malik Ṭughril Khān-i-Yūz-Bak's time, judging from the past, he (the Jāj-nagar leader) manifested great boldness, and fought, and was defeated. Again another time, Malik Ṭughril Khān-i-Yūz-Bak fought an engagement with the Rāe of Jāj-nagar, and again came out victorious." [3]

[1] *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 738-40.

[2] Sāmanta Rāya ; see *TN*, Vol. II, 763, fn. 10 ; also *JASB*, 1903, p. 124.

[3] *TN*, Vol. II, pp. 762-63. Narasiṁha's conflicts with the Muslims (*Hammīra*, *Yavana*, *Śaka*) are also referred to in the *Ekāvalī* of Vidyādhara, a treatise on *Alaṁkāra*, which was composed in his reign ; see *JASB*, 1903, p. 124. See also *Ekāvalī*, Bombay Sanskrit Series, Ed. by K. P. Trivedi, *Introduction*, pp. xxxiii-xxxvii ; text, pp. 202, 257, 326, etc.

The above quotations bear eloquent testimony to the military success of Narasiṁha against the Muslim rulers of Bengal. The Kendupatna plates reveal the interesting fact that his queen Sītādevī was the daughter of the Paramāra king of Mālava.[1] But the achievement whichh as immortalised his name was neither his victory over the Muslims nor his matrimonial alliance with the Mālava king, but his construction of the great Black Pagoda at Konārak.[2] All the copper-plates of his successors agree in ascribing to him the erection of the Sun-temple at Koṇā-koṇa,[3] which place subsequently came to be known as Konārka or Konārak.

Narasiṁha I was succeeded by Bhānudeva I or Vīra-Bhānudeva, his son by the queen Sītādevī. The following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (i).*—Incised on the 42nd pillar in the *Tirucuṭṭumaṇḍapa* in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Srikurmam. It records a gift of some land by a minister of Bhānudeva in *Śaka* 1193. Language, Sanskrit.[4]

(2) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (ii).*—Incised on the 44th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 1. It records the gift of a lamp by a minister of Vīra-Bhānudeva in *Śaka* 1197. Language, Sanskrit. [5]

The Kendupatna plates assign him a reign of 18 years.[6] The only interesting information about his reign is the statement of the Bhuvanesvar inscription which will be next described,

[1] The name was wrongly read by the editor as Mālācandra, but see Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. V, p. 53, No. 367. This king of Mālava, was probably one of the following : Devapāla (*c.* 1218-36 A. D.), Jaitugi (*c.* 1239-48 A. D.), Jayavarman II (*c.* A. D. 1256-60), or Jayasiṁha III (*c.* 1269 A. D.).

[2] *AO*, Vol. II, pp. 145-63.

[3] *JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229 ff., Vs. 85-86.

[4] *MER*, p. 22, No. 351.

[5] *Ibid*, No. 353.

[6] According to Mr. M. Chakravarti these are *aṅka* years and equal to 15 regnal years. Calculating backward from *Śaka* 1200-01, the initial year of his successor, he fixed upon *Śaka* 1186 to 1200 as the period of Bhānudeva ; see *JASB*, 1903, pp. 124-25.

that his father's sister Candrikā [1] constructed at Ekāmra (mod. Bhuvanesvar) in the Utkala-*Viṣaya*, a temple of Viṣṇu " when there had elapsed from the (epoch of the) *Śaka* king, years measured by the dimensions " sky (0), sky (0), snake-king's tongues (2), moon (1) [*i.e.*, 1200], when Narasiṁha-deva's son king Bhānu had long been reigning over this land." [2]

Bhānudeva was succeeded by Narasiṁha II,[3] his son by the Cāḷukya queen Jākalla-devī. The following records are known for his reign :—

(1) *Bhuvanesvar stone-inscription.*—This has for many years ' been standing in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society in London.' Nothing definitely is known as to its provenance; but its contents show that it was brought from Bhuvanesvar in Orissa. It contains 17 lines incised on a slab of stone. It is ' imperfect, containing only the first block of the record.' The record opens with a verse in praise of Śambhu (Śiva) and then introduces the names of the following Gaṅga rulers :

Coḍagaṅga
|
His descendant
Anaṅk(g)abhīma III

Narasiṅg(ṁh)a I	Candrikā = Paramardin or Paramāḍi Haihaya prince.
Bhānu(deva) I	
Narasiṁha II	

[1] Described as *Gītajñā-laya-tāla-narttana-kalā-kauśalya-līl-ālayā*; *EI*, Vol. XIII, p. 153, V. 19.

[2] Dr. Barnett took the date to be 1100. But ' snakes being *dvijihva*,' Sten Konow took *phaṇindra-rasanā* to mean ' 2.' As the inscription distinctly says that the temple was constructed when Bhānu ' *had long been reigning over this land*,' it is certain that the event fell in the last years of Bhānudeva. According to M. Chakravarti's calculation, the first year of Narasiṁha II was 1200-01 *Śaka*. It seems therefore certain that the temple was constructed in the last year of Bhānu, and the inscription was written and the temple dedicated in the beginning of the reign of Narasiṁha II. See *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 150-52, V. 16; *ibid*, fn. 1, on p. 151 and *JASB*, 1903, p. 128.

[3] Sometimes written Nṛsiṁha. He was also known as Anantavarman-Pratāpa-vīra-Narasiṁha, Vīra-Narasiṁha, Vīra-Narasiṁha-rāuta and Anantavarman Pratāpa-vīra-Narasiṁha.

Paramardī, we are told, 'fell in battle against the enemies of Nṛsiṁhadeva' (Narasiṁha II),[1] The proper object of the inscription is to record that Candrikā, as mentioned above, built a Vaiṣṇava temple at Ekāmra in Utkala-*Viṣaya* in *Śaka* 1200, in the reign of Bhānu I. She appears to have visited the temple and offered worship to Baladeva, Kṛṣṇa, and Subhadrā early in the reign of Narasiṁha II.[2] The dedicatory inscription was written by the poet Umāpati.[3]

(2) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (i).*—Incised on the 44th pillar in the *Tirucuṭṭumaṇḍapa* in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Srikurmam. It records the gift of some land by a military officer in Ś. 1201, in the 3rd year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasiṁha. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[4]

(3) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (ii).*—Incised on a slab to the right of the north gate of the same temple as No. 2. It is dated in the 7th year of Vīra-Narasiṁha, in Ś. 1204. The record is damaged. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[5]

(4) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (iii).*—Incised on the 10th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 2. It records the gift of a lamp in the 14th year of Vīra-Narasiṁha, in Ś. 1211. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[6]

(5) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (iv).*—Incised on the 1st pillar from the left in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 2. It records the gift of some gold by a minister in the 14th year of Vīra-Narasiṁha, in Ś. 1212. Language and alphabet are described as Sanskrit and Telugu.[7]

[1] I have accepted Dr. Barnett's suggestion that this prince (V. 20) is probably Narasiṁha II. The date fits in well with the identification; see *EI*, Vol. XIII, p. 151.

[2] This is only an inference from the introductory part. The record suddenly breaks off after verse 23.

[3] Edited by Dr. L. D. Barnett, *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 150-155.

[4] *MER*, p. 22, No. 356.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 23, No. 375.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 19, No. 297.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 18, No. 272.

(6) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (v).*—Incised on the 32nd pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 2. It mentions Cīkaṭī, and records the gift of a lamp in the 15th year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasiṁha. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[1]

(7) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (vi).*—Incised on the 12th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 2. It records the gift of a lamp in the 17th year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasiṁha, in Ś. 1214. Language and alphabet are described as Sanskrit and Telugu.[2]

(8) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (vii).*— Incised on the 48th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 2. It records the gift of a lamp by an inhabitant of Nagara[3] in the 18th year of Vīra-Narasiṁha, in Ś. 1215. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[4]

(9) *Kendupatna grant.*—This was found in a stone box 19 or 20 ft. under the earth, buried in a heap of broken stones, in the village of Kendupatna, in the Kendrapada subdivision of Cuttack district. It contains 209 lines, incised on 7 plates. The ring which holds the plates has the usual seal of the Gaṅgas with the figure of a bull. In the introductory portion it traces their genealogy from Viṣṇu through the Moon and Gāṅgeya to Narasiṁha II. It records a grant of 50 *Vāṭikas* of land to Kumāra Mahāpātra Bhīmadeva Śarman by king Vīra-Narasiṁha in his 21st *aṅka* year in *Śaka* 1217 (A.D. 1296) (for 1218),[5] when he was on a conquering expedition on the banks of the Ganges.[6]

(10) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (viii).*—Incised on the 23rd pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 2. It records the gift of some gold and cows by the minister Garuḍa-nārāyaṇa-deva in

[1] *Ibid*, p. 21, No. 335.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 20, No. 304.

[3] No doubt *Kaliṅga-Nagara*, reasonably identified with Mukhaliṅgam.

[4] *MER*, p. 22, No. 363.

[5] See Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 53, No. 367.

[6] Edited by N. Vasu in *JASB*, Vol. LXV, pp. 229-71. Two other Kendupatna grants of the same king dated in Ś. 1217 and 1218 have been noticed by the editor in the *Viśva-koṣa*, Vol. V, pp. 321 ff., under the article *Gāṅgeya*.

the 23rd year of Vīra-Narasiṁha, in S. 1219. Language and alphabet are described as Sanskrit and Telugu.[1]

(11) *Srikurmam stone-inscription* (*ix*).—Incised on the 47th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 2. It records the gift of some land in the 33rd year[2] of Vīra-Narasiṁha. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[3]

(12) *Srikurmam stone-inscription* (*x*).—Incised on the same pillar as No. 6. It records the gift of some land in the 33rd year of Anantavarma-Pratāpā-vīra-Narasiṁha in S. 1227. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[4]

(13) *Srikurmam stone-inscription* (*xi*).—Incised on the 9th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 2. It records the gift of two *cāmaras* in the 34th year of Vīra-Narasiṁha. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[5]

According to the Puri plates of Narasiṁha IV, Narasiṁha II reigned for 34 years.[6] Nothing important is known about the political incidents of his reign. He was succeeded by Bhānudeva II,[7] his son by the queen Coḍadevī. The following two inscriptions are known for his reign.

(1) *Srikurmam stone-inscription* (*i*).—Incised on the 29th pillar in the *Tirucuṭṭumaṇḍapa* of the temple of Kūrmeśvara at Srikurmam. It contains 49 lines of Sanskrit prose in Telugu script. It records some gifts by the (Eastern) Cāļukya

[1] *MER*, p. 21, No. 323.

[2] According to M. Chakravarti, *aṅka* year; see *JASB*, 1903, pp. 125 ff.

[3] *MER*, p. 22, No. 362.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 19, No. 273.

[5] *Ibid*, No. 293. Inscription No. 291 records that in *Śaka* 1215 Naraharitīrtha, a pupil of Ānandatīrtha, set up images of Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa. This person is also mentioned in inscriptions Nos. 290, 367, and 369, dated in *Śaka*, 1186, 1203, and 1215. These records have been edited by Krishna Sastri, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 260 ff. This Narasiṁha was an officer of the Gaṅgas in Kaliṅga before he became a monk. His guru, Ānandatīrtha, was the famous founder of the *dvaita* school of philosophy; see *JASB*, 1903, p. 129.

[6] M. Chakravarti takes these as *aṅka* years and equal to 28 regnal years. By calculating backward from the date of the Puri grant, he assigns him to the period between *Śaka* 1200-01 and 1227-28; See *JASB*, 1903, p. 128.

[7] With the titles of Vīra and Vīrādhivīra.

Jagannātha, or Viśvanātha in his 3rd year, in the reign of (his overlord) Vīra-Bānudeva [*sic!*] dated in *Śaka* 1231.[1]

(2) *Srikurmaṁ stone-inscription (ii).*—Incised on the 11th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 1. It records the gift of a lamp by a military officer of Vīrādhivīra-Bāṇudeva [*sic!*] in *Śaka* 1243. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[2]

The Puri plates assign him a reign of 24 years.[3] The same inscription describes a war between him and a Muslim prince named Gayāsadīna, who has been identified with Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Tughluq. The following account from Ẓiyā ud-Dīn Baranī seems to corroborate the statement of the inscription :

"The prince (Ulugh Khān) then marched towards Jājnagar, and there took forty elephants with which he returned to Tilang. These he sent on to his father." [4]

Baranī tells us that this expedition took place shortly after the capture of Arangal in 1323 A.D.[5] The omission of Jājnagar from the list of countries under Muḥammad Tughluq given by Baranī shows that the Muslims did not succeed in making any permanent impression on the territory of the Gaṅgas. Inscription No. 1 mentioned above shows that the descendants of the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Veṅgi were feudatories of Bhānudeva II.

Bhānudeva II was succeeded by Narasiṁha III,[6] his son by the queen Lakṣmī-devī. The following records are known for his reign :

[1] *MER*, p. 21, No. 332. Edited by Hultzsch, *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 35-36.

[2] *MER*, p. 20, No. 302; for details see *JASB*, 1903, pp. 130-31. B. C. Mazumdar in *OM*, pp. 201 ff., gives a short account of a new grant of Bhānudeva dated in *Śaka* 1234 (A.D. 1312). It is incised on 6 plates and is going to be edited by N. Bose and V. Misra.

[3] M. Chakravarti takes the last year of Narasiṁha II (*Śaka* 1227-28) as his first year and the first year of his successor Narasiṁha III (*Śaka* 1249-50) as his last year; see *JASB*, 1903, p. 129.

[4] *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 234.

[5] *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 131-32.

[6] Sometimes written Nṛsiṁha. He is given the titles Pratāpa-vīrādhivīra, Pratāpa-vīra and Vīrādhivīra.

(1) *Srikurmam stone-inscription* (*i*).—Incised on the 33rd pillar in the *Tirucuṭṭumaṇḍapa* in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Srikurmam. It records a gift of some gold for offerings in the 7th year of Pratāpa-vīrādhivīra-Narasiṁha. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[1]

(2) *Srikurmam stone-inscription* (*ii*).—It is incised on the 27th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 1. It records the gift of a lamp and gold in the 4th year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasiṁha in S. 1252. Language and alphabet are described as Sanskrit and Hindi.[2]

(3) *Srikurmam stone-inscription* (*iii*).—This Telugu inscription is incised on the 19th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 1. It records the gift of a lamp in the 7th year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasiṁha.[3]

(4) *Srikurmam stone-inscription* (*iv*).—Incised on the 39th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 1. It records the 'gift of an image holding a lamp by Kommi-devī for the benefit of her daughter, Sītādevī, and a gift of gold by Gaṅgamahādevī.' Language, Sanskrit.[4]

(5) *Srikurmam stone-inscription* (*v*).—Incised on the 11th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 1. It records a gift of gold in the 18th year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasiṁha, in S. 1263. Language and alphabet are described as Sanskrit and Telugu.[5]

(6) *Srikurmam stone-inscription* (*vi*).—Incised on the 14th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as above. It records the 'gift of an image carrying a lamp and of ornaments by Gaṅgamahādevī for the merit of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasiṁhadeva in *Śaka* 1265. Language and alphabet as in No. 5.[6]

[1] *MER*, p. 21, No. 337.
[2] *Ibid*, No. 331.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 20, No. 314.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 22, No. 345
[5] *Ibid*, p. 20, No. 300.
[6] *Ibid*, No. 308.

(7) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (vii)*—Incised on the 46th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa*. It mentions Cīkaṭī and records the gift of some land in the 22nd year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasiṁha in *Ś*. 1267. Language and alphabet Telugu.[1]

(8) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (viii)*.—Incised as No. 4. It records that Gaṅgamahādevī, queen of Narasiṁha, provided for the blowing of a conch in Ś. 1267. Language Sanskrit.[2]

(9) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (ix)*.—Incised on the 21st pillar in the same *maṇḍapa*. It records the gift of a lamp in the 23rd year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasiṁha in Ś. 1267. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[3]

(10) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (x)*.—Incised on the 14th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa*. It records the 'gift of ornaments, etc., by Gaṅgambā, the wife of king Nṛsiṁha in *Śaka* 1271.' Language and alphabet as in No. 5.[4]

(11) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (xi)*.—Inscribed as No. 10. It records some gifts for offerings by Kommi-devamma in the 28th year of Vīrādivīra-Narasiṁha in Ś. 1271. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[5]

(12) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (xii)*.—Inscribed on the 39th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa*. It 'records that Gaṅgādevī and Sītādevī appointed one dancing-master and two dancing-girls.' Language and alphabet, Telugu.[6]

(13) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (xiii)*.—Inscribed on the 45th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa*. It records the gift of a lamp by a merchant in the 29th year of Vīrādivīra-Narasiṁha in Ś. 1272. Language and alphabet, as in No. 5.[7]

[1] *Ibid*, p. 22, No. 358.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 22, No. 344.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 20, No. 319.
[4] *Ibid*, No. 309. Hultzsch read the date as 12(4)4; but see *JASB*, 1903, p. 131.
[5] *MER*, p. 20, No. 310.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 21, No. 343.
[7] *Ibid*, p. 22, No. 355.

According to the Puri plates Narasiṁhā III ruled for 24 years.[1] Nothing definite is known about the political incidents of this reign. He appears to have had at least 3 queens. The inscriptions mentioned above give us the following names: (*i*) Gaṅgā-devī, Gaṅgāmbā, or Gaṅgāmbikā. (*ii*) Kommi-devī or Kommi-devamma of inscriptions Nos. 4 and 11, possibly another queen. The Puri plates name as 3rd queen (*iii*) Kāmala-devī, the mother of his successor Bhānudeva III.[2]

Only three inscriptions of Bhānudeva III have so far been discovered:

(1) *Srikurmam stone-inscription* (*i*).—Incised on the 19th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as above. It records the gift of a lamp in the 3rd year of Pratāpa-vīra-Bāṇudeva *sic*[!] in S. 1276. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[3]

(2) *Srikurmam stone-inscription* (*ii*).—Incised on the 24th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa*. It 'records that the king gave images of Vīra-Narasiṁhadeva and of Gaṅgāmbikā, which were holding lamps, and some land, in Eṛada-*Viṣaya*,' in the 3rd year of Vīra-Bhānudeva, in S. 1275. Language, Sanskrit.[4]

(3) *Srikurmam stone-inscription* (*iii*).—Incised on the 33rd pillar in the same *maṇḍapa*. It records the gift of a lamp by an inhabitant of Koḍūru, in the 3rd year of Vīra-Bānudeva [*sic* !] in S. 1275. Language and alphabet, Telugu.[5]

The Puri plates assign to Bhānudeva III a reign of 26 years.[6] Several foreign invasions seem to have taken place during his reign. In *c.* 1353 A.D., Shams ud-Dīn Ilyās Shāh,

[1] This does not agree with the inscriptions mentioned above, which give him 28 years. M. Chakravarti, following his usual arguments, places him between *Śaka* 1249-50 and 1274-75; see *JASB*, 1903, p. 133.

[2] With the titles of Vīra and Pratāpa-vīra.

[3] *MER*, p. 20, No. 315.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 21, No. 324. Hultzsch read the date as 1254; but see *JASB*, 1903, p. 134.

[5] *MER*, p. 21, No. 336.

[6] According to M. Chakravarti's calculations, his inscriptions give us *Śaka* 1274-75 as his first year. From the inscriptions of his successors he fixed upon 1300-01 as his last year. See *JASB*, 1903, pp. 134 ff.

the Sulṭān of Bengal, is reported to have invaded Jāj-nagar and there to have taken many elephants and much plunder.[1] The chronicle of the Portuguese writer Fernao Nuniz (*c.* 1535-37 A.D.) records a tradition that Bukka I of Vijayanagara (*c.* 1343-79 A.D.) 'took the kingdom of Orya, which is very great.'[2] But the most important invasion during Bhānudeva's reign was that undertaken by the Delhi Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, *c.* 1360 A.D.[3] The following interesting account of Jājnagar and this expedition is supplied by the *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī* of Shams-i-Sirāj.

"The Sulṭān left his baggage at Karra and proceeding from thence he hastened to Jājnagar which place he reached by making successive marches through Bihār. The country of Jājnagar was very prosperous and happy. The author's father who was in the royal suite, informed the writer that it was in a very flourishing state, and the abundance of corn and fruit supplied all the wants of the army and animals, so that they recovered from the hardship of the campaign. Sulṭān Fīrūz rested at Banārasī,[4] an ancient residence of the arrogant Rāīs. At that time the Rāī of Jājnagar by name Adāya,[5] had deemed it expedient to

[1] *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 263.

[2] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* (*Vijayanagar*), London, 1900, pp. 29, 291 and 300.

[3] The Muslim historian gives the date of the expedition as 760-62 H. See *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 591-92, fn. 4.

[4] This is probably the same as the *Vārānasi-kaṭaka* or *Vārānāsi-kaṭaka* of the Puri grants. See *JASB*, 1895, p. 149, plate VI, obverse, lines 11-12; p. 151, plate VI, obverse, line 4. Some have identified it with the present Cuttack. Both Budā'ūnī and Firishta say that Fīrūz crossed the river Mahanadi (مهندري - مندري) before he reached this city. According to Firishta (see Briggs' Translation, Vol. I, 452) (Banārasī بنارسي) and Budā'ūnī (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 1868, Vol. I, p. 247: بارانسي Benares was the capital of the Prince of Jājnagar; but the *TN*, in the first half of the 13th century, gives the name of the capital of 'Jāj-nagar' as Ūmurdan (اومردن) or Armardan (ارمردن). See Vol. II, p. 763; Vol. I, p. 588 fn. These may have been capitals of the Gaṅga kings in Orissa. Their chief capital was doubtless Kaliṅganagara (mod. Mukhalingam). Note the difference of spelling Banārasī and Bārānasī which is also known to Sanskrit records.

[5] The name is given in the Text (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 1888, p. 164, as Ādīsar, Udīsar, Adāya, or Uddāya (ادايه - اديسر). There is no doubt that Bhānudeva III was the reigning king. I cannot suggest how this name can be connected with him.

quit Barānasī,[1] and to take up his residence elsewhere, so Sulṭān Fīrūz occupied his place. The writer has been informed that there were two forts in Barānasi each populated by a large number of people. The Rāīs were Brahmans, and it was held to be a religious duty that every one who succeeded to the title of the Rāī at Jājnagar should add something to these forts. They had thus grown very large.

"The cowardly Rāī of Jājnagar, when he heard of the approach of the Sulṭān's army, embarked on board a boat in great alarm, and took refuge in the water.[2] All his country was thrown into confusion—some of the inhabitants were made prisoners, others fled to the hills. Their horses (*burda*) and cattle became the spoil of the army. Those who accompanied the Sulṭān relate that the numbers of animals of every kind were so great that no one cared to take them. Two *jitals* was the price of a horse (*burda*); as for cattle, no one would buy them. Sheep were found in such countless numbers, that at every halt great numbers were slaughtered. If any were not required, they were left behind, because a plentiful supply was sure to be found at the next stage. The author has mentioned these matters to show the prosperity of the country. He has further been informed that the inhabitants had spacious houses and fine gardens, they had even gardens and walks within their houses, and fruit trees, flowers, etc., were cultivated therein.

* * * * *

"The Sultān left Banārasī with the intention of pursuing the Rāī of Jājnagar, who had fled to an island in the river, having let loose a fierce elephant to occupy the attention of his enemies and to divert them from pursuing them. For three days the army was actively engaged in endeavouring to take him

[1] See above, p. 491, fn. 4.

[2] According to Firishta (Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 452) and Budā'unī, the Raja fled towards Talang or 'Tulingana' (Talingānah), *i.e.*, Telingana.

alive, but failed. By the Sulṭān's orders he was then slain, and the Sulṭān with his army entered the fort.[1]

* * * * *

"After the hunt was over, the Sulṭān directed his attention to the Rāī of Jājnagar, and entering the palace where he dwelt he found many fine buildings. It is reported that inside the Rāī's fort there was a stone idol which the infidels called Jagannāth, and to which they paid their devotions. Sulṭān Fīrūz in emulation of Maḥmūd Subuk-tigīn, having rooted up the idol, carried it away to Delhi, where he subsequently had it placed in an ignominious position. The Sulṭān then resolved upon pursuing the Rāī into his island; but the Rāī sent some of his Brahmans (*pātar*) to wait upon the Sulṭān. As Sulṭāns consult with their clear-sighted ministers, so do *rāis*, *rānas*, and *zamindars* take counsel with their *mahtas* on matters of war. In the country of Jājnagar the *mahtas* are called *pātars*, and the Rāī of Jājnagar had twenty *pātars*, otherwise called *mahtas*, under whose advice he conducted the affairs of his State. In great fear, the Rāī sent five of these *pātars* to wait on the Sulṭān, and make his submission, they represented, with much respect, that the Rāī had long been a dependant and subject of the Sulṭān, and they desired to ascertain the Sulṭān's intentions.

"When the Sulṭān had heard what they had to say, he replied that his intentions had been friendly. He had received certain information that elephants were as numerous as sheep in the *jangal* round the Rāī's dwelling, and he had proceeded thither for the purpose of hunting. When he approached the Rāī fled in alarm, and took refuge in his islands. What was the cause of this flight? After explanations the Rāī sent twenty mighty elephants as an offering, and agreed to furnish certain elephants yearly in payment of revenue. The Sulṭān then sent robes and insignia by the *mahtas* to the Rāī, he granted robes to them also, and then returned home. After this the Sulṭān started on his

[1] Here follows an account of the Sulṭān's elephant hunt in a neighbouring *jangal*.

return, taking with him, from the two countries of Lakhnautī and Jājnagar seventy-three elephants, having stayed two years and seven months in those territories."[1]

One of the factors that helped to save Orissa from spoliation in the hands of the Turks for such a long time is brought out by the account of the retreat of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh. We are told by Shams-i-Sirāj that on his way home the Sulṭān lost his way and that for six months "the army ascended mountain after mountain, and passed through *jangals* and hills until they were quite in despair and utterly worn out with the fatigues of the march. No road was to be found, nor any grain. Provisions became very scarce, and the army was reduced to the verge of destruction."[2]

The account of Jājnagar quoted above bears tesimony to the wealth and prosperity of Orissa under the reign of Bhānudeva III. In spite of the claims of the Muslim historian, the invasion of Fīrūz does not seem to have been anything but a plundering raid. There is at least no foundation for the statement that the Jājnagar Rāī 'had long been a dependant and subject of the Sulṭān.' The fact that the Sulṭān was satisfied with only 20 elephants after his costly expedition may be accepted as an indication of his failure to achieve any permanent success. As the Sulṭān represented it, it was intended and it probably ended merely in an elephant-hunt.

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 312-15. The *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 178. says that the king of Jājnagar '*took ship for port in the coast* of Telingāna' and that Fīrūz reached Puri, occupied the Raja's palace and sent the great idol to Delhi. These statements are not supported by Shams-i-Sirāj. Firishta and Budā'ūnī however state that the Raja fled towards Telingānah. But these are very late. The idol of Jagannātha may have belonged to the private chapel of king's palace at Banārasī.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 315; see on this point my 'Notes on War,' *JL*, Vol. XIV, 1927, pp. 15-16. Apparently the Sulṭān on his return journey tried a shorter route following the Mahanadi valley. Shams-i-Sirāj tells us that he proceeded 'along the banks of a river like the Jihūn.' *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 316. According to Firista, Fīrūz "on his way was met by the Raja of Beerbhoom, who presented him with 37 elephants and other valuable presents in consideration of his not ravaging his territories."—Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 452.

Bhānudeva III was succeeded by Narasiṁha IV[1] his son by the queen Hīrā-devī, of the Cāḷukya family. The following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (i).*—Incised on the 26th pillar in the *Tirucuṭṭumaṇḍapa* in the Kūrmeśvara temple at Srikurmam. It records the gift of a lamp in the 3rd year of Vīra-Narasiṁha in S. 1301. Language and alphabet are described as Sanskrit and Telugu.[2]

(2) *Srikurmam stone-inscription (ii).*—Incised on the 27th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa*. It records the gift of an image holding a lamp in the 4th year of Vīra-Narasiṁha in S. 1302. Language and alphabet as in No. 1.[3]

(3) *Puri grant (i).*—This was found 'in the *Maṭh* Tirmāli opposite to the northern gate of the temple of Jagannāth' at Puri. The record is incised on 7 plates. 'With the exception of the first and last plates the other plates are covered with writing on both sides and contain 24 lines on each side.' They have ring-holes in the middle of the left side, but the ring is 'not forthcoming.' The grant opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*. In its introductory portion the genealogy of the Gaṅgas is traced from Viṣṇu, as in No. 9 of Narasiṁhadeva II. Only the names from Bhānudeva II to Narasiṁhadeva IV are new in this document. It records the grant by the last prince of the village of Kiṁnari-*grāma*[4] in the Uttara-*Khaṇḍa* Kalabho, worth 900 *māḍhas* of gold, to *Mahāpātra* Naraharidāsa. The grant is dated in the 8th *aṅka* year of the donor, in *Śaka*

[1] Sometimes written Nṛsiṁha; both the forms are found in the same grant; *JASB*, 1896, p. 147, line 12 from the bottom; line 4 from the bottom on p. 148 and line 9 on p. 149 from the top. He also bore the title of Vīra. In his grant he is called *Caturdaśa-bhuvanādhipati.*

[2] *MER*, p. 21, No. 326.

[3] *Ibid*, No. 329.

[4] Name changed into Vijaya-Narasiṁhapura at the time of the grant; *JASB*, 1895, p. 149, plate VI (obverse).

1305 (A.D. 1384) and issued from Vārāṇasi-kaṭaka. It was inscribed by Durgādāsa.[1]

(4) *Puri grant* (*ii*).—This was found 'in the *Maṭh* Śaṅkarānanda, about half a mile to the south of the Jagannāth temple, and close to the old palace of the Puri Rajas.' It was incised on 7 plates, but the 5th is missing. The introductory portion is nearly the same as in No. 3. It records the grant by the same donor of the village of Sāiso in the Oḍamolomadana-*Khaṇḍa* and Rāḍaso-o in the *E-Viṣaya* to the *Ācārya* Devaratha. It was issued from Vārāṇāsi-kaṭaka in the 22nd and 23rd *aṅka* years of the donor in *Śaka* 1316 (for 1317), *i.e.*, A.D. 1395 and was inscribed by Gurudāsa Senāpati.[2]

(5) *Śrikurmam stone-inscription* (*iii*).—Incised on the 11th pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as No. 1. It records the gift of a lamp by a merchant in the 18th year, Vīra-Narasiṁha in S. 1324 (A.D. 1403). Language and alphabet as in No. 1.[3]

(6) *Srikurmam stone-inscription* (*iv*).—Incised on the 3rd pillar in the same *maṇḍapa* as above. This is in Telugu and according to M. Chakravarti is dated in S. 1346 (?)[4]

Nothing definite is known about the events of his reign from the inscriptions mentioned above. His inscriptions give dates ranging from *Śaka* 1301 to 1324 (*c.* A.D. 1379-1402). If the reading of the inscription No. 6 is correct, his reign

[1] Edited by M. Chakravarti, *JASB*, 1895, Vol. LXIV, pp. 128 ff. He identified two villages named Bhākharsābi and Mukuluṇḍā, which are mentioned by the grant in describing the boundaries of the villages granted, with two modern villages of the same name in the Puri district, *ibid*, p. 135.

[2] Edited by M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1895, Vol. LXIV, pp. 128 ff. He locates the boundary villages of the grant approximately at 85° 56′ 45″ long. by 20° 10′ 17″ lat. on the left side of the river Bhārgavī and close to the P.W.D. Bungalow at Khirkhia. According to Kielhorn the date of the grant is irregular. He has shown that the various dates in the grant correspond to Christian dates as follows : *Aṅka* year 22, *Śaka* 1317 = A.D. 1395 ; *aṅka* year 23 = A.D. 1396 ; same year *Mīna-Saṁkrānti* = A.D. 1397. See *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 54, No. 370.

[3] *MER*, p. 20, No. 299.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 19, No. 279; *JASB*, 1903, p. 136. Hultzsch read the date as *Śaka* 1314. The inscription is damaged; it may have belonged to some successor of Narasiṁha IV.

may have extended up to about A.D. 1424. During this period there is evidence of a number of raids by Muslim rulers on Orissa. Sulṭān Fīrūz Bahmanī is said to have entered Jājnagar in A.H. 815 (A.D. 1412) and carried off a number of elephants.[1] The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* records a romantic account of an invasion of Jājnagar by Ḥusām ud-Dīn Hōshang, the second independent king of Malwa (*c*. 1405-35 A.D.). We are told that 'on one occasion cunningly disguised as a merchant, he set out for Jājnagar. The ruler of that country, accompanied by a small retinue, visited the caravan. Hōshang took him prisoner and hastened back. While journeying together, Hōshang told him that he had been induced to undertake this expedition in order to procure a supply of elephants and added that if his people attempted a rescue,' the prince's life should pay the penalty. The prince therefore, sending for a number of valuable elephants, presented them to him and was set at liberty.[2] Malik Sarwar, Khwāja Jahān, the first Shārqī king of Jaunpur (*c*. 1394-1399 A.D.), may have also invaded Jājnagar, for he is reported to have compelled both Lakshaṇavatī and Jājnagar to pay him tribute.[3]

The period of about ten years (*c*. *Śaka* 1346-1356) that follows the reign of Narasiṁha IV is one of the darkest periods in the history of Orissa. No inscriptions have yet been discovered of any other member of his family. According to the ***Mādlā-Pāñji***, the last king of the Gaṅga family was Bhānudeva (IV?), surnamed *Akaṭā-Abaṭā*, or according to another version *Matta*. When he died, his minister Kapilendra also called (Kapileśvara) usurped the throne and founded the *Sūrya-vaṁśa*.[4] The inscriptions of Kapileśvara, the founder of the Solar dynasty, show that his reign commenced from *Śaka* 1356-57, or A.D. 1434-35. The history of Orissa from the foundation of the Solar dynasty till its conquest by the Muslims is comparatively well known. The five kings of this

1 *TN*, Vol. I, p. 592 fn.
2 *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 219.
3 *JASB*, 1903, p. 139.
4 *Ibid*.

lineage ruled for more than a century (*c*. 1434-1542 A.D.).[1] They were then followed by the four kings of the Bhoi dynasty, who reigned for about 17 years (*c*. 1542-1539 A.D.).[2] The last Bhoi king was murdered by Mukundadeva Haricandra, a Telugu by birth.[3] It was during the reign of this Telugu ruler that Ilahābād Kālāpāhāṛ, the general of Sulṭān Sulaymān Karrānī of Bengal, invaded the country. In the confusion that followed Mukundadeva was killed. The Muslims annexed Orissa about 1568 A.D.

1 *Solar Dynasty*: (*i*) Kapilendra *alias* Kapileśvara Bhramaravara (*c*. 1434-1435 to 1469-70 A.D.)
|
(*ii*) Puruṣottama (*c*. 1469-70 to 1496-97 A.D.)
|
(*iii*) Pratāparudra (*c*. 1496-97 to 1539-40 A.D.)

(*iv*) Kāluādeva (*c*. 1539-40 to 1541-42 A.D.) — (*v*) Kakhāruādeva (*c*. 1541-42)

For their inscriptions, see *IA*, Vol. XX, pp. 390-93; *ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 355-56; *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 218-21; *JASB*, 1900, pp. 173 ff.; *ibid*, 1893, pp. 88-104; *MER*, Nos. 248, 274, 313, 317, 318, 346, 347, 365 and 366; Swell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, pp. 48 and 119; Hunter, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, Appendix VIII, p. 193.

2 *Bhoi Dynasty*: (*i*) Govindadeva...minister of (*iii*) above. (*c*. 1541-42 to 1549 A.D. ?)
|
(*ii*) Cāka Pratāpadeva (*c*. 1549-1557 A.D. ?)
|
(*iii*) Narasiṁharāya Jenā (*c*. 1557 A.D. ?) — (*iv*) Raghurāma Jenā (*c*. 1557 to 1559-60 A.D. ?)

3 *Telugu Dynasty*: Mukundadeva Haricandra (*c*. 1559-68 A.D.)

Lists of Kings and Genealogical Tables.

(Dates Approximate.)

I. *The Somavaṁśis of Kosala (c. 950-1125 A.D.)*:

Sivagupta I
- Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya
  - Mahāśivagupta II Yayāti
    - Mahabhavagupta II Bhīmaratha
      - ?
        - Mahāśivagupta III (?)
          - ?
            - Mahābhavagupta III(?)
  - Dīrgharava
    - Apavāra
  - Vicitravīrya
    - Abhimanyu
      - Caṇḍihāra = Kolāvatī
        - Uddyotakesarin.

II. *The Karas of Tosalī (c. 750-1050 A.D.)*:

Kṣemaṅkara
- Sri-Bhārasaha Sivakara I *alias* Sivaṅkara = Jayāvalī-devī.
  - Subhakara I = Mādhava-devī
    - Sivakara II
      - ⋮
      - Unmatta-siṁha, or Unmatta-kesarin.
      - (In his family)
      - Maṅgapāḍa (?) and others.
        - ?
        - Jagattuṅga
        - (In his line)
          - Salāṇatuṅga
            - Gayāḍatuṅga
              - ⋮ ?
              - (In their family)
              - Loṇabhāra or Lolabhāra
                - Kusumabhāra
                - Lalitabhāra = Tribhuvana-mahādevī
                  - Sāntikara
                  - Subhakara II = Gaurī (?)
                    - Daṇḍi-mahādevī

III. *The Bhañjas (c. 800-1400 A.D.)*:

IV. *The Śulkis* (*c. 850-950 A.D.*):

Kāñcanastambha
- Kalahastambha Vikramāditya
  - Raṇastambha *alias* Kulastambha
    - Raṇastambha (?)
      - Jayastambha
        - Nidayastambha

V. *The Śailodbhavas* (*c. 600-925 A.D.*):

VI. *The Gaṅgas* (*c. 650-1425 A.D.*):

Vīrasiṁha of Kolāhalapura
- Kāmārṇava I
- (unnamed line)
  - Dānārṇava
    - Kāmārṇava II
      - Raṇārṇava
        - Vajrahasta II
          - Kāmārṇava III
          - Guṇārṇava II, or Guṇamahārṇava
          - Vajrahasta III
            - Jitāṅkuśa
            - Kaligalāṅkuśa
            - Guṇḍama I
            - Kāmārṇava IV
              - Vajrahasta IV
            - Vinayāditya
- Guṇārṇava I
- Mārasiṁha
- Vajrahasta I

Vajrahasta IV

Kāmārṇava VI

Vajrahasta V
(c. 1038-1070 A.D.) = Naṁgamā

Guṇḍama II

Rājendra Co'a

(By another wife)
Madhu-Kāmārṇava V

Rājarāja I = Rājasundarī
(c. 1070-1076 A.D.)

Anantavarmā Coḍagaṅga = Candralekhā
(c. 1076-1147 A.D.) = Indirā
Kastūrikāmodinī =

Kāmārṇava VII
(c. 1147-1156 A.D.)

Rāghava
(c. 1156-1170 A.D.)

Rājarāja II
(c. 1170-1190 A.D.)

Aniyaṅkabhīma II
or
Anaṅgabhīma
(c. 1190-1196 A.D.)
= Bhāgalla-devī

Rājarāja III
(c. 1198-1211 A.D.) = Maṅkuṇa-devī.

Anaṅgabhīma III
(c. 1211-1238 A.D.) = Kastūrā-devī.

Narasiṁha I
(c. 1238-1264 A.D.) = Sītā-devī.

Bhānudeva I
(c. 1264-78 A.D.) = Jākalla-devī.

Narasiṁha II
(c. 1278-1305 A.D.) = Coḍa-devī.

Bhānudeva II
(c. 1305-1327 A.D.) = Lakṣmī-devī.

Narasiṁha III
(c. 1327-52 A.D.) = Kāmala-devī.

Bhānudeva III
(c. 1352-78 A.D.) = Hīrā-devī.

Narasiṁha IV
? (c. 1379-1425 A.D.)

Bhānudeva (IV ?)

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CHAPTER VIII

GĀHAḌAVĀLAS (GAHARWARS) OF VĀRĀṆASĪ AND KĀNYAKUBJA.

The history of the Ganges-Jumna valley after the defeat and death of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Rājyapāla (*c*. 1018 A.D.) is somewhat obscure. After the plunder and evacuation of Kanauj and Bārī, the successors of Rājyapāla appear to have retired towards the eastern portion of their dominions. The Jhusi grant of Trilocanapāla and Kara stone-inscription of Yaśahpāla indicate that these princes held a portion of the district of Allahabad during the period *c*. 1027-1037 A.D. The region around Kanauj may have in the meantime passed under the control of the powerful Candella king Vidyādhara (*c*. 1019 A.D.). The death of Vidyādhara seems to have synchronised with the beginning of the most glorious chapter in the history of the Kalacuris of Tripurī. There appears to be sufficient reason to believe that Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (*c*. 1030-41 A.D.) and his son Lakṣmī-Karṇa (*c*. 1041-70 A.D.) not only held Allahabad and Benares, but also exercised a sort of loose hegemony over the *Doab*. The actual government of Kanauj and its immediate neighbourhood however seems to have passed under the control of other princes.

The Jhansi stone-inscription of Sallakṣaṇasiṁha (?), which for palaeographic reasons may be referred to the 11th or 12th century A.D., seems to refer to a line of rulers of Kanyākubja.[2]

[1] Firishta calls Jayaccandra, the prince of Kanauj and Benares; see *T. F.*, Briggs' Translation, Vol. I, p. 178.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 214-17.

As this inscription is extremely fragmentary, it is at present impossible to say whether the princes named in it were themselves rulers of Kanauj or were feudatories of the rulers of that city. More definite information about the local rulers of Kanauj during this period is supplied by the Set Mahet stone-inscription of Vidyādhara dated in (V)[1] *Saṁvat* 1176 (A. D.1119-20) and the Budaun stone-inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Lakhaṇapāla.[2] The former record refers itself to the time of king Madana, son of Gopāla, the lord of Gādhipura. It is quite likely that Gopāla and Madana are identical with the two princes of the same name in the Badaun inscription.[3] As Madana is the 6th king, and the 5th in lineal descent from Candra, the founder of this line, we can approximately assign the beginnings of the dynasty to the second half of the 11th century A. D. It is probable that, taking advantage of the confusion which prevailed in the Ganges-Jumna valley from the second decade of the 11th century onwards, this Rāṣṭrakūṭa family may have for some time become masters of the territory from Budaun to Kanauj. Whether however its princes at any time exercised the full rights of sovereign rulers, may be questioned. Though there is no definite evidence, yet it is hardly to be doubted that they had to bow before the victorious arms of Lakṣmī-Karṇa. The death of Lakṣmī-Karṇa in *c*. 1070 A. D., also did not grant them any long respite from foreign interference. For within two decades of the death of the Kalacuri prince a new imperial power arose in the Ganges-Jumna valley which by (V) *Saṁvat* 1148 (A.D. 1090) had already extended itself from Benares to Kanauj.[4] This was the dynasty which came to be known as the Gāhaḍavālas.[5]

[1] V = *Vikrama*. *JASB*, Vol. LXI, Part I, Extra No., pp. 57-64.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 61-66.

[3] *JASB*, 1925, Vol. XXI (N. S.), p. 106.

[4] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 302-05.

[5] In the Sarnath inscription of Kumāra-devī, the family is described as *Kṣatra-vaṁśa*; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 324, V. 14. On this tribe, see *AR*, Vol. I, p. 139; Vol. II, pp. 930 ff.; also Crooke, *Tribes and Castes, N. W. P.*

The origin of the Gāhaḍavālas, like that of many other dynasties of Northern India, is shrouded in mystery. The genealogical lists in their grants trace their pedigree to one Yaśovigraha, who is said to have come to this earth when the kings of the solar race had gone to heaven.[1] This statement may contain a hint that Yaśovigraha flourished after the downfall of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra kings, who traced their descent from the sun.[2] There is however nothing to indicate that Yaśovigraha was a royal personage. None of the numerous Gāhaḍavāla grants ever give him any royal titles. We are only told that he was 'a noble (personage) ...(who) by his plentiful splendour (was) as it were the sun incarnate.'[3] The next person who is mentioned in the genealogical lists is Mahīcandra.[4] In some grants his name stands at the head of the pedigree with the additional information that he was born in the Gāhaḍavāla lineage.[5] We are told that he 'defeated the host of his enemies, and by entrusting to his arm the whole burden of the earth, Śeṣa enjoyed permanent comfort.' Though Mahīcandra also is not given any royal titles, the above passage probably indicates that he became a petty chief by dint of his military prowess. But the person who really founded the fortunes of the family was Candradeva,[6] the son of Mahīcandra. In most of the grants of the Gāhaḍavālas Candradeva is said to have acquired sovereignty over Kānyakubja[7] or Gādhipura 'by the prowess of his own arms' (*nija-bhujopār-*

[1] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 11, line 1.

[2] *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 150, fn. 1. The Rahan grant of Govindacandra seem to indicate that the Gāhaḍavālas flourished when the two great regal families, sprung from the Moon and the Sun, had perished, *IA*, 1889, p. 15, line 2. The Lunar family may be the Tripurī Kalacuris : see *infra*.

[3] IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 11-12, lines 1-2.

[4] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 304, line 2; Vol. IV, p. 100, line 2; Vol. II, p. 361, line 2; *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 11, line 2, etc. Also known as Mahīyala, Mahiala and Mahītala, see *EI*, Vol. II, p. 359, line 2; *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 103, line 2; Vol. XVIII, p. 15, line 2; according to R. L. Mitra also Mahiāla, see *JASB*, 1873, p. 321.

[5] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 15; Vol. XIV, p. 103, etc.

[6] Also known as Candrāditya (*EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 194, line 14); sometimes simply as *Narapati*Candra (*EI*, Vol. IX, p. 324, V. 14).

[7] Sometimes also spelt Kanyakubja or Kanyākubja.

jita). The Basahi plate of Govindacandra supplies us with some details about Candradeva's rise. It tells us that when on the death of king Bhoja and king Karṇa, the world became troubled, he 'came to the rescue and became king and established his capital at Kanyākubja.'[1] It is generally accepted that the Karṇa of this passage is the great Kalacuri king Laṣmī-Karṇa, who died sometime before 1072 A. D.[2] The earliest known date of Candradeva is V. S. 1148, corresponding to A. D. 1090.[3] It is therefore almost certain that he established himself as a sovereign ruler some time during the period 1072-1090 A. D. The claim that he made Kanauj his capital must however be accepted with some limitations. The Set Mahet inscription of Vidyādhara, dated in A. D. 1119-20, shows that the local rulers of Kanauj on that date and in the years immediately preceding it were not the Gāhaḍavālas but the Rāṣṭrakūṭas Gopāla and Madana.[4] Gopāla is described in this record as *Gādhipurādhipa*. The fact that Madana is not given this epithet may possibly indicate that he was no longer a sovereign ruler, but a feudatory of the Gāhaḍavālas.[5] But the fact remains that the local rulers of Kanauj from the time of Candradeva onwards were the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It is therefore likely that, though by reason of its importance Kanauj was regarded as one of the capitals of the Gāhaḍavālas, they habitually resided in some other city. I suggest that this city was Benares.[6] It is significant that a very large number of the Gāhaḍavālas' inscriptions have been discovered near Benares, and these record grants of land near that sacred city. In the Muslim

[1] *IA*, 1885, pp. 102-03, lines 2-5. Bhoja of this passage is taken by some to be the Paramāra Bhoja. But as the Rahan plate of Govindacandra says that the Gāhaḍavālas flourished after the destruction of the Lunar and the Solar royal families, it has been suggested that Bhoja may be the great Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler of that name. See Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 15; also *IHQ*, March, 1929, pp. 89-90.

[2] See *infra*, my chapter on the Haihayas.

[3] V.S. = *Vikrama Saṁvat*. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 304.

[4] *JASB*, 1893, pp. 58 ff.

[5] *IHQ*, March, 1929, p. 91.

[6] First suggested by V. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 1923, p. 195.

chronicles the Gāhaḍavālas were known as kings of Benares.[1] Candella inscriptions also seem to refer to them as rulers of Kāśī.[2] Under the circumstances, the assumption of the title 'lord of Kānyakubja' may be explained by the fact that the halo of imperialism probably still lingered on the battered turrets of the forts of Kanauj. The person who acquired its sovereignty could therefore flatter himself with the belief that he was the overlord of Northern India. The area under the control of Candradeva is possibly indicated by the claim, uniformly made in many Gāhaḍavāla grants[3] that he protected the holy places (*tīrtha*) of Kāśī, Kuśika, Uttara-Kośala, and Indrasthāna.[4] If the suggestion of Hall, that Indrasthāna is to be identified with Indraprastha or old Delhi, be accepted, this would show that Candradeva became practically the ruler of nearly the whole area now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The expansion of the Gāhaḍavālas' power, at least in the eastern portion of U.P., must have been largely at the expense of the Kalacuris. I have suggested elsewhere that the Kalacuri contemporary of Candradeva was probably Yaśaḥ-Karṇa (*c*. 1073-1125 A.D.).[5] Candradeva's conflict with the Kalacuris may be indicated by the former's claim to have defeated Narapati, Gajapati, Triśaṅkupati, Giripati, and Pañcāla rulers.[6] The first two titles figure among the epithets assumed by Yaśaḥ-Karṇa.

The following grants have so far been discovered for his reign:

(1) *Candravati grant* (*i*).—It 'was found on the inner slope of the left bank of the Ganges, near the water's edge, under

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 250 ff.

[2] See *infra*, my chapter on the Candellas.

[3] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 304, line 5; *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 11, lines 3-4.

[4] *I.e.*, Benares, Kānyakubja, Ayodhyā, and probably Indraprastha (or ancient Delhi); see Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 13, fn. 33.

[5] See *infra*, my chapter on the Haihayas.

[6] *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 193, lines 11-12.

the fort at Candrāvatī,[1] in the Benares district.' The inscription contains 23 lines, inscribed on one side of a single plate. The ring which passes through a hole in the upper part of the plate carries a circular seal with the figure in relief of a Garuḍa with the body of a man and the head of a bird and facing to the proper right. Across the centre of the seal is the legend : *Śrīvadac-(Śrīmac)-Candradevaḥ,* and at the bottom there is a conch-shell. The grant opens with *Oṁ svasti,* and then in the first verse invokes the goddess *Śrī.* Next follows the genealogy of the donor from Yaśovigraha. The inscription in its formal part, records the grant of the Vadagavā-*grāma* [2] in the Vāvana-*Pattalā* to the Brahman Varuneśvaya (ra?) Śarman by *Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-nija-bhujopārjita-Śrī-Kanyakubjādhipatya-Śrī*-Candradeva. The donor before making the gift bathed in the neighbourhood of Śauri-Nārāyaṇa after worshipping the Sun and Vāsudeva. The occasion of the grant was a lunar eclipse in (V) S. 1148 (A.D. 1090).[3] The inscription was written by *Ṭhakkura* Mahaṇaṁda.[4]

(2) *Candravati grant (ii).*—Found as No. 1, enclosed in a strong box of stone. The inscription contains 90 lines, inscribed on one side of 5 plates. The seal and the introductory portion of the grant are as in No. 1. It records the grant of the *Pattalā* of Kaṭhehalī [5] 'with the exception of certain villages formerly given to temples, Brahmans, etc.' [6] to 500

[1] Now pronounced Chandrautī. It is a village on the Ganges in the *Pargana* of Katehir, some 14 miles from the district headquarters; *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 192.

[2] Chhote Lal identifies it with mod. Baragaon, a village 14 miles N. W. of Benares; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 304.

[3] On the date see *ibid*, pp. 303-04.

[4] Edited by Sten Konow, EI, Vol. IX, pp. 302-305. *Turuṣka-daṇḍa* occurs for the first time in this grant. We reserve all discussion on this word and other economic terms for the 3rd volume of the present work.

[5] It was bounded by the rivers Gomatī, Bhāgīrathī and Varaṇā. The *Pattalā* has been identified with mod. Katehir, the largest pargana of Benares; *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 193.

[6] For the list of these villages see lines 26-30.

Brahmans,[1] in (V) *Saṁvat* 1150 (A.D. 1093), by the same donor as in No. 1. He further granted the village of Sarisoḍa in the Bṛhadṛhevaiṁkāṇai [*sic* !]-*Pattalā* for the residence of the donees. The grant was made by the donor after bathing at the Svargadvāra-*tīrtha*[2] at the confluence of the Sarayū and Gharghara in Ayodhyā, also called Uttara-Kośala. The writer was Hṛdayadhara. The grant ends with the statement: "What should I speak of the king Candra, by the sound produced from whose copper-plate grants given to Brāhmaṇas and divinities at the time of being engraved with rows of closely written lines, the universe has become deafened."[3]

(3) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant.*—Find-spot unknown. The inscription contains 24 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. Seal as in No. 1. This inscription belongs to Madanapāla but records the grant of the village of Ahuāma in the Dhaṇesaramaua-*Pattalā* to the Brahman Vāmanasvāmi-Śarman by his father Candradeva in (V) S. 1154 (A.D. 1097). The grant was made by Candradeva 'after having bathed in the Ganges at the *ghāṭ* of the divine holy Trilocana at Benares.'[4]

(4) *Candravati grant (iii).*—Found with No. 2. It contains 27 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. Seal as usual. It begins with the remark that 'this grant was made after a munificent gift of gold and other valuables equal to the king's weight (*tulā-puruṣa*) and a thousand cows before the image of the god Ādi-Keśava.' The introductory portion is as usual. The inscription records the grant of 30 villages in the Bṛhadṛhevaratha [*sic* !]-*Pattalā* and two villages in the Kaṭhehalī-*Pattalā* to the donees of No. 2 above. It also records the dedication of the village of Majauḍa, situated in

1. For a list of the donees, their gotras and the localities mentioned in the plate with suggested identifications, see Sahni's chart. *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 200-09. Most of the places were situated near Benares and Chandrautī.

2. One of the *ghāṭs* of Ayodhya still bear this name; *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 193.

3. Edited by E. R. Sahni, *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 193-96.

4. Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 9-14.

the Vaṁkānai-*Pattalā*, for the maintenance of the shrine of Candra-mādhava [1] at Candrāvati.[2] The grant is dated in (V) S. 1156 (A.D. 1100). The donor before making the grant bathed at the *ghāṭ* of Ādi-Keśava at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Varaṇā. It was engraved by Mādhava.[3]

Candradeva [4] was succeeded by his son Madanapāla,[5] some time before 1104 A.D. The following grants of his time are known.

(1) *Basahī grant*.—It was found in the village of Basahi two miles to the NE. of the headquarters town of the Bidhuna Tahsil (Etawah district, U.P.). It contains 22 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. The circular seal has the usual figures and emblems. The inscription opens with an invocation to Viṣṇu under the names Vāsudeva and Dāmodara, and then gives the genealogy of the family from Mahiala to Madanapāla. His son was the *Rājaputra* Govindacandra. The inscription then records that *Mahārājaputra* Govindacandra after bathing in the river Yamuna at Asatikā [6] and having worshipped the Sun, Siva and Vāsudeva, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1161 (A. D. 1104), granted the village of Vasabhī [7] in the Jīāvatī-*Pattalā* on the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti* to the Brahman Ālheka. The charter was written by the *Paṇḍita* Vijayadāsa, with the permission of

[1] A Svetāmbara Jain temple in Candrautī is still known to the local inhabitants as Candramādho; *EI*, Vol XIV, p. 197.

[2] Probably founded and named after himself by Candradeva. See *ibid*.

[3] Edited by D. R. Sahni, *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 197-200.

[4] On the alleged friendship of Candradeva and the Pāla prince Madanapāla and the former's assistance to the latter against the Sena king Vijayasena (*Bāṅgālār Itihās*, 2nd ed., pp. 312-13), see R. G. Basak, *IHQ*, March 1929, pp. 45-47.

[5] Also known as Madanadeva (*IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 12, line 23) and Madanacandra (*EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 324, V. 14).

[6] Or Āsatikā, not yet identified.

[7] Identified with mod. Basahi, the find-spot of the grant. The village granted was bounded on the east by the villages of Vāndhamaūa (line 13) (= mod. Bāndhmau, 3 miles to the east of Basahi), on the south by the village of Pusaulī (= mod. village of the same name 2 miles to the south of Basahi), and on the north by the village of Sāvabhada (= mod. Sabhād, 2½ miles to the north by west of Basahi) : see *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 102.

the *Purohita* Jāguka, the *Mahattaka* Vālhaṇa, and the *Pratīhāra* Gautama.[1]

(2) *Kamauli grant.*—This was found in a field in the village of Kamauli, near the confluence of the Barna and the Ganges at Benares. It contains 24 lines, incised on both sides of a single plate. The opening verses (2-3) correspond with those of No. 1. Genealogy also the same as above. The inscription records that *Mahārājaputra* Govindacandra from his victorious camp (*vijaya-kaṭaka*) in Viṣṇupura, after having bathed in the Ganges and worshipped the same gods as in No. 1 in (V) *Saṁvat* 1162 (A. D. 1105), granted the village of Usithā (?) in the Jīāvatī-*Pattalā* in the Pañcāla-*deśa* to the Brahman Vīlhākāya Dīkṣita. The writer of the grant and those who consented to the grant are the same as in No. 1. The latter group contains an additional name, *viz.*, the queen-mother (*jananī*) Rālha-devī.[2]

(3) *Messrs. Terry & Co.'s grant.*—The find-spot of this is unknown. In the year A. D. 1896, Prof. Bendall found it with Messrs. Terry & Co. of 29 Glasshouse Street, London, W. It was then being offered for sale. It closely resembles grant No. 1 above. The inscription records that the *Mahārājñī* Pṛthvīśrikā, after bathing in the Ganges at Benares at the Ādi-Keśava-*ghaṭṭa* in (V) *Saṁvatsara* 1163 (a mistake for 1164), on the occasion of a solar eclipse (A. D. 1107),[3] granted the village of Bahuvarā in the Bhaïlavata-*Paṭṭala* (*Pattalā* ?) to the *Pūrohita* Devavara and other Brahmans.[4]

(4) *Rahan grant.*—It was discovered at a place called Rahan in the Etawah district, U. P. It contains 29 lines, incised on

[1] First edited by R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XLII, part I, pp. 314 ff. Re-edited by Fleet in *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101-04.

[2] Edited by A. Venis, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 358-61. The name of the queen-mother is occasionally given as Rālhaṇa-devī, see *JASB*, Vol. LVI, part I, pp. 113 ff. ; *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 114 ff. ; also *infra*, pp. 519-20. She is sometimes called *Bṛhadrājñī* and sometimes *Mahārājñī* in her son's grants.

[3] On the date see Bendall, *JRAS*, 1896, p. 787.

[4] Noticed by Bendall, *ibid*, pp. 787-88. Though it is not clearly mentioned in the grant, the editor took the donor as the queen of Madanapāla.

one side of a single plate. The seal attached to the ring is lost. The inscription opens with '*Oṁ Paramātmane namaḥ*' and an invocation to Lakṣmī and Vaikuṇṭha. In the metrical portion, the genealogy is traced from Mahītala to Govindacandra. The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheś-vara* Madanapāla, whose son the *Mahārājaputra* Govindacandra-deva announces that the *Rāṇaka* Lavarāpravāha, after bathing in the Yamunā at the *ghāṭ* of the deity Muraïtha at Āsatikā, in the (V) *Saṁ*. 1166, on the occasion of a solar eclipse (A. D. 1109?),[1] gave part of the village of Rāmaïtha in the Sigurodha-*Pattalā* to the Brahman Guṇacandra. The grant was written by Tribhuvanapāla, with the consent of the *Mahattaka* Gāṅgeya.[2]

The inscriptions noticed above are dated from A. D. 1104 to 1109. The reign of Madanapāla must have terminated some time before 1114 A. D., the first known date of his successor.[3] It is rather curious that amongst the records so far discovered of Madanapāla's reign no inscription has been found recording a grant by the king himself. If we add to this the fact that in the grants of his successors he is always given only vague praise,[4] we may perhaps conclude that his reign was dominated by the masterful personality of his son Govindacandra, who was probab-ly already a powerful influence in the administration when his grandfather died, *c*. 1100 A. D. Not only were 3 out of the four grants practically issued by him, but the credit for all victorie sduring his father's reign, which have the appearance of facts, is given to this prince. Thus in Madanapāla's Rahan grant the victories over the Gauḍa elephants and Hammīra are said to have been achieved by the valour of his son Govindacandra.[5] "The arrays of irresistible mighty large elephants from Gauḍa," whose frontal globes were split (or cloven) by him, probably

[1] On the date see Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 15.
[2] Edited by Kielhorn, *ibid*, pp. 14-19.
[3] *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 101-03.
[4] See for a specimen, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 324 and 327, V. 15.
[5] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 16, lines 8-10.

belonged to Rāmapāla, the last great Pāla king[1] (*c.* 1084-1126 A. D.). The Muslim king who is reported to have laid aside his enmity on seeing the display of the prince's matchless fighting, certainly belonged to the Yamīnī dynasty of Ghazni and Lahore. These rulers from time to time tried to emulate the victories of Maḥmūd by occasionally invading the Ganges-Jumna valley. We have elsewhere noticed one such invasion in 1034 A. D. by Aḥmad Nīyāl-tigīn in the reign of Mas'ūd I (*c.* 1030-40 A. D.) which penetrated as far east as Benares. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* mentions another such expedition in the reign of Mas'ūd III (*c.* 1099-1115 A. D.). We are told that the "Ḥājib Ṭughā-tigīn crossed the river Gang, in order to carry on a holy war in Hindustan, and penetrated to a place where except Sulṭān Maḥmūd, no one had reached so far with an army before."[3] Some of the details of this campaign are perhaps recorded in a poem of Mas'ūd ibn Sa'd ibn Salmān, who lived in the court of Mas'ūd III. Salmān describes Kanauj as 'the capital of India, the Ka'aba of the Shamans and the Kibla of the Kāfīrs.' We are told that 'all the treasures of India go to this city as the small streams pour into a large river. It has armies, wealth, elephants, and weapons.' Its king Malhī (ملهی) or Malhīrā (ملهیرا) was a powerful ruler, and as furious 'as a hyena.' But in spite of all his wealth and bravery, he was defeated by Mas'ūd III and compelled to ransom his person by a large sum of money.[4] There seems little doubt that it was in these conflicts with the Turkish king and his generals that prince Govindacandra distinguished himself. It is however extremely difficult to identify the

[1] Note that this conflict of the Pālas and Gāhaḍavālas was merely a continuation of the struggle between the Pālas and Gurjara-Pratīhāras.

[2] See *infra*, my chapter on the Haihayas; also Elliot, Vol. II, p. 123

[3] *TN*, Vol. I, p. 107.

[4] *Dīwān* of Salmān, Ed. by Abu-l' Quāsim Akhvani, Teheran, 1879. I am indebted for the translation of the extracts to Dr. Mirza of the Lucknow University. The edition consulted has no pagination. See for another translation of the poem, *Elliot*, Vol. IV, pp. 526-27. The name of the Kanauj ruler can also be written as Mulhī or Mulhīrā.

reigning prince of Kanauj whom Salmān designates as Malhī or Malhīrā.[1] It seems possible that the text is here corrupt. The name intended may have been that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Madanapāla, the local ruler of Kanauj, of whom a Budaun inscription tells us that 'in consequence of whose distinguished prowess there never was any talk of Hambīra's coming to the bank of the river of the gods.'[2]

The rising power of the Gāhaḍavālas in the reign of Madanapāla is probably illustrated by his issue of coins of the 'bull and horsemen type' in billon (or copper) and base silver. On the obverse of these is the figure of a horseman with the legend *Madanapāla-deva*, *Madana*, *Mada*, or sometimes *Śrī-Ma*; on the reverse, a recumbent bull and the legend *Mādhava-Śrī-Sāmanta*, *Mādhava-Śrī-Sām*, *Sāmanta*, or simply *Mādha*.[3]

Madanapāla had at least two queens, *viz.*, Pṛthvīśrikā and Rālha or Rālhaṇa-devī. Govindacandra,[4] his son by the latter, succeeded him sometime before 1114 A.D. The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Govindacandra:

(1) *Kamauli grant* (*i*).—This was found in the village of Kamauli, near the confluence of the Barna and Ganges at Benares. It contains 28 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. The inscription begins with an invocation of *Vaikuṇṭha* and *Śrī*.[5] The metrical portion traces the genealogy of the donor. It then records that *Pb.-M.-P.*-Govindacandra in (V) *Saṁvatsara* 1171

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1 Dr. Barnett suggests : ملهيرا - ملهي ? for مهيلراي = महीयल राय (Mahīyala Rāya).

The acceptance of this suggestion would incline us to identify him with Madanacandra's grand-father Mahīcandra, also known as Mahīyala. But the date of the latter *c.* 1075-80 A. D. seems too early.

2 *EI*, Volavāla I, pp. 62 and 64, line 4. The name intended may also belong to the contemporary Gāhaḍavāla Madanapāla.

3 See *CCIM*, Vol. I, pp. 257 and 260; also *CMI*, p. 87.

4 Also known as Govindapāla. *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 324 and 327, V. 16.

5 The editor omits the text of the first 12 lines as it was very similar to the Kamauli grant dated in V. S. 1182, which begins with this invocation.

(A.D. 1114 ?), after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, granted the village of Bṛhadvirāicamaua in the Kāṭi-*Pattalā* to the *Purohita* Jāgu Sarman.[1]

(2) *Pali grant* (*i*).—Found in the village of Pali in the Dhuriapar pargana of Bansgaon Tahsil, Gorakhpur district, U. P. It is dated in V. S. 1171, and records a grant by Govindacandra. In line 13 of the grant we read: *Saruvārāoṇavala-Pathake Sirasī Pattalāyāṁ Pālī-grāma-Prabhṛti-grāmeṣū.*[2]

(3) *Benares grant* (*i*).—Found by a contractor at Benares near the Bhadaini temple at a depth of about 5 feet from the surface. It contains 21 lines incised on a single plate. The inscription records that in (V) *Saṁvatsara* 1171 (A. D. 1115), after bathing at Vārāṇasī in the Ganges, *Pb.-M.-P.*-Govindacandra granted a dwelling-place (*āvāsa*) to the *Mahattaka*-Dāyīṁ Sarman at Vārāṇasī. The *tāmraka* was written by the *Karaṇika* Jalhaṇa.[3]

(4) *Kamauli grant* (*ii*).—Found as in No. 1. It contains 27 lines incised on a single plate. The inscription records that in (V) *Saṁvat* 1172 (A. D. 1116), *Pb.-M.-P.*-Govindacandra, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī on the occasion of the *Akṣaya-tṛtīyā*, granted the village of Dhūsa in the Bṛhagṛhe-[ye?]varaṭha-*Pattalā* with its *pāṭakas* to the *Mahāpurohita* Jāgu Sarman.[4] The grant was written by the *Kāyastha Ṭhakkura* Jalhaṇa of the Vāstavya family.[5]

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 101-03. The date of the grant is irregular; see *ibid*, p. 102. The Kamauli plates are now in the Lucknow Museum. The seal of the following inscriptions, when unspecified is to be taken either as lost or of the usual type.

[2] Noticed by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. V, p. 114, fn. 4 and *ibid*, Vol. VII, pp. 98-99. The first plate of the grant was presented by Dr. Hoey to the Lucknow Museum. He identified Pali with 'Palee' in *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 102, Long. 83° 25′, Lat. 26°30′; Sirasī with Sirsi, *ibid*, sheet No. 87, S. E., Long. 83°9′ ' Lat. 26°32′; and Oṇavala with Unaula, a pargana of Gorakhpur.

[3] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 152-53.

[4] Also called Yājñavalkya; see *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 127, line 23 & fn. 9.

[5] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 103-04. The writer of the grant is the same as in No. 3.

(5) *Kamauli grant (iii).*—Found as No. 1. 26 lines, incised on single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4 while at Devasthāna, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1174 (A. D. 1117), at the annual Śrāddha performed at the new-moon in honour of his father, granted the village of Suṇahī (?) in the Kesāure (?)-*Pattalā* with its *pāṭakas* to the same donee as in No. 4. The grant was written by the *Karaṇika* Vāsudeva.[1]

(6) *Basahi grant.*—Found in the village of Basahi, Etawah district, U. P.; incised on a single plate. Ring and seal lost. It records the grant of two villages (the names of which are quite illegible) to a Brahman *Ṭhakkura* named Devapāla Śarman by the same donor as in No. 5. The date of the grant is (V) *Saṁvat* 1174 (A.D. 1116).[2]

(7) *Kamauli grant (iv).*—Found as No. 1. 24 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4 after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, granted the village of Acchavalī in the Ughaṇaterahottara-*Pattalā* to the donee of No. 4, in (V) *Saṁvatsara* 1176 (A.D. 1118-19 ?). The grant was written by the *Karaṇika Ṭhakkura* Sahadeva.[3]

(8) *Kamauli grant (v).*—Found as No. 1. 27 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that in (V) *Saṁvat* 1176 (A.D. 1119), the *Paṭṭamahādevī Mahārājñī* Nayanakeli-devī, the queen of the donor of No. 7, after bathing in the Ganges on the occasion of a solar eclipse, gave the village of Daravalī in the Koṭhotakōṭiāvarahottara (district) to the same donee as in No. 7. At the time of the grant the king was in residence at Khayarā. It was written by the *Ṭhakkura* Gāgūka.[4]

(9) *Kamauli grant (vi).*—Found as No. 1; 25 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that in (V) *Saṁvat* 1176 (A.D.

1 Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 104-06.

2 Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 19-20. There is some error in the date of the grant; see *ibid*, p. 20. The inscription was first edited by R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XLIII, part I, pp. 324-28.

3 Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 106-07. The date is irregular; see *ibid*, p. 106.

4 Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 107-09.

1118?) the donor of No. 4 after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasi granted a village (the name of which is illegible) in the Saru(gā?)ra (district) to the donee of No. 4. The writer is the same as in No. 8.[1]

(10) *Set Mahet stone-inscription.*—Discovered at the village of Mahet in Gonda district, U. P., under the ruins of a Buddhist building. It contains 18 lines, recording that a certain Vidyādhara, son of Janaka and grandson of Bilvaśiva of the Vāstavya family, established a convent for Buddhist ascetics at the town of Jāvṛśa (or Ajāvṛṣa), where the inscription was set up: Janaka, we are told, was the *Saciva* of Gopāla, the lord of Gādhipura. Gopāla's son was king Madana, the contemporary and master of Vidyādhara. The date of the inscription is (V.S.) 1176 (*rasādhikam abhivyāpi girīśa-caraṇāśritam*).[2] King Madana was probably a feudatory of Govindacandra.[3]

(11) *Don Buzurg grant.*—This was unearthed in a field near the village of Don Buzurg, 7½ miles north of Mairwa railway station on the 'Bengal and North Western Railway.' It contains 36 lines incised on two plates. The seal is as usual. It records that the donor of No. 4, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1176 (A.D. 1119-20), after bathing in the Ganges at his camp-residence (*Yāna-vāsa*) at the village of Maṁdaliā, belonging to Alaṁvimahāpura, granted the village of Vaḍagrāma,[4] in Alāpa-*Pattalā*, with its *pāṭakas*, to the Brahman Ṭulṭāica Śarman. The grant was written by the *Karaṇika Ṭhakkura* Sahadeva, and engraved by the *Sūtradhāra* Hāleka.[5]

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 109. The date is irregular.

[2] *Rasa*=6, *giri*=7 and *īśa*=11; *i.e.* 1176. See Dr. Hoey's note *JASB*, Vol. LXI, part 1, Extra No., p. 63, note 16.

[3] On this point see my pupil N. B. Sanyal, *JASB*, 1925, Vol. XXI (N.S.), p. 105. The inscription was first edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 61-64. The text was then published by Dr. A. Führer in *ASI* (New Series), Vol. I, by Dr. Hoey in *JASB*, Vol. LXI, part 1, Extra No., pp. 57-64. He read the date as 1176.

[4] D. R. Sahni suggests that this may be mod. village of Bargaõ in the Salempur Parganā of the Gorakhpur district, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 220.

[5] Edited by D. R. Sahni, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 218-24.

(12) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant (i)*.—Find-spot unknown. It records "a transfer of landed interest," in the presence of *Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipatī-Vividha-vidyā-vicāra-vācaspati* Govindacandra in (V) *Saṁvat* 1177 (A.D. 1120). The village of Karaṇḍa in the Antarāla-*Pattalā* (*Antarāla-pattalāyām-Karaṇḍa-grāma-Karaṇḍa-talla*) which was originally given to the *rāja-guru-śaivācārya-bhaṭṭāraka* Rudraśiva by *Rājā* Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, passed into the possession of the *Ṭhakkura* Vasiṣṭha.[1]

(13) *Chhatarpur grant*.—This was unearthed in the village of Chhatarpur, near Sheorajpur, 21 miles North-West of Cawnpur. It contains 32 lines incised on two plates. The seal is as usual. It records that the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the water of the Ganges at Vārāṇasī in (V) *Saṁvat* 1177, granted the village of Sāsaimaua [2] in the Koṭi-*Pattalā* to the Brahman Sāhula Śarman. The grant was written by the *Karaṇika Ṭhakkura* Śrīdhara.[3]

(14) *Kamauli grant*.—Found as No. 1 ; 22 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that in (V) *Saṁvat* 1178 (A. D. 1122) the donor of No. 4 after bathing at the Kapālamocana-*ghaṭṭa* at Vārāṇasī, where the Ganges flows to the north, granted the village of Sulateṇī, in the Neulasatāvisikā (district) to Vyāsa.[4] The grant was written by the same as in No. 8.[5]

(15) *Benares grant (ii)*.—Found in the possession of Sitaram Agarwala of Benares. Exact find-spot unknown. It contains 29 lines, incised on a single plate. It records a grant of the donor of No. 4 and his mother (*Mahāmātṛ-rājñī-Śrī*)

[1] Edited by F. W. Hall, *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123-24. He suggests that the land which changed hands was conquered by Govindacandra from Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, *ibid*, p. 124.

[2] The editor suggests identification with the village of Sisamau which is now part of the Cawnpur city; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 225.

[3] Edited by D. R. Sahni, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 224-26.

[4] Brother of the donee of No. 4.

[5] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 109-11.

Rālhaṇa-devī. The king, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1181 (A.D. 1124) granted the village of Tribhāṇḍi in the Yavaala-*Pattalā* to the Brahman *Paṇḍita* Bhupati Śarman. The grant was written by the *Ṭhakkura* Candra.[1]

(16) *Kamauli grant* (*viii*).—Found as No. 1 ; 28 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4 on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in (V) *Saṁvat* 1182 (A.D. 1126?), after bathing in the Ganges, granted the village of Mahasoṇamaua in the Haladoya-*Pattalā* to the donee of No. 4. It was written by the *Vāstavya Kāyastha* Kīṭhana.[2]

(17). *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant* (*ii*).—Find-spot unknown. It records that in (V) *Saṁvat* 1182 (A.D. 1127) the donor of No. 4 [3] having bathed in the Ganges at Īśapratiṣṭhāna, granted the village of Agoḍali in the Haladaya-*Pattalā* to the Brahmans Chichā Śarman and Vācaṭa Śarman. The *tāmra-paṭṭaka* was written by *Ṭhakkura* Viśvarūpa.[4]

(18) *Maner grant*.—This comes from the village of Maner in Dinapore sub-division, Patna district. It contains 26 lines incised on a single plate. Seal as usual. It records that in (V) *Saṁvat* 1183 (A.D. 1124), the donor of No. 4, having bathed in the Ganges at Kanyākubja, granted the villages of Guṇāve and Pāḍalī in the Maṇiari[5]-*Pattalā* to the Brahman Gaṇeśvara Śarman. It was written by the same as in No. 17.[6]

[1] Edited by A. Fuhrer, *JASB*, LVI, part I, pp. 113-18. He read the queen's name as Dālhaṇa-devī, and took her to be the wife of the king; but see Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 15, No. 96.

[2] Edited by Kielhorn-*EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 99-101. The date is irregular, see *ibid*, p. 99.

[3] Same titles and epithets as in No. 12.

[4] Edited by F. E. Hall, *JASB*, Vol. XXVII, pp, 241-50. Hall reads *Śrīśa-Pratiṣṭhāna*. Kielhorn identified Pratiṣṭhāna with the place of the same name which was situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna; see *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 33.

[5] Identified with mod. Maner in Patna district, Bihar. This *Pattalā* is the same as the Manara-*Pattalā* of the Benares college grant of Jayaccandra; see *JASB*, 1922, p. 82.

[6] First noticed in *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 106. Then a text and translation of the grant was published by R. Sarma in *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 441-47. Finally edited by N. G. Mazumdar in *JASB*, V, 1922, pp. 81-84.

(19) *Kamauli grant* (*ix*).—Found as No. 1. 25 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4,[1] after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī in (V) *Saṁvat* 1184 (A.D. 1127), granted to the donee of No. 4 the village of Rāṛī (?) in the Maḍavala(?)-*Pattalā* with its *pāṭakas*. It was written by the same as in No. 17.[2]

(20) *Benares grant* (*iii*).—Found as No. 15; 26 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4 after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1185 (A.D. 1129), granted the village of Jaragāma in the Puroha-*Pattalā* to the Brahman *Paṇḍita* Bhupati Śarman. It was written by the same as in No. 15.[3]

(21) *Itaunja grant*.—This was in the possession of the Raja of Itaunja, a Taluqdar of Lucknow district in U.P. Find-spot unknown. It contains 24 lines incised on a single plate, recording that the donor of No. 4 in (V) *Saṁvat* 1186, after bathing as in No. 19, grants the village of Kapāsī in the Maṅgalajaṭhi-*Pattalā* to the Brahman Nāne Śarman. It was written by the same as in No. 17.[4]

(22) *Set Mahet grant*.—This was discovered in a monastery 'on the site of *Saheṭh*' (*i.e.*, Set), on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts. It contains 27 lines incised on a single plate, recording that the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, and having worshipped Vāsudeva and other gods, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1186, granted the villages of Vihāra, Paṭṭanā,[5] Upalaüṇḍā, Vavvahalī,[6] Meyī-*saṃbaddha*-Ghosāḍī,[7] and Poṭhivāra-*sambaddha*-Payāsi[8] in the Vāḍā(jā)-

[1] Titles and epithets as in No. 12.

[2] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 111.

[3] Edited by A. Führer, *JASB*, Vol. LVI, part I, pp. 118-23.

[4] Edited by H. Sastri, *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 295-97.

[5] Mod. village of Patna, about 3 miles south-west of Set; *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 21-22.

[6] Identified with the mod. village of Belaha, near the village of Patna; *ibid*, p. 22.

[7] Identified with the important village of this name near Subhgapur on the Gonda-Intiathok road; *ibid*.

[8] Identified with the village of Bayasi, which stood 2 miles to the north of Set Mahet; *ibid*.

Caturaśīti-*Pattalā* to "the *Saṁgha* of the Buddhist friars (*Śākya-bhikṣu*) of whom Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka is the chief" residing in the Jetavana-*mahāvihāra*. The gift was made by the donor 'having been gratified by the *Saugata-parivrājaka-mahā-paṇḍita* Śākyarakṣita, (a resident) of the Utkala-deśa and his disciple, the *Saugata-parivrājaka-mahāpaṇḍita* Vāgīśvararakṣita, (a resident) of the Coḍa-deśa.'[1] The grant was written by the *Kāyastha* Sūrāditya.[2]

(23) *Raiwan grant.*—Found 'at Raiwan, a place 8 miles north-west from Biswān in the Sitāpur district, in a small *mound*.' 29 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4,[3] in (V) *Saṁvat* 1187 (1130 A.D.), after bathing at the Ādi-Keśava-*ghaṭṭa* at Vārāṇasī, granted the village of Sohanjaka with Bhuluri-*pāṭaka* (?) situated in Navagrāma-*Pattalā* to the *Ṭhakkura* Bālāditya Śarman. It was written by the same as in No. 17.[4]

(24) *Benares grant* (*iv*).—Found as No. 3; 24 lines incised on a single plate, recording that the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1187 (A.D. 1130), granted the village of Palasauṇḍī in the Nandivāra-*Pattalā* to the *Prāṇācārya Bhaṭṭa paṇḍita* Khona Śarman.[5]

(25) *Ren grant.*—Found 'in the debris of a fallen high bank of the Jumna river,' close to the village of Ren not far from the police station of Lalaulī. Ren is situated 'just within the northern boundary line of the Mutaur Pargana of the Ghazipur Tahsīl of the Fatehpur district' (U.P.). It contains 24 lines incised on a single plate, recording that the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the Ganges, near the Ādi-Keśava-*ghaṭṭa*, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1188 (A.D. 1131), granted the village of Dosahalī,[6]

[1] On these two persons, see editor's note on p. 22.

[2] Edited by D. R. Sahni, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 20-26.

[3] Titles and epithets as in No. 12.

[4] Edited by A. Führer, *JASB*, Vol. LVI, part I, pp. 106-13.

[5] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 153-55.

[6] Identified with mod. Dasauli, about 6 miles south of Ren. The name of the *Pattalā* cannot be read; see *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 250.

to the Brahman Lahaḍa Śarman. It was written by the same as in No. 17.[1]

(26) *Pali grant (ii)*.—Found as No. 2. 34 lines, written on two plates. Seal as usual. It records that the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the Satī, at the Svapneśvara-*ghaṭṭa*, on the occasion of the Akṣaya-tṛtīyā, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1189 (A.D. 1133), made over to his mother the *Mahārājñī* Rālhaṇa-devī, ten *nālukas* (of land) in the village of Guduvī, in the Goyara-*Pattalā* of the Oṇavala-*Pathaka*, as a gift for the *Ṭhakkura* Jayapāla Śarman. The grant was written by the *Ṭhakkura* Viṣṇu.[2]

(27) *Kamauli grant (x)*.—Found as No. 1; 24 lines incised on a single plate, recording that the donor of No. 4, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1190 (A.D. 1133), after bathing at the Govinda-*vāṭikā*, granted the village of Umbarī in the Rūdamauavayālisī-*Pattalā* to the *Rāuta* Jāṭe Śarman.[3]

(28) *Benares grant (v)*.—Found as No. 3; 28 lines, incised on a single plate. The circular seal contains in high relief the legend: *Mahārājaputra-Śrīmad-Āsphoṭacandradevaḥ*. Above the legend there is a conch-shell. It records that, with the consent of the donor of No. 4, the *Mahārājaputra Yuvarāja* Āsphoṭacandra in (V) *Saṁvat* 1190 (1134 A.D.), after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, granted the village of Kaṇāuta in the Nandinī-*Pattalā* to the *Paṇḍita* Dāmodara Śarman. It was written by the *Ṭhakkura* Gāgeka.[4]

(29) *Kamauli grant (xi)*.—Found as No. 1; 25 lines, incised on a single plate. The genealogical portion of the grant is divided into two sections. The first portion gives the usual pedigree of Govindacandra[5] from Candradeva. Then in

[1] Edited by Hoernle, *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 249-52.

[2] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 113-115. On *nāluka*, see *ibid*, p. 113. On the identification of Oṇavala, see *supra*, p. 516, fn. 3.

[3] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 111-112.

[4] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 155-56. The writer of the grant is probably the same as in No. 8.

[5] His titles and epithets as in No. 12.

verses 5-9 we are given the following genealogy of the donor of the grant, apparently a feudatory of Govindacandra.

In the Sāṇḍilya-*gotra* and Siṅgara family

Kamalapāla...Came from Sṛṅgaroṭa and acquired by his bravery a royal fillet or tiara (*rāja-paṭṭī*).
Sūlhaṇa or Alhaṇa (?)
|
Kumāra
|
Mahārājaputra Lohaḍa-deva, *alias* Vatsarāja.

We are told that this Vatsarāja, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1191 (A.D. 1134), at the Kanyā-saṁkrānti, after bathing in the Ganges at the Avimukta-*kṣetra* of Benares, granted the village of Āmbavara in the Rāpaḍī (or Rāvaḍī)-*Viṣaya* to the Brahman *Ṭhakkura* Dalhū Śarman. The *tāmṛaka* was written by the *Ṭhakkura* Nārāyaṇa.[1]

(30) *Kamauli grant* (*xii*).—Found as No. 1 ; 26 lines, engraved on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. (4)[2] after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in (V) *Saṁvat* 1196 (A.D. 1139), granted the village of Janakadevīpura in Rāna(?)-*Pattalā* to the donee of No. 4.[3]

(31) *Kamauli grant* (*xiii*).—Found as No. 1; 27 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4 'on the day of the great queen,'[4] in (V) *Saṁvat* 1197 (A.D. 1141), after bathing in the Ganges, at the Vedēśvara-*ghaṭṭa* at the Avimukta-*kṣetra* of Vārāṇasī, granted a village [5] to the donee of No. 4.[6] It was written by the *Ṭhakkura* Dhādūka.[7]

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 130-33.

[2] Titles and epithets as in No. 12.

[3] Edited by A. Venis, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 361-63.

[4] Name not given. But it was certainly the queen-mother Rālha-devī; see *infra*, p. 525, grant No. 32.

[5] Name of the village and *Pattalā* have been effaced.

[6] Described here as *Dīkṣita* Jāgu Śarman.

[7] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 114.

(32) *Kamauli grant* (*xiv*).—Found as No. 1 ; 29 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4 'on the day of the great queen Rālha-devī,' after bathing in the Ganges at the Avimukta-*kṣetra* of Vārāṇasī in (V) *Saṁvat* 1198 (A.D. 1142), granted to the donee of No. 31 the village of Laṅkācaḍa in the Navagāma-*Pattalā*. The grant was written by the *Ṭhakkura* Viṣṇu.[1]

(33) *Gagaha grant.*—' Found at Gagahā to the west of the Rapti river, about 21 miles south of Gorahkpur '[2] in the U.P.; 34 lines, incised on two plates. It records that with the consent of the donor of No. 4, the *Mahārājaputra* Rājyapāla-deva, while he was at camp at Guṁjhaḍa-*grāma*[3] after bathing in the Triveṇī-*nadī*, granted certain estates in the Hathauṇḍa-*Pattalā* to the three Brahman *Ṭhakkuras* Devavarman, Bhūpati, and Śrīdhara, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1199 (A.D. 1143). The *tāmra-paṭṭaka* was written by the *Karaṇika Ṭhakkura* Vīvīka (or Bībīka).[4]

(34) *Kamauli grant* (*xv*).—Found as No. 1 ; 32 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī in (V) *Saṁvat* 1200 (A.D. 1144), granted the village of Kāila with its *pāṭakas* Vīvamayūtā, Jaṁharimayūtā, Tihunāmayūtā, Dadaūāmayūtā, Āmbāmayūtā, Savaramayūtā, Palasavalī, Duṇendu, Cācāpura and Pipalavalīpi in the Temiṣapacottara-*Pattalā*, to the *Paṇḍita* Mahārāja Śarman, the son of the donee of No. 31.[5]

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 113-114.

[2] Most probably 'the village of that name in the *tappā* of Gagahā in the Bāṅsgaon *tahsīl*, which is served by the post office of Korī-Rām,' see *EI*, Vol. XIII, p. 216.

[3] Probably mod. Gunjhari, in the *tappā* of Karmant, *tahsīl* Bāṅsgaon near Belghat; see *ibid*, p. 217.

[4] Summary of the grant given by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 20-21. Before him it was noticed by Carlleyle in *ASR*, Vol. XXII, pp. 59 ff. Finally edited by Dr. Barnett, *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 216-20. The grant is now in the British Museum. Note the 3 *Garhwa stone inscriptions*, dated in V.S. 1199, *ASR*, Vol. III, pp. 58-60. Garhwa is situated 25 miles to the S.W. of Allahabad. These records do not mention the name of Govindacandra.

[5] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 114-15.

(35) *Machhlishahr grant.*—Found in a field 7 miles north of Machhlishahr (Ghiswā) in Jaunpur district, U.P. ; 29 lines, written on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1201 (A.D. 1143), granted the village of Perōha in the Mahasōya-*Pattalā* [1] to the *Paṇḍita* Vaṁśadhara Śarman. The *tāmra* was written by the *Kāyastha* Dhandhūka.[2]

(36) *Lar grant.*—Found in the village of Lar (Long. 84°2′, Lat. 26°14′) in Gorakhpur district, U.P. ; 38 lines, incised on two plates. It records that the donor of No. 4, when in residence at Mudgagiri,[3] after bathing in the Ganges on the *Akṣaya-tṛtīyā* day, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1202 (A.D. 1146), granted 'the village of Poṭācavaḍa in the Pandala-*Pattalā* in Govisālaka that belonged to Dudhāli in Saruvāra' [4] to the *Ṭhakkura* Śrīdhara. The *tāmra-paṭṭaka* was written by the *Ṭhakkura* Selhaṇa.[5]

(37) *Benares grant (vi).*—Found as No. 3 ; 30 lines, incised on a single plate. The circular seal contains the legend *Mahārājaputra-śrīmad-Rājyapāla-devaḥ.* Above this there is a conch-shell and below an arrow. It records that with the consent of the donor of No. 4, the *Mahārājaputra* Rājyapāla, after bathing in the Ganges at Rājyapāla-pura, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1203 (A.D. 1146), granted the village of Camaravāmi, with Haricandrapālī and two or three other *pāṭakas* (the names of which are doubtful), in the Valaura-*Pattalā* to the donee of No. 28. It was written by the same as in No. 28.[6]

(38) *'Hathiya-dah' pillar inscription.*—Incised on a grey sand-stone pillar standing in the middle of a dry tank called

[1] Kielhorn identified it with Mahaso-*Pattalā* of a Kamauli grant (No. 2) of Jayacandra, *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 122.

[2] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 115-116. The writer is probably the same as in No. 31. The editor is of opinion that the date of the grant is a mistake for V.S. 1202 (A.D. 1146), see *ibid*, p. 115.

[3] Mod. Monghyr in Bihar.

[4] On this place, see *supra*, p. 516, grant No. 2.

[5] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 98-100.

[6] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 156-58.

Hathiya-dah (Elephants' tank), nearly midway between Azimgarh and Benares. It contains 10 lines. The inscription records the excavation of the tank by several '*Thākuras*,' of whom the chief was 'Bellana Thākur,' the *Bhāṇḍāgārika* of Gosalla-devī, the *Mahārājñī* of king Govindacandra,[1] in (V) *Saṁvat* 1207 (A.D. 1151).[2]

(39) *Benares grant* (*vii*).—Found as No. 3 ; 26 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1207 (A.D. 1150), on 'the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa-Saṁkrānti*, after bathing at the Koṭī-tīrtha at Vārāṇasī, granted the village of Lolirupāḍā, together with Tivāyi-*kṣetra*, in the Umbarāla-*Pattalā*, to the donee of No. 28. The *tāmra* was written by Vidyādhara, son of the writer of No. 35.[3]

(40) *Bangavan grant*.—Found in a field near the village of Bangavan in the Daryabad pargana of the Ramsanehi-ghat *Tahsīl*, Bara Banki district, Oudh; 25 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the *Paṭṭamahādevī Mahārājñī* Gosaladevī, the queen of the donor of No. 4, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī near (the temple of) the god Lōlāraka,[4] with the king's consent, gave the village of Gaṭiara in the Bhīmamayūtāsa.....[5] *Pattalā* to the Brahman *Ṭhakkura* Kulhe, who had come from Pāṭaliputra.[6] The date of the grant, (V) *Saṁvat* 1208 (A.D. 1151 ?), is irregular.[7]

(41) *Kamauli grant* (*xvi*).—Found as No. 1. 26 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 4, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1211 (A.D. 1154), after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, granted the village of Goulī in the Kaccholha-*Pattalā*

[1] Titles and epithets as in No. 12.
[2] Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, 1871, Vol. I, pp. 95-96.
[3] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 158-59.
[4] A form of the Sun, *EI*, Vol. V, p. 117, fn. 2.
[5] The two last *akṣaras* are illegible.
[6] Mod. Patna in Bihar.
[7] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 116-18.

with its *pāṭakas* to the *Rāuta* Paharāja Śarman. The *tāmra-paṭṭaka* was written by Śrīpati.[1]

(42) *Sarnath stone-inscription.*—'It was dug out to the north of the Dhamekh Stūpa, to the south of the raised mound running east and west over the remnants of the old monasteries of the Gupta period.' It contains 29 lines, opening with *Oṁ namo bhagavatyai ārya-Vasudhārāyai*, and an invocation of Vasudhārā (V. 1) and the Moon (V. 2). It may be divided into four parts, the first three parts contain information about the rulers of Pīṭhī, Aṅga and the Gāhaḍavālas which can be shown in tabular form as follows :[2]

Rulers of Pīṭhī.[3] — In the Chikkora-*vaṁśa* of the lunar race.
⋮
Vallabharāja
|
Devarakṣita = Śaṅkara-devī (daughter of Mahana)

Rulers of Aṅga. — (Rāṣṭrakūṭa)
⋮
Mahana
|
Śaṅkara-devī

Gāhaḍavālas.
Candra
|
Madanacandra
|
Govindacandra

Kumāra-devī (daughter of Devarakṣita and Śaṅkara-devī) = Govindacandra.

The proper object of the inscription is given in the 4th part, (Vs. 21-23).[4] We are told that, Jambukī having represented that the Dharmacakra-Jina originally set up by Dharmāśoka required to be repaired, Kumāra-devī restored the Jina (or set up a new one) and placed it in a new *vihāra* built for the purpose. Jambukī was made the foremost of all *Pattalikās*[5] by the queen. The *praśasti* was composed by the poet Kunda, and engraved by Vāmana.[6]

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 116-117.

[2] For details see my chapter on the Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar, pp. 338-40.

[3] Another name of Magadha ; see *supra*, fn 1 on p. 339.

[4] The meaning of these verses is rather obscure; see *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 320, for Venkayya's suggestions, which have been accepted by Sten Konow.

[5] See for this word, *EI*, III, p. 44, line 33.

[6] Edited by Sten Konow, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 319-28.

The above 42 inscriptions of Govindacandra range over a period of 40 years (A.D.1114-1154). If we add to this the period of his father's reign during which he seems to have taken an active part in the government of the state, his association with the administration may well have spread over half a century. We have already seen how he waged successful wars against the Gauḍa prince and Hammīra during his father's reign. These conflicts with the Muslims probably continued even during his reign, for the Sarnath inscription of Kumāra-devī tells us that "Hari, who had been commissioned by Hara to protect Vārāṇasī from the wicked *Turuṣka* warrior, as the only one who was able to protect the earth, was again born from him, his name being renowned as Govindapāla.'[1] This statement may contain an otherwise un-recorded notice of a possible invasion of Benares by the later Yamīnīs.[2] In the east Govindacandra's marriage with Kumāra-devī, the grand-daughter of Mahana, a maternal uncle of Rāmapāla (*c.* 1084-1126 A.D.), may indicate a temporary truce between the Gāhaḍavālas and the Pālas. But the Maner (No. 18) and Lar. (No. 36) plates show that during the period 1124-1146 A.D., the arms of Govindacandra had crossed the Son and gradually advanced along the southern bank of the Ganges to Patna and Monghyr in the East. The date of the Maner grant (A.D. 1124) indicated that he captured part of Patna before Rāmapāla's death. It is likely that the Gāhaḍavālas' advance began during the weak administration of Rāmapāla's son who according to the *Rāma-carita* was entrusted with the administration of the state during the later years of that king.[3] This advance must have continued during the

[1] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 324 and 327, V. 16.

[2] The Yamīnī rulers during this period were :

(1) Shīrzād, Kāmāl ud-Daulah (A.D. 1115-1116).

(2) Arsalān Shāh, Sulṭān ud-Daulah (A.D. 1116-18).

(3) Bahrām Shāh, Yamīn ud-Daulah (A.D. 1118-52).

See *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 35-37 and 688.

[3] *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1, IV, i; see also *supra*, Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar, pp. 347-48.

inglorious period of Pāla rule (*c*. 1126-50 A.D.) which followed Rāmapāla's death. The hostility of the Pālas towards the Gāhaḍavālas appears to have been inherited by the Senas, and possibly the naval expedition of Vijayasena (*c*. 1097-1159 A.D.) to the western regions, 'which sailed up the whole course of the Ganges,' may not have been entirely unconnected with the Gāhaḍavālas.[1] In the south, the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant dated in A.D. 1120, which records the transference of land formerly granted by Yaśaḥ-Karṇa (*c*. 1073-1125 A.D.) seems to show that the success of the Gāhaḍavālas against the Kalacuris of Tripurī was maintained during Govindacandra's reign. This conclusion may derive some support from the fact that it was Govindacandra who first assumed in his family the title of *Aśvapati* and others which figured regularly amongst the epithets of the Kalacuris of Tripurī from the time of Lakṣmī-Karṇa. An indirect proof of the hostilities between the Gāhaḍavālas and Kalacuris is probably supplied by the evidence of the friendship of the former with the enemies of the latter, the Candellas. The Mau inscription seems to show that Govindacandra maintained friendly relations with the Candella Madanavarman (*c*.1129-63 A.D.).[2] But the most important fact about the relations of the Gāhaḍavālas with the princes of the South is their regular diplomatic connection with the great Coḷa rulers. Venkayya has drawn our attention to an unfinished inscription at Goṅgaikoṇḍa-Coḷapuram which gives the genealogy of the Gāhaḍavālas from Yaśovigraha to Candra.[3] It is almost a verbatim copy of the introduction of Govindacandra's Kamauli grant, dated in V.S. 1182.[4] But unfortunately the record abruptly

[1] Princes of the *Pāścātya-cakra* probably included also the Karṇāṭa dynasty of Mithilā; see *supra*, Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar, p. 360, and fn. 3 on the same page.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 198, V. 16. See also *infra*, chapter on the Candellas.

[3] *Progress Report of the Asst. Supdt. for Epigraphy (Southern Circle)* by V. Venkayya, 1907-08, pp. 65-66, paragraphs 58-60.

[4] *EI*, IV, pp. 100-01. See *supra*, p. 520, No. 16.

stops after the name of Candra. As the inscription occurs immediately after a record of Kulottuṅga I dated in his 41st year (*c.* 1110-11 A.D.), it is generally supposed to belong to the time of Madanapāla or his son Govindacandra. It is likely that after the advance of the Coḷas to the Ganges under Rājendra Coḷa in the first quarter of the 11th century, the communication between the far south and the Ganges valley, became much more brisk and intimate. There is unquestionable epigraphic evidence to show that the Coḷas retained their hold on a large portion of the land which lies between the river Godavari and Mahendragiri.[1] The attacks by Kulottuṅga I,[2] and some of his predecessors on Vairagarh in C. P. may have brought the Coḷas into conflict with the Kalacuris. The friendship between the Gāhaḍavālas and the Coḷas may thus have been caused by their common enmity to the Kalucuris.[3] The Gāhaḍavāla inscription in the Coḷa country is possibly to be taken as evidence of a friendly visit by a prince of the royal family to the Coḷa capital, who made some grants to local temples. Govindacandra's Set Mahet grant (No. 22) dated in A.D. 1130, which records a grant by the king at the request of two Buddhist monks, who were residents of the Utkala and Coḍa countries further shows the intimate bond that existed between the two kingdoms.

The success of Govindacandra as a ruler is also demonstrated by his coins. He appears to have given up the 'bull and horseman' type of his father's coins and adopted the 'seated goddess' type, which was first introduced by the Kalacuri Gāṅgeya. The obverse of his gold and copper coins has the legend *Śrī-Govindacandra-deva,* often followed by the representation of a *triśūla,* while the reverse contains the seated figure of the goddess Lakṣmī. Gold *drammas* of Govindacandra, 'often in

[1] See *supra*, Dynasties of Orissa, p. 450.

[2] *South Indian Inscriptions*, by Hultzsch, 1903, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 132 ff.

[3] See on this point Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, "The king who is likewise situated close to the enemy, but separated from the conqueror only by the enemy, is termed the friend": quoted in my article in *IA*, 1925, p. 201.

extremely base metal,' are abundant. Eight hundred of them were found in 1887 near Nanpara in Bahraich district, Oudh.[1]

Govindacandra had at least four queens. Of these the names of Nayanakeli-devī,[2] Gosala-devī,[3] and Kumāra-devī [4] are known from his inscriptions. The last of these three seems to have professed the Buddhist religion. The name of another Buddhist queen of Govindacandra is preserved in the colophon of a Nepal MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. It runs as follows : *Śrī-Śrī-Kānyakubjādhipatya-Aśvapati-Gajapati-Rājya-tray-ādhipati- Śrī-mad*-Govindacandra-devasya *pratāpa-vaśataḥ rājñī-Śrī-pravara-Mahāyāna-yāyinyāḥ paramaopāsikā rājñī* Vāsanta-devyā *deya-dharma'yam.*[5] He had also at least three sons. The Benares grant of A.D. 1133 [6] shows that Aṣphoṭacandra was considered as heir-apparent (*Yuvarāja*) on that date. The Gagaha grant of A.D. 1143 [7] gives us the name of another son, Rājyapāla. The appearance of the name Aṣphoṭacandra on the seal of the grant shows that he was actively associated in the Government of the state.[8] The Kamauli grant [9] of Vijayacandra however shows that Govindacandra's successor was neither of these but another son named Vijayacandra. The causes that led to the accession of this prince, who according to the evidence available at present did not take any part in his father's administration, must remain a mystery. The argument that the other two princes predeceased their father is familiar enough. But the possibility

[1] *CCIM*, Vol. I, pp. 257 and 260-61; *CMI*, p. 80, plate IX, and p. 87.

[2] See *supra*, p. 517, grant No. 8.

[3] See *supra*, pp. 526-27, grants Nos. 38 and 40. Name sometimes spelt as Gosalla-devī.

[4] See *supra*, p. 528, inscription No. 42.

[5] No. 381 of the 3rd collection by H. P. Śāstrī, quoted in *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 321. Konow was wrong (*ibid*, p. 321) when he accepted Führer's reading and interpretation of line 19 of grant No. 15 (*JASB*, Vol. LVI, Part I, p. 115) and took Dālhaṇa-devī, as one of the queens of Govindacandra. See Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 15, No. 96 and *supra*, p. 520, fn. 1.

[6] See *supra*, p. 523, grant No. 28.

[7] See *supra*, p. 525, grant No. 33.

[8] The seal of grant No. 33 is unfortunately lost; see *supra*, p. 525.

[9] *EI*., Vol. IV, p. 119, lines 7-8.

of palace-intrigue or a fratricidal war can never be completely eliminated.

The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Vijayacandra :

(1) *Kamauli grant.*—Found as No. 1 of the previous reign; 31 lines, incised on a single plate. The introductory portion traces the Gāhaḍavālas' pedigree from Yaśovigraha to Vijayacandra.[1] This last king then records that with his consent the *Mahārājaputra Yuvarāja* Jayaccandra, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1221 (A.D. 1168), on being initiated as a worshipper of the god Kṛṣṇa, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī near the (temple of) god Ādi-Keśava, granted the village of Haripura in the Jiāvai-*Pattalā* [2] to the preceptor of Vaiṣṇava worship, the *Mahāpurohita* Praharāja Śarman,[3] son of *Mahāpurohita* Dīkṣita Jāgu.[4] The grant was written by the *Ṭhakkura* Kusumapāla.[5]

(2) *Jaunpur stone pillar-inscription.*—This was found 'cut on the face of one of the bracket-capitals of a square pillar in the south cloister of the Lāl Darwāza Masjid' at Jaunpur. It consists of two lines, which are 'both incomplete on the right hand, owing to the cutting away of 3½ inches of the face to make the old Hindu bracket fit into its new position in the Muhammadan masjid.' It gives the date (V) *Saṁvat* 1225 (A.D. 1169) in the reign of the fortunate Vijayacandra.[6]

(3) *Royal Asiatic Society's grant.*—This was in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1886. Find-spot not known. It contains 28 lines, incised on a single plate. The introductory portion as in No. 1 with the same titles and epithets of the king. It records that, with the king's permission,

[1] His titles and epithets as in No. 12 of his father; see above.

[2] Kielhorn (*EI*, Vol. IV, p. 118) identified it with the Jiavatī-*Pattalā* of grants Nos. 1 and 2 of Madanapāla, see *supra*, pp. 511-12.

[3] Apparently the same as the donee of No. 41 of his father's grant, see *supra*, p. 528.

[4] The same as the donee of No. 4 of his father's grant, see *supra*, p. 516.

[5] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 117-20.

[6] Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XI, p. 123, plate XXXVII. For the date see *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 22, No. 150.

the *Mahārājaputra Yuvarāja* Jayaccandra, after having bathed in the Jumna at the Vaśiṣṭha[1] (?)-*ghaṭṭa*, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1225 (A.D. 1169), granted the village of Nāgalī in the Devahalī-*Pattalā* to two brothers, the *Rāutas* Ananta Śarman and Dāde Śarman. The grant was written by Jayapalā.[2]

(4) *Tārācaṇḍī rock inscription.*—This inscription was incised "upon a rock, denominated, from an idol delineated on it, Tārācaṇḍī, in the vicinity of Sahasram," in the Shahabad district in South Bihar. It records a declaration, issued in (V) *Saṁvat* 1225 (A.D. 1169), by the *Mahānāyaka Jāpilādhipati* Pratāpadhabala. This announces as forged a grant of the villages of Kalahaṇḍi and Baḍapilā, by the *Kānyakubjādhipati* Vijayacandra, which is said to have been executed in the favour of certain Brahmans living in villages adjoining Kalahaṇḍi. These Brahman *lampaṭas*, we are told, secured this document by bribing (*utkocya*) Deū, an officer (*dāsa*) of the sovereign of Gādhi-nagara.[3]

(5) *Phulwaria* (*Rohtasgarh*) *inscription.*—Kielhorn notices this inscription, which was found in the Shahabad district of Bihar, from a rubbing taken by Cunningham. It is a record of the *Nāyaka* of Jāpila named Pratāpadhabala.[4] It is dated in (V) S. 1225 (A.D. 1169).[5]

The inscriptions noticed above gives us dates of Vijayacandra from A.D. 1168 to 1169. The Kamauli grant of his son dated in V.S. 1226 shows that his reign must have terminated sometime before Sunday, the 21st June, A.D. 1170.[6] As the last known date of his father Govindacandra comes down to A. D. 1154, he seems to have had a reign about 15 years (*c.* 1155-1170 A.D.).

[1] *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 8, line 17.

[2] Edited by Kielhorn; *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 7-13.

[3] Edited by F. E. Hall, *JAOS*, Vol. VI, pp. 547-49. It was first noticed by Colebrooke in *Miscellaneous Essays*, London, 1873, Vol. III, p. 256. He read the date as (V)S. 1229 (A.D. 1173). But see Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 22, No. 153. The record ought to be re-edited.

[4] The same as in No. 4.

[5] *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 22, No. 152.

[6] *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 120-21.

We have very little other authentic information about him. *Pṛthvīrāja-Rāso* however purports to narrate some of his achievements. We are told in this work that Vijayapāla "attacked the Somavaṁśī king Mukundadeva of Katak, who gave his daughter in marriage to Vijayapāla's son Jayacandra, to whom a daughter named Saṁyogītā was born in S. 1133."[1] The *Rāso* also contains references to Vijayapāla's attack on Bholābhīm of Paṭṭanapura (Anhilvāḍ) and Anaṅgapāla of Delhi.[2] In the latter case he is reported to have been defeated by the combined armies of Anaṅgapāla and Someśvara. It is difficult to accept any of these statements as historical.[3] The available lists of the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa do not contain the name Mukundadeva.[4] Moreover, as I have shown elsewhere,[5] the Somavaṁśīs were most probably destroyed by the Gaṅgas in the 11th century and the king who ruled in Cuttack contemporaneously with Vijayacandra was not the fictitious Mukundadeva but the Gaṅgas Kāmārṇava VII (*c.* 1147-56 A.D.) and Rāghava (*c.*1156-70 A.D). Similarly, if Bholābhīm is to be identified with the Caulukya king Bhīmadeva II (*c.* 1178-1241 A.D.) it is impossible to make him a contemporary of Vijayacandra, whose reign certainly ended before 1170 A.D. Again as Delhi was under the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī from the time of Vīsaladeva (*c.* 1153-1163 A.D.) there seems to be no place for an Anaṅgapāla of Delhi in the reign of Vijayapāla. The only reliable evidence for any military success of Vijayacandra is the statement of the Benares College grant of his son Jayaccandra[6] that his father "swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams (of water flowing as) from clouds from the eyes of the wives of the Hambīra, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth." This passage probably

[1] *JBRAS*, 1927, Vol. III (New Series), p. 207.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 209.
[3] See R. R. Haldar, *ibid*, pp. 208-09.
[4] See *supra*, pp. 393 ff.
[5] See *supra*, ' Dynasties of Orissa,' pp. 412-13.
[6] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 130 and 133, lines 9-10.

contains a genuine reference to a conflict of the Gāhaḍavālas with a hitherto unrecorded invasion of the last Yamīnī king, Khusrau Malik Tāj ud-Daulah (*c.*1160-86 A.D.).[1]

Vijayacandra was succeeded by his son Jayaccandra, sometime before the 21st June, A.D. 1170, the date of his coronation (*abhiṣeka*). The following inscriptions are known for Jayaccandra's reign.

(1) *Kamauli grant* (*i*). —Found as No. 1 of Govindacandra ; 34 lines, incised on a single plate. The introductory portion gives the usual genealogical information, and traces the line from Yaśovigraha to *Pb.-M.-P.*-Jayaccandra. We are then told that this last prince on Sunday, the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of the month of *Āṣāḍha* of the (V) *Saṁvat* 1226 (Sunday, the 21st June, A.D. 1170), while encamped in the village of Vaḍaviha, after performing the *mantra-snāna* at his inauguration (*abhiṣeka*), granted the village of Osia in the Bṛhadgṛhokamisāra-*Pattalā* to the royal preceptor, the *Mahāpurohita* Prahlāda Śarman,[2] son of *Dīkṣita* Jāgu. It was written by the *Mahākṣapaṭalika* *Ṭhakkura* Śrīpati.[3]

(2) *Kamauli grant* (*ii*).—Found as No. 1 ; 35 lines, incised on a single plate. Introductory portion as in No. 1. It records that the donor of No. 1, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1228 (1172 A.D.) after bathing on the Manvantarādi at the confluence of rivers at Prayāga, in the presence of the god Gaṅgāditya, granted the village of Kusuphaṭā in the Mahaso-*Pattalā* to the *Mahāpurohita* Praharāja Śarman.[4] It was written by the same as in No. 1.[5]

(3) *Kamauli grant* (*iii*).—Found as No. 1 ; 37 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1 in (V) *Saṁvat* 1230 (A. D. 1173), after bathing in the Ganges at

[1] *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 37 and 688.
[2] According to Kielhorn, the same as the donee of No. 1 of his father's grant.
[3] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 120-21.
[4] Same as in No. 1 above.
[5] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 121-23.

Vārāṇasī in the presence of the god Ādi-Keśava, granted the villages of Ahentī, Śarasā, and Aṭhasuā in the Unāvisa-*Pattalā*. The name of the donee and writer are the same as in No. 2.[1]

(4) *Kamauli grant (iv)*.—Found as No. 1; 32 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1231 (A.D. 1174 ?),[2] after bathing in the Ganges at Kāśī, in the presence of the god Kṛttivāsas, granted the village of Khambhamaua in the Vajaiṁhācchāsaṭhi-*Pattalā*. Half of this village was given to the donee of No. 2; the other half was shared by *Dviveda* Viśvāmitra and 7 other Brahmans. In line 32 we are told that the grant was written by the *Ṭhakkura* Vīvīka in (V) *Saṁvat* 1235 (A.D. 1179). It was incised by the *lohara* Someka.[3]

(5) *Kamauli grant (v)*.—Found as No. 1; 32 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1, on Sunday, the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of Bhādrapāda, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1232 (Sunday, the 10th August, A.D. 1175), after bathing in the Ganges at Kāśī, at the *Jāta-karman* (the birth ceremony, when the navel-string is cut) of his son Hariścandra, granted the village of Vaḍesara, in the Kaṅgali-*Pattalā*, to the same donee as in No. 2. Written by the same person on the same date (V. S. 1235) as in No. 4. Also incised by the same as in No. 4.[4]

(6) *Benares college grant*.—Unearthed in a field at the village of Sihvar, 6 miles N.E. of the city of Benares; 35 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, on Sunday, the 13th lunar day of the bright half of Bhādrapāda, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1232 (Sunday, 31st August, A.D. 1175), on the occasion of the *Nāma-karaṇa* (name-giving) ceremony of his son, *Rājaputra* Hariścandra, granted the two villages of Sarauḍā and (Ā?)ṁāyī

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 1232-4.
[2] The date is irregular.
[3] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 121-26.
[4] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 126-28.

in the Māṇara-*Pattalā*,[1] to the *Mahāpaṇḍita* Hṛṣikeśa Śarman, son of *Mahāmiśra-paṇḍita* [2] Hāle. It was written by the same as in No. 1.[3]

(7) *Kamauli grant* (*vi*).—Found as No. 1; 33 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1233 (A.D. 1177), granted the village of Māṭāpura in the Kacchoha-*Pattalā* to the temple of the god Lolārka (a form of the Sun) and to the donee of No. 2.[4] It was written by the same as in No. 1.[5]

(8) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant* (*i*).—Found in a field near the confluence of the rivers Barna and Ganges, close to Benares; 35 lines, incised on a single plate. Seal and introductory portion as usual. It records that the donor of No. 1 in (V) *Saṁvat* 1233 (A.D. 1177) after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, granted the village of Goḍantī situated in the Paśima-Cchapana-*Pattalā* in Antarvedī [6] together with its two *pāṭakas* named Ghaṇṭiāmauyī and Nītāmauyī, to the *Rāuta* Rājyadhara-varman, son of the *Mahāmahattaka Ṭhakkura* Vidyādhara. It was written by the same as in No. 1.[7]

(9) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant* (*ii*).—Found as No. 8; 34 lines, incised on a single plate. Seal and introductory portion as usual. It records that the donor of No. 1 in (V) *Saṁvat* 1233, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, granted the village of Koṭhāravandhurī, in the Kosamba-*Pattalā*,[8] to the same donee as in No. 8. Written by the same as in No. 1.[9]

[1] Probably the same as in No. 18 of Govindacandra; see *JASB*, 1922, p. 82.

[2] According to Kielhorn it signifies 'a great scholar'; see *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 136, fn. 39.

[3] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 129-34.

[4] Name spelt as in No. 4 of Govindacandra.

[5] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 128-29.

[6] The Ganges-Jumna *Doab*.

[7] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 134-36.

[8] Identified by Kielhorn with Kosam near Allahabad on the left bank of the Yamunā, *ibid.*

[9] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 136-37.

(10) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant (iii)*.—Found with No. 8 ; 36 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1234 (A.D. 1177), after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, granted the village of Deūpālī, together with its 4 *pāṭakas* Vavaharāḍīha, Caṭāgelauāpālī, Saravatātatalia, and Naugama, situated in the Ambuālī-*Pattalā*, on the banks of the Daivahā,[1] to the same donee as in No. 8. Written by the same as in No. 1.[2]

(11) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant (iv)*.—Found with No. 8. Seal and introductory portion as usual. It contains 34 lines, incised on a single plate, and records that the donor of No. 1 when in residence at Raṇḍavai on the Ganges in (V) *Saṁvat* 1236 (A.D. 1180), granted the village of Dayaḍāma, situated in Dayaḍāmī-*Pattalā*, to the donee of No. 8. It was written by the same as in No. 1.[3]

(12) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant (v)*.—Found with No. 8. Seal and introductory portion as usual. It contains 33 lines, incised on a single plate, and records that the donor of No. 1 when in residence as in No. (*ii*), in (V) *Saṁvat* 1236, granted the village of Saleṭi in Jāruttha-*Pattalā* to the donee of No. 8. Written by the same as in No. 1.[4]

(13) *Bengal Asiatic Society's grant (vi)*.—Found with No. 8 ; 32 lines, incised on a single plate. It records that the donor of No. 1, when in residence as in No. 11, in (V) *Saṁvat* 1236, granted the village of Abhelāvaṭu in the Jāruttha-*Pattalā* together with the *pātakas* of Maṇiāri, Gayasaḍa, Vatāvana, Asiāma, and Sirīma, to the donee of No. 8. It was written by the same as in No. 1.[5]

[1] Apparently mod. Dehoa, which according to Thornton's Gazetteer (p. 133) is another name of the river Gogra. See *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 150.

[2] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 137-39.

[3] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 139-40.

[4] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 140-42.

[5] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 142-43.

(14) *Bodhgaya stone-inscription.*—Found in Bodhgaya, in the district of Gaya, Bihar; 17 lines. It opens with *Oṁ namo Buddhāya*, and then praises the Ādi-Buddha,[1] the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara, Ekajaṭā,[2] Śrīghana (Buddha) and the monk Śrīmitra. This last person is described as the *dikṣā-guru* of the *Kāśīśa* Jayaccandra. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a large cave (*guhā*) at Jayapura, "with Siṁhanada [3] in front and bearing therein the images of Ugra-tārā,[4] with her hands raised upwards, Dattatārā, adored in the morning and (another Tārā) draped in orange clothes," in the *vatsara* of king Vikramāṅka measured by the......Vedas (4), eyes (2), and the moon (1), 124...? [5] The *praśasti* was composed by Manoratha, written by the *Kāyastha* Purandara, and engraved by the *Śilpī* Dhārādhara.[6]

(15) *Fyzabad grant.*—Found near Fyzabad, in Oudh ;[7] 34 lines, incised on a single plate. Seal and introductory portion as usual. It records that the donor of No. 1,[8] in (V) *Saṁvat* 1233 (A. D. 1187), after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, granted the village of Kamolī (or Kemolī?) in the Asuresa-*Pattalā* to the Ḍoḍa-*Rāuta* [9] Anaṅga of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*.[10]

(16) *Meohar stone-inscription.*—Incised 'on door-jamb of a ruined temple in the village of Meohar, distant 7 miles from Kosam' in Allahabad district, U. P.; 3 lines only. It records

[1] See *IHQ*, March, 1929, p. 17 ff., and fn. 1 on p. 18.

[2] See *ibid*, fn. 1, on p. 17.

[3] See *ibid*, p. 16, fn. 1.

[4] See *ibid*, p. 17, fn. 1; Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 111; Bhaṭṭācārya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 76-81.

[5] The first word of the chronogram is lost.

[6] First edited by R. L. Mitra, *PASB*, 1180, Vol. XLIX, pp. 76-80. Some of the mistakes were corrected by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 26, No. 177. Finally edited by my pupil N. Sanyal, *IHQ*, March, 1929, pp. 14-30.

[7] Now in the Royal Asiatic Society in London.

[8] His title as in No. 12 of Govindacandra. Please note that though he has the usual title *Parama-māheśvara*, he is called in V. 9, the incarnation of Nārāyaṇa.

[9] The editor draws attention to Elliot, *Suppl. Glossary*, Vol. I, p. 81.

[10] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 10-18.

that in (V) *Saṁvat* 1245 (A. D. 1189), in the reign of *P.-etyādī-rājāvalī-pañcatayopetāśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja - trayādhipati vividha-vidyā-vicāra-vācaspati, Śrīmaj-Jayaccandradeva,*[1] a certain Śrī-Vāstavya *Ṭhakkura* built a temple of Siddheśvara (Mahādeva) in the village of Mehavaḍa [2] in the Kausāmba[3]-*Pattalā*.[4]

The 16 inscriptions noticed above range over a period of 29 years (A.D. 1170-89). The Tārācaṇḍī rock-inscriptions (A. D. 1169) of his father and his own Benares (A. D. 1175) and the Bodhgayā (A.D. 118?) inscriptions show that the Gāhaḍavālas maintained their hold on Shahabad, Patna, and Gaya districts of Bihar during the period *c*. 1150-80 A. D. It was in this area that they probably came into conflict with the Senas, who since the days of Vijayasena (*c*. 1097-1159 A. D.) were trying to extend their influence along the Ganges towards the west. The statement in the Sena records that Lakṣmaṇasena (*c*. 1184-1206 A. D.) defeated an unnamed *Kāśirāja* and raised pillars of victory at Benares and Allahabad [5] certainly refers to his conflict with the Gāhaḍavālas of the Ganges valley. According to the *Pṛthvīrāj Rāso*, 'Jayacandra' is said to have maintained friendly relations with the Candellas and helped the Candella king Paramardī (*c*. 1167-1202) in his wars against the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja II (*c*. 1177-1192 A. D.).[6] The same epic contains the story of the hostility between Pṛthvīrāja II and 'Jayacandra' and the romantic episode of the love and marriage of Pṛthvīrāja and Jayaccandra's daughter Saṁyogitā. It is difficult to believe in the details of the *Rāso* in view of the demonstrated unreliability of the poem in its present form.[7] But it may well be that its

[1] Compare this with the epithets and titles of grant No. 15; also with No. 12 of Govindacandra.

[2] This village still exists under its ancient name in the vicinity of Kosam; see *JRAS*, 1927, p. 696.

[3] Modern Kosam, near Allahabad, *ibid.*

[4] Edited by D. R. Shani, *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 695-96.

[5] See *supra*, Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar, pp. 367-69.

[6] See *infra*, my chapter on the Candellas.

[7] *JBRAS*, 1927, Vol. III (New Series), pp. 203-11.

stories of the struggles between the Cāhamānas, Gāhaḍavālas and Candellas have a substantial basis of truth. Lulled into a false sense of security by the temporary cessation of vigorous attacks from the weak successors of Maḥmūd, they carried on their petty feuds and failed to notice the formidable storm-cloud that was slowly gathering strength in the hills of Ghūr. It must remain an interesting historical speculation, whether a common front presented by the later Yamīnīs, Cāhamānas, Gāhaḍavālas, and Candellas could have stemmed the advancing tide. But there is no evidence that they realised their danger or that they showed any tendency to combine their forces. By the year 1186 A. D., the last of the Yāmīnīs had been swept away from Lahore, leaving the Eastern Punjab and the Ganges-Jumna valley open to the attacks of another horde of Turks, not less bigoted or ferocious than the Yamīnīs, but led by chiefs who were certainly superior to the Ghaznavids in the practical gifts of empire-building. Within five years the Cāhamānas were fighting a life-and-death struggle in the field of Taraori,[1] near Karnal. There is no evidence to show that Jayaccandra, even from an intelligent perception of his own self-interest, co-operated in any way with the Cāhamānas. Before the death-agonies of the Cāhamāna kingdom in the second battle of Taraori (A. D. 1192) had died away, Muḥammad Ghūrī, in 590 H. (A. D. 1193) advancing "towards Kinnauj and Banāras," overthrew Jayaccandra in the vicinity of Chandwar.[2] The *Tajul-Ma'āthir* the almost contemporary work [3] of Ḥasan Niẓāmi, gives the following account of the Muslim campaign against the Gāhaḍavālas.

[1] Also written Tarāin or Talāwari; 'situated on the route from Karnal to Thaneswar, 8 miles north of the former, 15 miles south of the latter.' See *Thornton's Gazetteer*, London, 1886, p. 938.

[2] *TN*, Vol. I, p. 470 and fn. 2, see also pp. 491 and 516. On the location of Chandwar, see *ibid*, p. 470, fn. 1, for Raverty's suggestions. The name is sometimes written Chandrāwar. It was situated in the Etawah district near Jumna. *Oxford History of India*, 1923, p. 195.

[3] It was commenced in the 602 H. (A. D. 1205), see *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 209.

"When the army was mustered, it was found to amount to '50,000 mounted men clad in armour and coats of mail,' with which they advanced to fight the Rāī of Benares. The king ordered Kutbu-d dīn to proceed with the vanguard, consisting of 1,000 cavalry, which fell upon 'the army of the enemies of religion,' and completely defeated it. The Rāī of Benares, Jaichand, the chief of idolatry and perdition, advanced to oppose the royal troops with an army, countless as the particles of sand.[1] The Rāī of Benares, who prided himself on the number of his forces and war elephants, seated on a lofty howdah, received a deadly wound from an arrow and 'fell from his exalted seat to the earth.' His head was carried on the point of a spear to the commander, and his body was thrown to the dust of contempt.[2] The impurities of idolatry were purged by the water of the sword from that land, and the country of Hind was freed from vice and superstition. Immense booty was obtained, such as the eye of the beholder would be weary to look at, including hundred elephants.[3] The royal army then took possession of Āsnī,[4] where the treasures of the Rāī were deposited, and there much more precious spoil of all kinds rewarded the victors. From that place the royal army proceeded to Benares, 'which is the centre of Hind,' and here they destroyed nearly 1,000 temples, and raised mosques on their foundations; and the knowledge of the law became promulgated, and the foundations of religion were established,

[1] According to the *Kāmil*, the 'Hindu prince had 700 elephants, and his men were said to amount to a million, *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 251.

[2] The *Kāmil* says: 'The Hindu king was slain, and no one would have recognised his corpse but for the fact of his teeth, which were weak at their roots, being fastened in with golden wire,' *ibid*.

[3] Some copies say 300. The *Kāmīl* gives the number as 90, in addition to 'a white one,' *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 251. The *TN* gives the number as 'three hundred and odd elephants,' see Vol. I, p. 470; Firishta also gives the number as 'upwards of 300'; see *TF*, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 178.

[4] Placed by *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 19-20, near Jaunpur, U.P. But it is possibly the same place, some 10 miles north of Fatehpur in U. P. where was discovered an inscription of the Gurjara-Prātīhāra Mahīpāla, dated in V. S. 974; see. *IA*, Vol. XXI, pp. 173-75. See *infra*, p. 583.

and the face of the dīnār and diram was adorned with the name and blessed titles of the king.[1] The Rāīs and Chiefs of Hind came forward to proffer their allegiance. The government of that country was then bestowed on one of the most celebrated and exalted servants of the State......The standards of Khusru (Kutbu-d dīn)...were planted for some days on the fort of Āsnī and the chiefs and elders all around hastened to his service with various kinds of rarities and presents, and his noble court became the scene where the princes and generals of the world came to bow their heads in reverence." [2]

It is generally assumed by historians that the battle of Chandwar 'put an end to the independent kingdom of Kanauj.'[3] The publication of the *Machhlishahr grant*[4] of Hariścandra has however shown that the Gāhaḍavālas, though robbed of most of their dominions, were not completely destroyed in 1193 A.D. This record was found "in village Kotwa, parganah Ghiswā, tahsil Macchlishahr," during the course of excavation works in the Jaunpur district of U.P. It contains 34 lines, incised on a single plate. The circular seal bears the legend *Śrīmata-Hariś-candra-devasya* and the usual figures and emblems. The inscription traces the genealogy of the donor from Yaśovigraha; then records that *Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Aśvapati-Gaja-pati-Narapati-Rāja-trayādhipati- Vividha-vidyā-vicāra-vācaspati-* Hariścandra,[5] while residing at Dhanaṁvakra (?) (line 24), after bathing in the Ganges at the Cyavaneśvara-*ghaṭṭa*, on

[1] The *Kāmil* says : "After the flight of the Hindus Shahāb ud-Dīn entered Benares, and carried off its treasures upon 1,400 camels ;" *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 251.

[2] *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 222-24; for another account see *Kāmil* of Ibn Athīr (*c.* 1230 A.D.), extracts trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 250-51; see also Brigg's Firishta, Vol. I, pp. 178-79. *Cf. CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 19 ff., where 'the Rathor raja Jaichand, of Kanauj' is through a mistake made a contemporary of the Yaminī king, Maḥmūd of Ghazni.

[3] *Oxford History of India*, 1923, p. 195.

[4] See for another record discovered in the same locality, Govindacandra's No. 35 above.

[5] In this grant the *Aśvapati* titles which first occurred in the grants of Govindacandra (see No. 12) are given to all the donors' predecessors from Govindacandra downwards; see lines 16-20, pp. 97-98, *EI*, Vol. X.

Sunday, the 15th *tithi* of the bright half of Pauṣa in (V) *Saṁvat* 1253 (Sunday, the 6th January, A.D. 1197), granted the village of Pamahai [1] with its *pāṭakas* [2] to one Rāhīhīyaka (or Hīhīyaka?), son of the *Ṭhakkura* Madanū of the Kāśyapa *gotra*. It was written by the *Mahākṣapaṭalika Ṭhakkura* Bhogāditya.[3]

The Hariścandra of this record is certainly the same prince whose *Jāta-karman* and *Nāma-karaṇa* ceremonies were performed by his father in the year A.D. 1175.[4] At the time of the above grant he was therefore about 22 years old, and at the time of the battle of Chandwar barely 18. It appears from this inscription that at least for four years this young prince succeeded in preserving his independence. This conclusion is further supported by the *Belkhara stone pillar-inscription,* dated in (V) *Saṁvat* 1253, which was discovered in the village of Belkhara, situated about 12 miles S. E. of Chunar, in Mirzapur district, U. P. The inscription is incised on a stone pillar above which there is a small figure of a Gaṇeśa, with a few letters, and just above the inscription under notice there is a rude bird,[5] and a still ruder horse. There are two inscriptions on the pillar. The upper one, of 5 lines, is illegible. The lower one, in 9 lines, records the erection of a pillar by *Rāuta* Ānanda in the reign of *Rāṇaka* Vijayakarṇa, the ruler of Belaṣarā.[6] It is dated as follows : *Parama-bhaṭṭāraketyādi rājāvali...*

[1] Hiralal identified it with Bambāhā, a village in the Machhlishahr tahsil; see *ibid*, p. 94, fn. 5. The editor of the grant however identifies it with Poha, a village about 2 miles from the find-spot of the grant; *ibid*, p. 94.

[2] The name of the *Pattalā* is not clear. But see *supra*, p. 526, Govindacandra's grant No. 85, which mentions the village of Peroha in Mahasoya-*Pattalā*; *EI*, Vol. X, p. 94, fn. 4.

[3] Edited by Hiranand Sastri, *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 93-100. See also remarks by R. D. Banerji on the grant in *JASB*, 1911, pp. 757 ff.; he reads the date as (V) S. 1257 (A.D. 1200).

[4] See *supra*, p. 537, grants Nos. 5 and 6 of Jayaccandra.

[5] Could it be the mythical bird *Garuḍa*, which appears on the seal of the Gāhaḍavālas?

[6] The text is *Belaṣarā palyāṁ pālaka*. I have given above the translation of Cunningham.

Aśvapati-gajapati- narapati-rāja - trayādhipati....... Vidyā-vicāra-vācaspati - Śrīmat - Kānyakubja - vijaya - rājye - Saṁvat 1253, Vaiśākha Sudi 11 Bhaume (Tuesday, 29th April, A.D. 1197).[1] Though unfortunately the inscription does not name the ruler of Kanauj, we may guess that he was no other than the Hariścandra of the previous inscription.[2] It is however doubtful whether Hariścandra had any control of Kanauj and the surrounding territory. Though there is no conclusive evidence in the Muslim chronicles that Kanauj was actually captured,[3] yet the fact that the two above inscriptions were discovered in the Mirzapur and the Jaunpur districts seems to be significant. I have already pointed out the very close connection of the Gāhaḍavālas with Benares and the territories round about it, and it seems likely that the power of Hariścandra lingered for some time in the more inaccessible parts of the same region. The absence of the name of the sovereign lord of Vijayakarṇa, the local prince of the Chunar region, in the Belkhara epigraph may have some connection with the statement of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* that in about A.D. 1196 the fiefs of Bhagwat or Bhugwat (بہگوت) and Bhīūlī or Bhīwalī (بهيولى) were conferred upon Muḥammad ibn Bakht-yār.[4] These fiefs were situated between the Ganges and

[1] Edited by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XI, pp. 128-30, plate XXXVIII. Re-edited by R. D. Banerji, *JASB*, 1911, pp. 763-65.

[2] Cunningham in his translation of the record accepts the name as ' Raja Lakhaṇa Deva(?).' But at that time the Machhlishahr grant was not known. See on this point R. D. Banerji, *JASB*, 1911, pp. 765 ff. Note the inscription engraved on a brick which was found in a village near Jaunpur. It is dated in (V) *Saṁ*. 1273 (A.D. 1217) and is a deed of mortgage recording the loan of 2,250 *Shabdoddika drammas* on the pledge of certain fields. It does not mention the name of the king, but its script is similar to Jayaccandra's grants; see *JASB*, Vol. XIX, pp. 454-56.

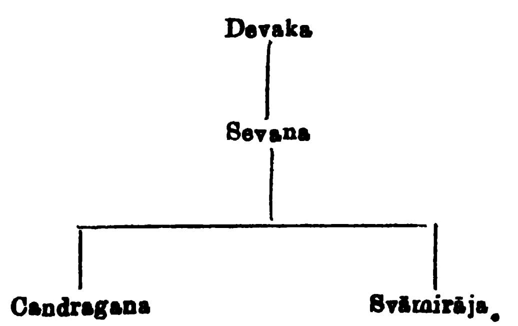
[3] Only *TN* (Vol. I, p. 491) mentions ' Jai Chand of Banāras, Kinnauj and the territory of Awadh' in the list of victories of Muḥammad Ghūrī. But it is doubtful whether by ' Kinnauj ' he meant the city or the territorial division of that name. *TN* (Vol. I, pp. 627-28) mentions 'Kinnauj-i-Shergarh' (city of Kanauj) as one of the conquests of Iltutmish. See on this point, *JASB*, 1911, pp. 766-69.

[4] *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 549-50, also fn. 5 on p. 550.

the Karmanasa eastward of and adjoining Chunar-garh. The absence of the royal name in the Belkhara record may reflect the unsettled condition of the neighbouring countries due to the repeated incursions of the Turkish bands under Muḥammad, the fame of whose alertness, bravery and the booty they acquired, had "become noised abroad."[1] But in spite of the success of the Muslims, the fact that the successors of Jayaccandra continued to issue inscriptions and grant lands shows the limitations of the victory of the Turks. The battle of Chandwar had given them only the possession of the more important cities and strongholds ; the country-side beyond the reach of the Muslim posts still continued to be under Hindu rule.[2]

[1] *Ibid*, p. 551.

[2] On this point see *TN* (Vol. I, pp. 627-28), which refers to Budā'ūn, Banāras, Kinnauj-i-Shergarh and Tirhut as the conquests of Iltutmish. Note also the significant mention by that authority (*ibid*, pp. 628-29) of the existence in the reign of Iltutmish of one 'accursed Bartū' (or Britū) in 'the territory of Awadh' 'beneath whose sword, a hundred and twenty thousand Musalmāns had attained martyrdom.' Raverty suggests that the name of the Hindu chief may be meant for Pṛthu. *TN* tells us that this ruler was overthrown and 'sent to Hell' by Malik Naṣir ud-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, the eldest son of Sulṭān Shams ud-Din, soon after 623 H. (A.D. 1226). What relation this prince had with the Gāhaḍavālas must at present remain unknown. But as his date is not far removed from the last known date of Hariścandra (A.D. 1197 or 1200?), and as his territory was contiguous to the area where the last Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions have been discovered, he may have belonged to that family. For the history of the Chunar region in the Muslim period, note the stone-inscription in the fort at Chunar, dated in (V) *Saṁvat* 1390 (A.D. 1334?), which refers to *Shahābadīnādi-duṣṭātma-Yavanendra-Mahammadā*. This prince has been identified with Muḥammad ibn Tughluq. The record seems to mention the following line of chiefs who ruled in *Kāśīpūra* :



See *JASB*, Vol. V, pp. 341-47 ; *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 87-88, No. 263.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE[1] (*c.* 1075-1200 A.D.).

(*Dates approximate.*)

Yaśovigraha

|

Mahīcandra (also known as Mahītala, Mahīyala, and Mahiala).
(*c.* 1075-80 A.D.)

|

Candradeva (also known as Candrāditya and Candra).
(*c.* 1080-1100 A.D.).

|

Madanacandra (also known as Madanapāla, and Madanadeva,
(*c.* 1100-1114 A.D.)

|

Pṛthvīśrikā = | = Rālhya or Rālhaṇa-devī
Govindacandra
(*c.* 1114-1155 A.D.).
Nayanakeli-devī = | = Kumāra-devī
Gosala-devī = | = Vasanta-devī

|

Yuvarāja Aspholacandra (A.D. 1134)	*Rājaputra Rājyapāla* (A.D. 1143)	**Vijayacandra** (*c.* 1155-1170 A.D.)

Vijayacandra (*c.* 1155-1170 A.D.)
|
Jayaccandra
(*c.* 1170-1193 A.D.)
|
Hariścandra
(*c.* 1193-1200 A.D.)

[1] Princes whose names are in *italics* did not reign.

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10th and 11th centuries A.D. the word *Rāṣṭrapati*[1] and *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*[2] frequently occur in the list of officers addressed by the royal donor before making the grant. The fact that the *Rāṣṭriya* Puṣyagupta was a Vaiśya, while the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* of Mānyakheṭa claimed to be Kṣatriyas of the lunar race, supports the conclusion that all the above words had a professional rather than an ethnic significance. Like the Bengali titles *Mazumdār*, *Cāklādār*, or *Tālūkdār*, these official names may have become in certain areas crystallised into family, caste, or tribal names. It will therefore probably be futile to connect all the families bearing names derived from *rāṣṭra* with one family or tribe. Though some of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* families of Northern India were undoubtedly connected with the great dynasty of Mānyakheṭa (*c.* 743-974 A.D.), it will perhaps be safer to assume that the other Rāṣṭrakūṭa houses whose connection with Mānyakheṭa is not apparent had an independent origin. In the following pages I shall try to give short accounts of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa families of Northern India, with the exception of the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (*c.* 743-974 A.D.). These latter were descended from the Mānyakheṭa dynasty, and with the exception of a short period of about 80 years (*c.* 808-888 A.D.) were dependent on the main branch. Their history therefore belongs properly to the history of the Deccan.[3]

(1) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kanauj.*

The Rāṭhoṛs of Jodhpur claim to be descended from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kanauj. As their bardic chronicles trace their descent from 'Jayacandra,'[4] the last Gāhaḍavāla king of Kanauj, and as there is no evidence to show that the Gāhaḍavālas were

[1] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 36.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 53.
[3] For their history, see *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 119-34.
[4] Jayaccandra of the inscriptions, see *supra*, pp. 536-544.

Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kanauj have been regarded by many scholars as a myth.[1] Recent investigations have however conclusively demonstrated the existence of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa family at Kanauj. It is not unlikely that the Rāṭhoṛs of Jodhpur are really descended from this family. In their usual attempt to glorify their patrons the *praśastikāras* may have wrongly connected the Rāṭhoṛs with 'Jayacandra.' It is however not absolutely impossible that the mistake was unconscious. It may have been caused by the fact that 'Jayacandra' was at the time of Muslim attack actually the sovereign ruler of Kanauj and the overlord of the feudatory Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of that place.

The earliest reference to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa family at Kanauj is contained in the Surat grant of Trilocanapāla dated in 1151 A.D., which after mentioning the miraculous birth of Caulukya goes on to say that the latter married a princess of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kanyākubja.[2] Dr. Hoernle saw 'no historical value' in this statement, and tried to interpret the verse in a different way.[3] But the existence of Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the vicinity of Kanauj is proved beyond all doubt by the *Budaun stone-inscription* of Lakhaṇapāla.[4] This record was found in August 1887 in the ruins of the south gate of the old fort of Budaun,[5] the chief town of the district of the same name in U.P. It contains 23 lines, written in Devanāgarī characters of about the 12th or 13th century A.D. It probably contained a date in line 23, but unfortunately the editor could not read it. The genealogical portion tells us that the town of Vodāmayūtā,[6] the ornament of the land of Pañcāla, was protected by princes born in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family

[1] *JRAS*, 1905, p. 10; *EHI*, 4th Ed., p. 399, fn. 5. Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Ed. by Crooke, Vol. I, p. 161, fn. 2; Vol. II, p. 824, fn. 2.

[2] *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 201, V. 6, *JRAS*, 1905, p. 10.

[3] *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 10-11.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 61-66.

[5] According to Kielhorn, called Vodāmayūtā in the record (lines 1 and 11).

[6] Identified by Kielhorn with Budaun.

(*kula*). The inscription then gives the following list of these :

(1) Candra.
|
(2) Vigrahapāla.
|
(3) Bhuvanapāla.
|
(4) Gopāla.
|

(5) Tribhubana.[1] (6) Madanapāla. (7) Devapāla.
|
(8) Bhīmapāla.
|
(9) Sūrapāla.[2]
|
(10) Amṛtapāla.
|
(11) Lakhaṇapāla.

It next proceeds to give the following list of the spiritual predecessors of the Śaiva ascetic Īśānaśiva, who in the reign of Lakhaṇapāla erected a Śaiva temple at Vodāmayūtā.

(1) Varmaśiva....of Aṇahilapāṭaka;[3] he destroyed by the efficacy of his *mantras* a Buddhist idol in Dakṣiṇāpatha. He came to the town of Vodāmayūtā in the reign of No. 7, and was appointed to the headship of a *maṭha* there, by his *Mantri*. Succeeded by:

(2) Mūrtigaṇa.....became the spiritual adviser of No. 9. Succeeded by his pupil :

(3) Īśānaśiva......born in Gauḍa, the eldest son of the twice-born Vasāvana, a resident of Siṁhapalli in the Hariyāṇa country.[4] He founded a temple of Śiva and endowed it with the revenues of a place called Bhadaṇaulikā.

[1] Tribhuvanapāla?

[2] Sūrapāla?

[3] Popularly known as Anhilwad. Mod. Patan on the Saraswati in N. Gujarat.

[4] Also mentioned in inscription No. 238 of Kielhorn's List of N. I. Inscriptions, *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix. Identified by Kielhorn with mod. Hariyana in the Hissar district of the Punjab.

The inscription was composed by the poet Govindacandra.[1]

This inscription bestows vague praise on most of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes with the exception of Madanapāla, the 6th of the line. We are told about this ruler that in consequence of his "distinguished prowess there never was any talk of Hamvīras' coming to the banks of the river of the gods" (Ganges). The identification of this Hamvīra with the Yamīnī Sulṭān Ma'sūd III[2] (*c.* 1099-1115 A.D.) is suggested by a Set Mahet Buddhist stone-inscription, dated in (V) S. 1176 (A.D. 1119-20),[3] which mentions a Gādhi-purādhipa Gopāla and Madana, who are most probably to be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes (4) and (6) in the Budaun record bearing the same names.[4] As Budaun was conquered by Quṭb ud-Dīn in A. D. 1202 and was conferred as a fief on Shams ud-Din Iltutmish, we may infer that Lakhaṇapāla was the last Hindu ruler of that area, and probably flourished in the first quarter of the 13th century. If this date for him be correet, then we may assign Madanapāla, the 6th prince in the ascending line from Lakhaṇapāla, to the first quarter of the 12th century A. D. The proximity of the dates and of the areas, *viz.*, Badaun and Kanauj, leaves very little doubt that the two records relate to the same persons, Gopāla and Madanapāla.

As the Gāhaḍavāla Candradeva claims to have conquered Kanauj some time before 1090 A.D., it may be inferred that he conquered it from Gopāla. The descendants of Gopāla however appear to have been suffered to exist as feudatories by the Gāhaḍavālas. It is not unlikely that these Rāṣṭrakūṭas continued to hold Kanauj till the reign of Iltutmish (1911-36 A.D.), who

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 61-66.

[2] See *supra*, chapter on the Gāhaḍavālas, pp. 514-15. First suggested by my pupil N. B. Sanyal, *JASB*, 1925, p. 105.

[3] See *supra*, pp. 505 and 518; inscription No. 10 of Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra's reign.

[4] *JASB*, 1925, pp. 105 ff.

conquered 'Kinnauj-i-Shergarh' and brought the territory of Oudh and Badaun under subjection.[1]

(2) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of C. P. and C. I.*

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa families of C. P. and C. I. may be conveniently grouped under the headings of (1) *Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura,* (2) *Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Betul,* and (3) *Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Pathari.*

(a) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura.*

The existence of this family is known from the *Undikavāṭikā grant* of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Abhimanyu. The exact find-spot of this is unknown. It contains 22 lines, incised on 3 plates. It is not dated, but has been referred approximately to the 7th century A.D. on palaeographic grounds.[2] The seal contains the figure of a lion couchant facing the proper right, with jaws open and tongue protruding.[3] The grant opens with *Oṁ svasti* and in the introductory portion gives the following genealogy of the donor:—

Māna or Mānāṅka......ornament of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.
|
Devarāja.
|
Bhaviṣya. — × — × (Names not given.)
|
Abhimanyu.

[1] *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 627-29; see also *supra*, chapter on the Gāhaḍavālas, p. 547, fn. 2. Consult *Rāṣṭrauḍha-vaṁśa-Mahākāvya* of Rudra Kavi, composed in *Śaka* 1518 (A.D. 1596), under the orders of king Nārāyaṇa Shāh of Mayūragiri (mod. Mulher, not far from Satana in Nasik District). The princes claim descent from Rāṣṭrauḍha, who was adopted by Nārāyaṇa, the childless king of Kanauj. The clan of Mayūragiri are known as the Bāgula clan of the Raṭhoṛs and have the same *gotra* (Gautama) as that of the Jodhpur branch. The ancestors of Nārāyaṇa Shāh seem to have accepted service under Jayasiṁha of Anahillapura, and after the downfall of the Vāghelas migrated to the Nasik region.

[2] Fleet in *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 386; *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 163. Jackson referred the grant to about 450 A.D., see *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 120.

[3] The seals of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa contain the figure of a *Garuḍa*-

This last ruler, while residing at Mānapura[1] granted the small village of Uṇḍikavāṭikā[2] to the god Dakṣiṇa-Śiva, through Jaṭāvāra, a *Pāśupata* ascetic in charge of the temple situated at Peṭha-Paṅgaraka.[3] The grant was made in the presence of Jayasiṁha, the Harivatsa-*Koṭṭa-nigraha.*[4]

This land-grant of Abhimanyu seems to be the earliest inscription of the princes who designated their family as Rāṣṭrakūṭa. The lion-seal of the family of Mānāṅka may indicate that his line was quite distinct from the Malkheḍ family, who had the figure of Garuḍa on their seals. The town named Mānapura, from which the grant of Abhimanyu was issued, was probably founded by Mānāṅka. If its identification with Manpur near Mhow is accepted,[5] we may infer that this family ruled over the valley of the Narbada from Mhow to Pachmarhi.

(b) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Betul.*

The existence of this family is also known from a single grant, the *Multāī grant* of Nandarāja. It was found in the possession of a Gosain resident at Multāī, the chief town of the

[1] Identified by Hultzsch with Manpur, near Bandhogarh, in Rewa, *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 166; Bhagvanlal Indraji thought that it was an older form of the name Mānyakheṭa (mod. Malkheḍ), about 60 miles S.E. of Sholapur; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 120. Fleet at first identified it 'with the modern Mānpur in Malwa, about 12 miles S. W. of Mhow,' in the Indore Residency, C.I. (*ibid*, Part II, p. 386; *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 233-34), but later thought it not impossible that Mānpur may have been the older name of Shohagpur, or Sobhapur, which is a large village 6 miles on the N.E. of Shohagpur (*ibid*, Vol. XXX, p. 514).

[2] Identified with the mod. village of Oontia, near Pagara; the latter is 4 miles N. of Pachmarhi in Hoshangabad district, C.P., *IA*, Vol. XXX, p. 514.

[3] The Mahāśiva temple at Pagara, about 4 miles north of Pachmarhi, in Hoshangabad district, C.P., has been identified with this Dakṣiṇa-Śiva temple; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 132; *IA*, Vol. XXX, p. 511.

[4] Does it mean 'commandant of the fort of Harivatsa' ? *nigraha=pāla?* Its ordinary sense is, chastiser, but Fleet took *nīgraha=pāla*, see *IA*, Vol. XXX, p. 510. The inscription was first published by Bhagvanlal Indraji in *JBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 88 ff., and critically examined by Fleet in *IA*, Vol. XXX, pp. 509 ff. It was noticed in the *BG* by both Jackson and Fleet, and finally edited by Hultzsch in *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 163-66.

[5] Fleet rejected this identification, suggested by him (in *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 386) on the ground that it was north of the Narbada. This does not appear to me to be a sufficient reason.

Multāī sub-division of the Betul district in the C. P.[1] It contains 31 lines of writing in Nāgarī characters, incised on 3 plates. The seal, which is a part of the ring itself, bears in outline the figure of *Garuḍa* and the legend *Śrī Yuddhāsuraḥ.* The record opens with *Oṁ svasti,* and then gives the following genealogy of the donor :

In the *Rāṣṭrakūṭānvaya*

Durgarāja
|
Govindarāja
|
Svāmikarāja
|
Nandarāja, *alias* Yuddhāsura.

The object of the grant is to record the grant of the village of Jalaūkuhe to the Brahman Śrīprabha Caturveda. In line 29 we are told that the charter was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* Naula in *Śaka-kāla-samvatsara* 631 (*c.* 709 A.D.).[2]

Fleet thought that this family was a feudatory line. The figure on the seal is similar to that on the seal of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkheḍ. It may indicate that two lines were connected, but the connection is not apparent.

(c) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Pathari.*

The existence of this family is also known from a single inscription, the *Pathari stone pillar-inscription* of Parabala. This is incised on the northern face of a tall monolith with a bell-shaped capital, in Pathari (long. 78° 15′, lat. 23° 56′),

[1] Fleet pointed out that the localities mentioned in the grant do not bear any resemblance to any villages in the Multāī district or in Hoshangabad or Jubbulpore. It is therefore not certain that the grant really belongs to the locality where it was found. 'All that can be said on this point is that the characters show that it belongs to some part of Central India or of the Central Provinces;' *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230-31.

[2] First published by Prinsep in *JASB*, Vol. VI, pp. 869 ff. Re-edited by Fleet, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230-36.

the chief town of the State of the same name in the Bhopal Agency, C.I. It contains 36 lines. The characters resemble those of the Gwalior *praśasti* of Bhoja (V.S. 933). It opens with *Oṁ namaḥ* and four verses invoking the god Viṣṇu under the names of Murāri, Kṛṣṇa, and Hari, and then gives the genealogy of a line of kings as follows :

In the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa-vaṁśa*

×

- Elder brother...After defeating Kārṇaṭa soldiers obtained the kingdom of Lāṭa.
- Jejja.
  - Karkaraja...in a furious battle where rows of *Pāli-dhvaja* banners were fluttering, he 'caused Nāgāvaloka quickly to turn back' (V. 14), and devastated his home (V. 15).
    - Parabala...' now rules here the land ' ;......the fortune of royalty... conquered for him *Pāli-dhvaja* banners (V. 24).

The proper object of the inscription is to record that this last king founded a temple of Śauri (Viṣṇu), before which he erected the *Garuḍa-dhvaja* pillar on which it was engraved. The first part of the inscription (lines 1-31) ends here. The second part (lines 32-38), which appears to have been added as post-script, then seems to record the installation of an image of Viṣṇu.[1] The date, (V) *Saṁvat* 917 (A.D. 861), comes at the end of the first part (line 31).[2]

This inscription supplies some facts of considerable historical importance. Kielhorn had already pointed out that the unknown

The inscription is damaged here.
Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 248-56.

elder brother of Jejja, who is reported to have conquered Lāṭa after defeating the Karṇāṭas, must be placed in the period 757-812 A.D., during which we know little about Lāṭa.[1] It thus appears likely that he may have conquered portions of Gujarat by defeating the armies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan (*Karṇāṭas*) after the death of Kakkarāja, the local Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, in 757 A.D. The Nāgāvaloka defeated by Karkarāja has also been identified by Kielhorn with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II (*c.* 815-33 A.D).[2] The enmity between these Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the rising power of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras appears to have brought them into friendly alliance with the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. This is shown by the probable identification of the Parabala of our inscription with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Parabala of the Pāla records.[3] The marriage of Rannādevī, the daughter of Parabala, with Dharmapāla (*c.* 769-815 A.D.) must be accepted as the outward symbol of the close alliance between these two enemies of the Gurjara power. Another interesting fact is the mention of the *Pāli-dhvaja* banner in connection with the victories of Karkarāja and Parabala. The possession of this flag was claimed by both the Calukyas of Vātāpi[4] and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkheḍ.[5]

(3) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Rajputana.*

Inscriptions of Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes have been found in Rajputana with dates ranging from about 973 to 1366 V.S. They may be conveniently grouped under the following heads :—

(*a*) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hastikuṇḍi.*

(*b*) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Dhanop.*

(*c*) *The Raṣṭrakūṭas (Raṭhaḍās) of Bithu.*

[1] *Ibid*, p. 252; also *EI*, Vol. VII, Appendix II, p. 4. The period falls between *Mahārājādhirāja* Kakkarāja II (A.D. 757) and Indrarāja, the brother of the Raṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III (*c.* 794-814 A.D.), for whose sons we have dates from 811 to 827 A.D.

[2] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 251.

[3] See *supra*, Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar, p. 288 ; also *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 251.

[4] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 189, 338, and 368.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 387 and 402.

(a) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hastikuṇḍi.*

The existence of this family was revealed by the discovery of the so-called *Bijapur stone-inscription* of Dhavala. According to 'local report' the stone was originally fixed in the wall of a solitary Jaina temple situated about 2 miles from the village of Bijapur in the Bali (Godwar) district of the state of Jodhpur.[1] The inscription consists of 32 lines, and contains two separate records. The first one extends from lines 1 to 22, the second from lines 23 to 32. The *second record* 'opens with the praise of the Jaina religion.' It then gives the following genealogy of a line of princes :—

Harivarman

Vidagdharāja.........*Śrī-Rāṣṭrakūṭa-kula-kānana-kalpa-vṛkṣa.*

Mammaṭa

The inscription then records that Vidhagdharāja built a *Caitya-gṛha* at Hastikuṇḍi[2] for his *guru* Balabhadra. The former prince in (V) *Saṁvat* 973 granted certain donations, ⅔rds of the proceeds of which were to go to the Jina (*Arhat*) and ⅓rd to the guru as *Vidyā-dāna*. These grants were renewed by Mammaṭa in V. S. 996. The closing verse expresses a wish that the endowments may be enjoyed by the progeny of Keśavadāsa Sūri as long as mountains, etc., last. The inscription was engraved by the *Sūtradhāra* Śatayogeśvara.

[1] The inscription according to another report was discovered by Captain Burt "in the interior of a gateway leading to Mandir, distant one *kos* from Beejapoor, on the route from Odeypore to Sirohī near Mt. Ābū;" *JASB*, Vol. X, p. 821.

[2] Mod. Hathundi, close to the village of Bijapur, 10 miles to the south of Bāli, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Jodhpur; *IGI*, Vol. VI, p. 247.

The *first record* opens with two verses in praise of the Jinas or Tīrthaṅkaras. Then follows the genealogy of the same line of princes as above :—

Harivarman = Ruci
|
Vidagdha....................induced to build a temple of Jina in the town of Hastikuṇḍi by his preceptor Vāsudeva.
|
Mammaṭa
|
Dhavala....................gave shelter to the armies of a king (name lost) and of the lord of the Gurjaras, when Muñjarāja had destroyed Āghāṭa,[1] the pride of Medapāṭa [2] (V. 10);......afforded protection to Mahendra against Durlabharāja (V. 11); gave support to Dharaṇīvarāha (V. 12); and abdicated in favour of his son Bālaprasāda (V. 19).
|
Bālaprasāda

The next 6 verses (22-27) are devoted to the praise of Hastikuṇḍi, the capital of Bālaprasāda. Next is mentioned the *Sūri* Śāntibhadra, the pupil of Vāsudeva. Then follows the information that the *goṣṭhī* of Hastikuṇḍi renovated the temple of the first Tīrthaṅkara (Ṛṣabhanātha), which was first built by Vidagdharāja. After its renovation Śāntibhadra in (V) *Saṁvat* 1053 (A.D. 997) installed the image of the Tīrthaṅkara. The inscription was composed by Sūryācārya.[3]

The inscription supplies some interesting information in connection with the achievements of Dhavala. Muñjarāja has been correctly identified with the Paramāra Vākpati-Muñja (*c.* 974-95 A.D.).[4] The lord of the Gurjaras mentioned here was most probably the Caulukya Mūlarāja I of Gujrat (*c.* 961-96 A.D.),[5] while the prince whose name is lost was possibly a Guhila of Medapāṭa. Durlabharāja was identified by Kielhorn

[1] Mod. Ahad, near the Udaipur station. The Guhilot clan Ahaḍiyā derives its name from this place.

[2] Mod. Mewar.

[3] First noticed by Kielhorn, *JASB*, 1893, Vol. LXII, Part I, pp. 309-14. Then edited by Pandit Ramkaran, *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 17-24.

[4] *JASB*, 1893, Vol. LXII, Part I, p. 311.

[5] *Ibid.*

with the brother of the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja of the Harṣa inscription dated in V.S. 1030.[1] The same scholar rightly identified Mahendra with the Naddūla Cāhamāna of the same name.[2] Pandit Ramkaran has suggested the possibility of the identification of Dharaṇīvarāha with the Paramāra king of that name, who is said to have been the ruler of Nav-kot in Marwar.[3]

The proposed identifications, if accepted, would show the comparative importance of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. Their importance was probably in some measure due to the fact that their principality was situated in the region where the frontiers of the Caulukya, the Cāhamāna, and the Paramāra kingdoms met. As incessant struggles went on between these powers, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas could always count on the assistance of one when threatened by another of the three.[4]

(b) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Dhanop.*

The existence of this family was made known by the discovery of the *Dhanop stone-inscription* of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Cacca. It was found at Dhanop, 16 miles north of Shahpura, capital of the principality of the same name in Rajputana. It contains 13 lines, opening with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and a verse invoking Śiva. We are next introduced to a king named Cacca. Then we are given the following genealogy of the princes of this family :—

In the *Rāṣṭrakūṭānvaya*

(1) Bhallīla
|
(2) Dantivarman...erected a temple of Śiva.
|
(3) Buddharāja — (4) Govinda...erected a temple of red colour.

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 71; also pp. 64 and 67.

[3] *EI*, Vol. X, p. 19 and fn. 1.

[4] Annalla-devī, the wife of the Cāhamāna Ālhaṇa of Naddūla (A.D. 1152-61), who traced her descent to the *Rāṣṭrauḍa-vaṁśa* may have belonged to this Hathundi branch. See *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 71, fn. 2.

Then we are told that many years after the passing away of these princes, a devotee of Śiva named Nagna-bhaṭṭāraka, seeing that the god founded by the above-mentioned kings received no worship, went to king Cacca and said : " O king, this temple belongs to the princes of your family " [1] and induced him to renovate it, and it was dedicated to Śiva under the name Dhaṅkeśvara. The inscription was engraved by Rāmadeva. It ends with the date (V) *Saṁvat* 1063.[2]

That the power of these Rāṣṭrakūṭas probably extended into the region now known as the State of Kotah is shown by the *Shergadh stone-inscription* dated in (V) S. 1074. This, together with two other records dated in (V) S. 1075 and 1084, was incised on a stone which was lying outside the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa at Shergadh, in the State of Kotah in Rajputana. It records that in V. S. 1074 the Seṭh Narasiṁha and two others made a grant of one *Karṣa* of ghee as unguent for the feet of Bhaṭṭāraka Nagnaka. There can hardly be any doubt that this last person is identical with the Nagna-bhaṭṭāraka of the Dhanop inscription of Cacca.[3]

(c) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas (Raṭhaḍās) of Bithu.*

This branch is known from the *Bithu stone-inscription* of the Sīhā Raṭhaḍā, engraved on a *devlī* (memorial stone) in Bithu, a village about 14 miles N. W. of Pali, the principal town in the district of the same name in the State of Jodhpur. It contains 7 lines, recording that in (V) S. 1330 the Raṭhaḍā Sīhā, son of *Kaṁvara* (Kumāra) Śrī-Seta, went to the world of gods. ' May the bliss of heaven be for Pārvatī, the Solaṅkinī.' [4]

[1] This shows that Cacca was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa. But we do not know how he was related to the previous family.

[2] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1911, pp. 174-75.

[3] Edited by the same, *ibid*, pp. 175-76.

[4] Edited by the same, *ibid*, pp. 181-83.

Prof. Bhandarkar rightly identified this Sīhā, son of Seta, with Sīyā jī, the son of Setrām, the reported founder of the royal family of Jodhpur. The Rāṭhors of Jodhpur claim descent from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kanauj (*Kanojīyā-Raṭhoṛa*).[1] It is therefore very likely that this family was a branch of the line of Lakhaṇapāla, which, we have seen, ruled in Budaun and Kanauj probably as feudatories of the Gāhaḍavālas.[2] It may well be that after the destruction of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa line in the 13th century a scion of this family, possibly Seta, migrated to Rajputana and became the founder of the modern Rāṭhoṛs. As usual, the bards, mixing facts with fiction, represented him as connected with Kanauj and the famous Gāhaḍavāla prince Jayaccandra.[3]

(4) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Bihar.*

In my chapters on the dynasties of Bengal and Bihar and the Gāhaḍavālas, I have already referred to this line of Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Iu her Sarnath inscription, Kumāra-devī,[4] the queen of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra (*c.* 1114-1155 A.D.), refers to her maternal grandfather Mahana, the ruler of Aṅga (*Aṅgapa*) and ' a peerless warrior of the Gauḍa country. ' Mahana is further described as ' the venerable maternal uncle (*mātula*) of kings ' who had conquered the Chikkora Devarakṣita of Pīṭhī and maintained the glory of Rāmapāla. This led to the identification of Mahana with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mahana or Mathana of the *Rāma-carita* of Sandhyākara Nandī,[5] who was the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla (*c.* 1084-1126 A.D.), and materially aided

[1] *AR*, Vol. I, p. 161; Vol. II, p. 824.

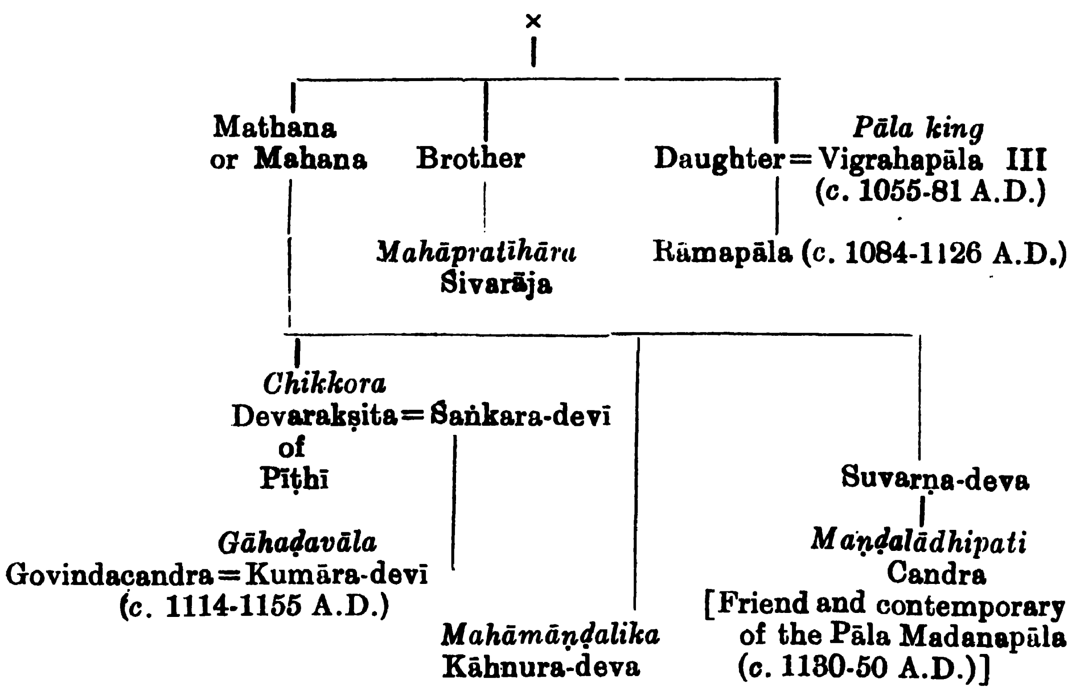
[2] See *supra*, pp. 505, 507 and 518.

[3] Note also the *Bikaner praśasti* of Rāya Siṅgha of V.S. 650, *JASB*, Vol. XVI (N.S.), pp. 262 ff.; and the *Trisinghari inscription* of Dūhaḍa, son of Aśvatthāman (Asothama), and grandson of Sīhā, dated in V.S. 1366. See *IA*, 1911, p. 301.

[4] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 319-20. No. 42 of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra; see above, p. 525.

[5] *MASB*, Vol. III, No. 1. See *supra*, Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar, pp. 338 ff.

him in establishing his power. The *Rāma-carita* makes it clear that Mathana was a feudatory of Rāmapāla. The names of the following members of this family are supplied by the *Rāma-carita* [1] and the Sarnath inscription :—



(5) *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kathiawar.*

A *Veraval inscription* dated in V. S. 1442 (A.D. 1384) gives us the name of prince (*Nṛpa*) Bharma of the *Rāṣṭroḍa-vaṁśa.*[2] Veraval is a port in the State of Junagarh, in Kathiawar, situated in Lat. 20°33′ N. and Long. 70°26′ E. The inscrip tion reveals the existence of Rāṣṭrakūṭa chiefs in Kathiawar even after the Muslim conquest in 1299 A.D., and is chiefly interesting as it supplies the form *Rāṣṭroḍa* which shows the gradual vernacularisation of the word Rāṣṭrakūṭa towards modern Rāṭhoḍa or Rāṭhoṛ.

[1] See in this connection *IHQ*. March, 1929, pp. 35-48.

[2] *Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 185; *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix. Kielhorn's *List of No thern Inscriptions*, No. 1442.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

(Dates approximate.)

I. *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kanauj* (*c. 1050-1202*):

Candra
- **Vigrahapāla**
  - **Bhuvanapāla**
    - **Gopāla** (*c.* 1090 A.D.)
      - **Tribhuvana(pāla ?)**
      - **Madanapāla** (*c.* 1119-1125 A.D.)
      - **Devapāla**
        - **Bhīmapāla**
          - **Su(Sū ?)rapāla**
            - **Amṛtapāla**
              - **Lakhaṇapāla** (*c.* 1202).

II. *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of C.I. and C.P:*

(*a*) *The Mānapura Family* (*c. 650-700 A.D.*):

Māna or Mānāṅka
- **Devarāja**
  - **Bhaviṣya**
    - **Abhimanyu**
  - ×
  - ×

(Names not given)

(*b*) *The Betul Family* (*c. 575-650 A. D.*):

Durgarāja
- **Govindarāja**
  - **Svāmikarāja**
    - **Nandarāja** *alias* **Yuddhāsura** (*c.* 630-50 A. D.)

(c) *The Pathari Family (c. 750-875 A.D.)*:

×

- Elder brother, ruler of Lāṭa (c. 760 A. D.)
- Jejja
  - Karkarāja (c. 800-815 A.D.)
    - Parabala (c. 815-865 A.D.)

III. *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Rajputana*:

(a) *The Hastikuṇḍi Family (c. 900-1000 A.D.)*:

Harivarman = Ruci
|
Vidagdha (c. 916 A.D.)
|
Mammaṭa (c. 939 A.D.)
|
Dhavala (c. 960-80 A.D.)
|
Bālaprasāda (c. 880-1000 A.D.).

(b) *The Dhanop Family (c. 950-1010 A.D.)*:

Bhallīla
|
Dantivarman

- Buddharāja
- Govinda
  ⋮
  Cacca (A.D. 1006)

(c) *The Bithu Family (c. 1200-1310* A.D.):

Seta
|
Sīhā (died 1273 A.D.)
—
Aśvatthāman
|
Duhaḍa (A.D. 1309)

IV. *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Bihar (c. 1050-1150 A.D.)*:

[For the list of princes, see *supra*, the genealogical tables in the chapter on the 'Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar,' p. 387.]

V. *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kathiawar*:

Bharma (A.D. 1384.)

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2. *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthan*, ed. by Crooke, Oxford, Vols. I and II.
3. *Rāṣṭrauḍha-vaṁśa*, by Rudra Kavi, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 5.
4. *The Predecessors of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj*, by N. B. Sanyal, *JASB*, 1925, pp. 103-106.
5. *History of the Raṭhors*, by Pandit Ramkaran, *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, Orientalia, Part 2, pp. 255 ff.
6. *The Rastrakutas and the Gaharvals*, by Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, *JRAS*, 1930, January, pp. 111 ff.

CHAPTER X

The Later Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj

The Kānyakubja empire of the Puṣpabhūtis did not long survive the death of Harṣavardhana in about 647 A.D. His death introduces us to one of those periods of turmoil which inevitably follow the disruption of a strong empire and precede the foundation of a new one in Indian history. It is very difficult to give any connected account of political happenings in Northern India for about two hundred years after this event. The Tibetan invasion and control of the Ganges valley, the attempted revival of the Gupta empire by Ādityasena and of the Kanauj empire by Yaśovarman are some of the more important incidents of the first half of this period. The hope of an early revival of the hegemony of Kanauj however was shattered by the ambition of the Kārkoṭa kings of Kashmir. Then followed what may be described as a triangular contest between the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Malwa and Western India, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan for the possession of the Ganges-Jumna valley and the city of Kanauj. After a struggle of about half a century, in which fortune showed her fickleness by alternately favouring each of the combatants, she at last became the bride of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. Some time before the year 836 A.D. they captured Kanauj, and, thanks to the achievements of two of their ablest chiefs, Bhoja and Mahendrapāla, at last succeeded in re-establishing an empire in India that in extent rivalled, if it did not exceed, that of the Guptas and the Puṣpabhūtis. There is unquestioned epigraphic evidence to show that the last of these

two princes ruled over an area which extended from the Karnal district in the Punjab to Bihar and from the Kathiawar peninsula to Northern Bengal.[1] The strength and power of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras are amply attested by the account of the contemporary

[1] The important inscriptions and dates for the history of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras up to the reign of Mahendrapāla are as follows :

(1) Jodhpur stone-inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka, V. S. 894, *EI*, XVIII, 87-99.

(2) Ghaṭayāla stone-inscription of Pratīhāra Kakkuka, V.S. 918, *JRAS*, 1895, 513-21.

(3) 4 Ghaṭayāla pillar stone-inscription of Pratīhāra Kakkuka, V. S. 918, *EI*, IX, 277-81.

(4) The five records of the Gurjaras of Broach :

(*i-ii*) Two Kaira grants of Dadda II, K.S. 380 and 385, *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 82-91.

(*iii*) Sankheda grant of the time of Dadda II, K.S. 391, *EI*, Vol. II pp. 20-21.

(*iv*) Nausari grant of Jayabhata III, K.S. 456, *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 77-81.

(*v*) The second plate of the Kavi grant of the same, K.S. 486, *IA*, Vol. V, pp. 113-15.

(5) The Sankheda Gurjara grant (second half only) of (Dadda I?), K.S. 346, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 19-20.

(6) The three records of the Gurjaras of Broach held to be spurious by Bhagwanlal Indraji and Fleet :

(*i*) Umeta grant of Dadda II, *Saka*. S. 400, *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 61-66.

(*ii*) Bagumra grant of the same, *Saka*. S. 417, *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 183-200.

(*iii*) Ilao grant of the same, *Saka*. S. 417, *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 116-19.

(7) Hansot plates of the Cāhamāna Bhartṛvaddha of the time of Nāgāvaloka, V.S. 813, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 197-204; Nāgāvaloka is identified with Nāgabhaṭa I, *IA*, Vol. 40, 1911, p. 240.

(8) Osia stone-inscription of Vatsarāja, *JRAS*, 1907, Part II, pp. 1010-11.

(9) The passage in *Jaina-Harivaṁśa* giving the date *Saka*. S. 705 for Vatsa king of Avanti; see *IA*, XV, pp. 141-43; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 197 and fn. 2; *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 195-96.

(10) Buchkala stone-inscription of Nāgabhaṭṭa II, V.S. 872, *JRAS*. 1907, Part II, p. 1011. The date is wrongly given by Marshall as 892 but see *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 4, fn. 1.

(11) Barah copper-plate of Bhojadeva, V.S. 893, *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15-19.

(12) Daulatpura plate of the same, V.S. 900, *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 208-13; see for the correction of the date, *JBRAS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 410 ff.

(13) Deogaḍh pillar-inscription of Bhoja, V. S. 919 and *Saka* S. 784, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 309-10.

(14-15) The two Gwalior Caturbhuja temple inscriptions of the same, V.S. 932 and 933, *EI*. Vol. I, pp. 154-62.

(16) Gwalior (Sāgar-Tāl) stone-inscription of the same, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 99-114; *ASI*, 1903-04, pp. 277-85.

(17) Ahar stone-inscription of the same, *Harṣa*. S. 259. *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 52-62.

(18) Delhi fragmentary stone-inscription of Bhoja *RMR*, 1924, p. 3.

(19) Pehowa Garībnāth temple stone-inscription of the same, *Harṣa* S. 276, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 184-90.

Arab writers.[1] The Arab satraps of Sind soon found their way blocked by the mighty arm of these rulers, and came to regard them as the greatest foe of the Muḥammadan faith. Though there is at present little evidence, it may be surmised that but for the powerful aid of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers of the Deccan, the Arab power in the last half of the 9th century would probably have been crushed in Sind.

Mahendrapāla died some time after 907-08 A.D. The chronological arrangement of the princes who succeeded him is

(20) Barton Museum, Bhavnagar fragmentary stone-inscription of the time of Bhoja (?), *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 174-77.
(21-22) The two Una grants of the time of Mahendrapāla, *Valabhī*. S. 574 and V.S. 956, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 1-10.
(23) Dighwa-Dubauli plate of the same, V.S. 955, *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 105-13; *JBRAS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 405 ff.
(24) Siyadoni stone-inscription of the same, V.S. 960 and 964, *EI*, Vol I, pp. 162-79.
(25) Pehowa *praśasti* of the same, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 242-50.
(26) Ram-Gaya stone-inscription of the same, year 8, *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 64.
(27) Guneria stone-inscription of the same, year 9, *MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 64.
(28-29) Two British Museum stone-inscriptions of the same, years 2 and 6, *NKGWG*, 1904, pp. 210-11.
(30) Itkhori stone image inscription of the same, *ASI*, 1920-21, p. 35.
(31) Paharpura (N. Bengal) votive stone pillar-inscription of the same, 5th year, not yet edited; noticed in *ASI*, 1925-26, p. 141.

Non-Gurjara Inscriptions :

(1) Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II, *Śaka*. S. 556, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 1-12.
(2) Radhanpur plates of Govinda III, *Śaka*. S. 730, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 239-51.
(3) Wani grant of the same, *Śaka*. S. 730 (for 728), *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 157-63.
(4) Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235-57.
(5) Pathari pillar-inscription of Parabala, V.S. 917, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 248-56 and *IA*, 1911, pp. 239-40.
(6) The Baroda grant of Karka-Suvarṇavarṣa, *Śaka*. S. 734, *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 156-65.
(7) The Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarṣa, *Śaka*. S. 788, *EI*, Vol. VI, 98-108.
(8) Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 243-54.
(9) Monghyr grant of Devapāla, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 304-07.
(10) Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 304-10.
(11) Badal pillar-inscription of Guravamiśra, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 160-67.
(12) Kahla plate of the Kalacuri Soḍhadeva, V.S. 1134, *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 85-93.
(13) Bilhari stone-inscription of the rulers of Cedi, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 251-70.
(14) Benares copper-plate of Karṇadeva, K.S. 793, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 297-310.
(15) Chatsu inscription of the Guhila Bālāditya, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 10-17.

1 *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 4. See also ' Dynastic History of Sind,' *supra*, pp. 10-11 and 15-16.

somewhat difficult. The Asiatic Society's plate of Vināyakapāla, dated in V.S. 988, informs us that Mahendrapāla had a son named Bhoja II by his queen Dehanāgā-devī, and another son Vināyakapāla by the queen Mahī-devī. The latter is represented as meditating on the feet of his father, as well as of his illustrious half-brother. The Asni stone pillar-inscription of Mahīpāla, dated in 974 V.S., tells us that Mahīpāla meditated on the feet of Mahendrapāla. That Mahīpāla was a son of Mahendrapāla is also clear from the plays of Rājaśekhara. The Siyadoni stone inscription mentions Kṣitipāla after Mahendrapāla, though the relationship between the two is not specified. The inscription supplies the date V.S. 964 for Mahendrapāla and V.S. 1025 for Devapāla, the son of Kṣitipāla. The Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II, dated in V.S. 1003, mentions Vināyakapāla as meditating on the feet of Mahendrapāla I. The Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga, dated in V.S. 1011, tells us that the Candella Yaśovarman received an image of Vaikuṇṭha from the *Hayapati* Devapāla, the son of Herambapāla. The latter had received the statue from the Śāhi king of Kīra in return 'for a force of elephants and horses.'[1] The late Dr. Kielhorn assumed the identity of this Devapāla with the Devapāla of the Siyadoni inscription,[2] and thereby identified his predecessors Kṣitipāla and Herambapāla. As *Kṣiti* and *Mahī* mean the same thing, he further assumed the identity of the princes named Kṣitipāla, Mahīpāla, and Herambapāla.[3] It remained for Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar to show that Vināyaka and Heramba also mean the same deity and hence to propose the identification of Vināyaka-a with the three mentioned above.[4] The chronology of the

1 *Kailāsād-Bhoṭanāthaḥ suhṛditi ca tataḥ Kīrarājaḥ prapede*
Śāhi-stasmādavāpa dvipaturagabalenānu Herambapālaḥ.
tatsūnor-Devapālāttamatha Hayapateḥ prāpyaninye pratiṣṭhāṁ
Vaikuṇṭhaṁ kuṇṭhitāriḥ kṣitidharatilakaḥ śrī-Yaśovarmarājaḥ.

EI, Vol. I, pp. 129 and 134. V. 43. Scholars are not unanimous about the interpretation of this verse.

2 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 124.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 170-72.

4 *JBRAS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 406-07.

immediate successors of Mahendrapāla, according to this view would be as follows :

(1) **Mahendrapāla** (last known date 907-08 A. D.)
Dehanāgā-devī = =**Mahī-devī.**[1]

(2) **Bhoja** (II)
(3) **Mahīpāla** (914, 917 A.D.) *alias* **Kṣitipāla**, *alias* **Vināyakapāla** (931 A.D.) *alias* **Herambapāla.**

Recently some Indian scholars have taken objection to this arrangement.[2] They do not accept the identification of the *Haya-pati* Devapāla of the Khajuraho epigraph with the Gurjara prince of that name, on the ground that *Hayapati* was 'never the accepted title of the Pratīhāra kings of Mahodaya.' Secondly, as the dates of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla never overlap, they see no reason to justify their identification. They would therefore reject the identification of Herambapāla with Vināyakapāla and of the latter with Mahīpāla and propose to arrange the princes as follows :—

(1) **Mahendrapāla** (907-08 A.D.).

(2) **Mahīpāla**, *alias* Kṣitipāla (914-17). (3) **Bhoja** II. (4) **Vināyakapala** (A.D. 931).

The situation however has been further complicated by the discovery of the name of Vināyakapāla as 'protecting the earth' at the end of the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga, dated in 954 A.D. A critical examination of the passage leaves no doubt that the name of Vināyakapāla was mentioned as that of the sovereign ruler. Now if this Vināyakapāla is identified with the Vināyakapāla of the Gurjara inscriptions, the attempt to identify Devapāla of the Khajuraho inscription at once falls to the ground. The identification of the two Vināyakapālas is however difficult on

[1] According to the Partabgarh inscription the name is *Mahā-devī*, see *EI*. Vol. XIV, p. 176.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 178-80. *JL*, Vol. X, p. 54, fn. 6.

account of the date of the Khajuraho inscription (954 A.D.); for we know from the Partabgarh inscription that Mahendrapāla, the son of Vināyakapāla, was already on the throne in V. S. 1003 (A.D. 945-46). The suggestion that the name of Vināyakapāla occurred in the original record of Yaśovarman some time before 954 A.D. and that after the latter's death the record was set up in his son's reign in 954 A.D. with some verses 'added at the end to describe the martial exploits of Dhaṅga' seems to me rather improbable.[1] It is unlikely that in an official document a dead king should be referred to 'as protecting the earth.' Thus if we accept the suggestion that the Vināyakapāla of the Khajuraho inscription was a Gurjara prince, we are driven to assume the existence of a second Vināyakapāla who ruled after Mahendrapāla II. Another complication has been introduced by the recent discovery of the Bayana 'Ukha-Mandir' stone-inscription of *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahīpāla, dated in V. S. 1012 (A.D. 956). The fact that the neighbouring feudatory princes of the locality where the inscription was found acknowledged the sovereignty of the Gurjaras as late as 1016 V. S. (960 A. D.), and the difficulty of identifying this prince with the Pāla or the Paramāra prince of the same name, seem to confirm the suspicion that he may have belonged to the Gurjara-Pratīhāra line of Kanauj. If this is admitted, we shall have to assume the existence of another Mahīpāla after the reign of Vināyakapāla of the Khajuraho inscription mentioned above.[2] Now in summing up the whole discussion, I beg to point out that once we accept the principle that synonymous names may be identified by identifying Mahīpāla with Kṣitipāla, and further grant the separate existence of the Vināyakapāla of the Khajuraho inscription, there is no really serious objection against the acceptance of the arrangement of succession advocated by Kielhorn and Bhandarkar. It is true that the title *Haya-pati* does not occur among the epithets of the

[1] *JL*, Vol. X, pp. 60-61.
[2] *ASI*, *WC*, 1919, pp. 43-44; *IA*, 1928, pp. 230 ff.

Gurjara princes so far discovered; but at the same time the title "lord of horses" occurs as a title of kings during this period on the records of the princes of northern India.[1] It is therefore likely that Devapāla was a king and not merely a cavalry leader. Again, it is clear from the assistance he gave to the Kīra prince that Herambapāla was also most probably a king. It is of course not absolutely impossible that these two princes were separate from the Gurjara princes bearing the same names ; but it is improbable that there should be two sets of princes in the same period both in close association with the Candellas and both bearing the same names. If the fact that the dates of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla do not overlap be urged against their identification, the same argument may also be applied against the identification of Kṣitipāla and Mahīpāla, for so far there is nothing in their dates derived from their own inscriptions or those calculated from the records of their successors or predecessors to suggest any overlapping. It is possible to suppose for instance that Kṣitipāla like Bhoja II, may have had a brief reign between Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla or Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla; or to assume that Kṣitipāla, as the eldest son, first reigned for a brief period and was then ousted by Mahīpāla and the latter by Bhoja, who was in his turn peacefully succeeded by Vināyakapāla. Such an assumption of internal dissensions in the family and enmity between Mahīpāla on the one hand and Bhoja and Vināyakapāla on the other, would furnish satisfactory reasons for the omission of Mahīpāla's name from the records of Vināyakapāla and also explain some of the causes that may have operated to bring about the decline of the Gurjara Pratīhāras, so soon after the death of Mahendrapāla. But as

[1] The title *Aśvapati* occurs in the inscription of the successors of Lakṣmaṇasena in Bengal, see *JASB*, 1896, Vol. LXV, pp. 6 ff.; *ibid*, 1914, Vol. X (N.S.), pp. 97 ff. For the title amongst Candella kings, see *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 231 ff. The Gāhaḍavālas and the Haihayas also assumed this title, see *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123-24; *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 321; *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 695 ff.; *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 139 ff.; *ibid*, Vol. XII, pp. 205 ff.

this theory does not satisfactorily explain the absence of the name of Kṣitipāla from the inscription of Vināyakapāla, I would tentatively adhere to the arrangement of Kielhorn and Bhandarkar. According to this theory Mahendrapāla was succeeded some time after A.D. 907-08 by his son Bhoja II. Nothing is known about this prince excepting that he had a short reign and that he must have ceased to rule some time before 914 A.D., the first known date of Mahīpāla. There is reason to think that Mahīpāla during the first part of his reign succeeded in preserving the mighty empire that was handed down to him by his predecessors. Thus Rājaśekhara in the introduction of his *Bālabhārata* or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* describes the victories of Mahīpāla in the following terms: "In that (lineage of Raghu), there was born the glorious Mahīpāladeva, who has bowed down the locks of hair on the tops of the head of the Muralas, who has caused the Mekalas to suppurate; who has driven the Kaliṅgas before him in war; who has spoilt the pastime of (the king who is) the moon of the Keralas; who has conquered the Kulūtas; who is a very axe to the Kuntalas, and who by violence has appropriated the fortunes of the Ramaṭhas."[1] In the same

[1] *Namita-Murala-mauliḥ pākalō Mēkalānāṁ,*
raṇa-kalita-Kaliṅgaḥ keli-taṭ Kēral-ēndoḥ,
Ajani jita-Kulūtaḥ Kuntalānām, kuṭhāraḥ,
haṭha-hṛta-Ramaṭha-Śrīḥ Śrī-Mahīpāladēvaḥ.
Tēna ca Raghu-vaṁśa-muktāmaṇinā-Āryāvarta-mahārājādhirājena
Śrī-Nirbhayanarendra-nandanenādhikṛtāḥ sabhāsadaḥ sarvān......etc.
Nirṇaya Sāgar Press Ed., I, 7-8.

The Muralas may have inhabited the banks of the river Muralā which is identified by some with the river Narbada. (*Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, Chapter I). But in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 54-55) the river is placed after the Kerala country. The Mekalas probably lived in the region round about the Maikal Range (Amarkantak) in the Central Provinces. The Kulūtas were taken by Cunningham to be the inhabitants of Yuan Chwang's *Kiu-lu-to* "which corresponds exactly with the position of the district of Kullu in the upper valley of the Byās river." The position indicated is roughly the modern Kangra district. The Ramaṭhas "must be a neighbouring people, as they are placed with the Pāñcanadas in the western division in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* and with the Kulindas in the Northern division in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*." Kuntala, Kerala, and Kaliṅga are well known geographical divisions of ancient India, and require no identification. For the identifications see *GDI*, Luzac, 1927; *JL*, Vol. X, pp. 63-64.

passage we are further told that the play was acted before an assembly of guests invited by Mahīpāla, 'the pearl-jewel of the lineage of Raghu the *Mahārājādhirāja* of *Āryāvarta*.' Another passage of the same work tells us that the play was performed by the king's orders at the great city of Mahodaya.[1] The list of Mahīpāla's conquests given by Rājaśekhara may possibly be exaggerated, after the manner of court poets. But an examination of it does not reveal any unsurmountable obstacles to our acceptance of it as mainly true. Thus a king who ruled over the Karnal district might well wage war with the tribes in the Kangra valley and the neighbouring regions.[2] Again a prince who ruled over Bundelkhand, Bihar, and Northern Bengal might well have engaged in hostilities with the rulers of the upper Narbada and the lower Mahanadi. Nor does a struggle with Kuntala present any difficulty. The rulers of Kuntala or the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency were certainly the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa. In describing her lineage, the *nāyikā* in the *Karpūramañjarī* gives the name of the ruler of Kuntala in the Deccan as *Vallabha-rāja*.[3] The title *Vallabha-rāja* was assumed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga and the designation Balharī (بلهری) of Mānkīr (مانکیر) applied by the Arabs to the Raṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns of the Deccan was only a corruption of this epithet.[4] The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras were warring with each other since the days of Dhruva Nirupama and Vatsa, and it is quite likely that the hostilities continued up to the time of Mahīpāla. The Gurjaras were at this time at the height of their power, and it is not at all improbable that Mahīpāla may have even carried on a raid into the heart of his enemies'

[1] For these and all relevant passages on the date of Rājaśekhara, see V. S. Apte, *Rājaśekhara, his Life and Writings*, 1886; Fleet, *The Date of the Poet Rājaśekhara*, *IA*, 1887, Vol. XVI, pp. 175 ff.; Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. II, pp. 361-62.

[2] For identifications of the tribes conquered, see above, fn. 1, p. 576.

[3] *Asti ettha Dakkhiṇāvade Kuntalesuṁ saalajanavallaho Vallaha-rājo nāma rāā.* Harvard Oriental Series, 1901, p. 32, Trans., p. 240.

[4] *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 182, V. 10; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 387-89.

territory, penetrating as far south as Kerala. Such sudden raids by enemy kings were quite familiar features of Indian history up to comparatively recent times. The evidence of Rājaśekhara gains substantial support from the *Murūj ul-Zahab*, a work by the contemporary Arab traveller Mas'ūdī (*c.* 890-956 A.D.).[1] The following relevant passages may be collected from his work. After referring to the Balharī kings of Mānkīr, he says; "one of the neighbouring kings of India, who is far from the sea, is Ba'ūrah, (بؤورة) who is lord of the city of Qanūj (قنوج). This is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom. He has large armies in garrisons on the north and on the south, on the east and on the west, for he is surrounded on all sides by warlike kings.[2] After criticising Jāḥiẓ, who supposed that the river Mihrān (Indus) came from the Nile, Mas'ūdi says that that author "did not know that Mihrān of Sind comes from well-known sources in the highlands of Sind, from the country belonging to Qanūj in the kingdom of Ba'ūrah and from Kashmīr, Kandahar, and aṭ-Ṭāfin......." [3] Further on, in Chapter XVI, he tells us that "the king of Qanūj, who is one of the kings of Sind, is Ba'ūrah ; this is the title common to all kings of Qanūj...This king has four armies according to the four quarters of the wind. Each of them numbers 700,000 or 900,000 men. The army of the north wars against the prince of Multan and with the Musulmāns his subjects, on the frontier. The army of the south fights against the Balharī, king of Mānkīr. The other two armies march to meet enemies in every direction." [4] It is clear from the passages quoted above that the territories of the king

[1] Al Mas'ūdī was born in Bagdad towards the close of the 3rd century A. D. and died in Egypt in 345 A.H. (956 A.D.). He visited Multan and Manṣūrah, *c.* A.H. 300 (A.D. 912) and Cambay *c.* 304 A. H. (A. D. 916). See, *Les Prairies d'or*, Texte et Traduction par C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861, Tome I, p. 111.

[2] *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 21, *Les Prairies d'or*, Tome I, p. 178. Meynard transcribes بؤورة as *Baourah*.

[3] *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 21; *Les Prairies d'or*, Tome I, p. 207.

[4] *Elliot*, Vol. I, pp 22-23; *Les Prairies d'or*, Tome I, pp. 372 and 374.

of Kanauj included some portions of the Punjab and Sind, and bordered on the dominions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan. As the date of Mas'ūdī's stay in India makes it almost certain that the king of Kanauj was Mahīpāla, his account gives us some idea of the power and prestige of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras during the period 912-16 A. D.[1] In waging a two-fold struggle with the Arabs of Sind and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan, Mahīpāla was only carrying on the traditional policy of his family.[2] The evidence of Rājaśekhara and Mas'ūdī is also corroborated by archaeological testimony. The find-spots of the Asni (in Fatehpur dist., U. P.), Haddala (in Eastern Kathiawar), Rakhetra (near Chanderi in Gwalior) and the Asiatic Society's plate (which grants land in Vārāṇasī-*Viṣaya*) shows that the dominions of Mahīpāla at least extended from Kathiawar to the borders of Bihar. Thus it is clear that Mahīpāla during the first part of his reign could with some exaggeration be called the *Āryāvarta-mahārājādhirāja*. By successive stages the Gurjara-Pratīhāras had succeeded in occupying an almost supreme position amongst the rulers of Northern India. But the position was no bed of roses. The incipient hostility of the Pālas in the east and the powerful combination of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Arabs were perennial sources of danger. As Mas'ūdī has pointed out, they had to maintain four mighty armies to meet "enemies in every direction." The economic consequences of continuing such a struggle would have sapped the foundation of any empire, and the Gurjara empire was no exception to the operation of inexorable economic laws. The crash appears to have

[1] Dr. R. C. Majumdar first noticed the importance of these passages in his paper on the Gurjara-Pratīhāras in *JL*, Calcutta University, Vol. X, pp. 64-66. He may be right in his suggestion that the word Ba'ūrah (بؤورة) is an "Arabic corruption of the word Pratīhāra or its Prakrit from Paḍihāra." See also *supra*, 'Dynastic History of Sind,' p. 4, fn. 8, p. 16, etc.

[2] See Gwalior (Sāgar-Tal) stone inscription of Bhoja, V. 4, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 167, also fn. 10; Badhanpur grant of Govinda III, V. 8, *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 239 ff.

come soon after 915 A. D. Verse 19 of the Cambay plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV contains the following passage about the northern expedition of Govinda's father Indra III. "The courtyard (of the temple of the god) Kālapriya became uneven by the stroke of the tusks of his rutting elephants. His steeds crossed the unfathomable Yamunā, which rivals the sea (*Sindhu-prati-spardhinī*). He completely uprooted (*nirmmūlaṁ unmūlitam*) the hostile city of Mahodaya, which is even to-day greatly renowned among men by the name Kuśasthala."[1] As "the god Kālapriya is generally identified with Mahākāla" of Ujjayinī, the passage suggests that Indra III proceeded in his northern expedition by way of Malwa. The statement of this inscription is further supported by some passages of the *Vikramārjuna-vijaya* of the Kanarese poet Pampa usually known as *Pampa-Bhārata*. This poem was composed in about *Śaka* 863 (941 A. D.) under the patronage of the Cāḷukya chief Arikeśarin, a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV. Pampa gives us the following information about the military achievements of Narasiṁha, the father of Arikeśarin, who must have been a contemporary of Indra III. We are told that "when preparing for victory he captured the champion elephants which marched in front, and penetrating and putting to flight the army of the Ghūrjjara-rāja, secured the victory and eclipsed Vijaya (or Arjuna),—this Narasiṁha. Terrified at the army of this Naraga, which fell like a thunderbolt, Mahīpāla fled in consternation, not stopping to eat or sleep or rest. His own horse he bathed at the junction of the Ganges and the sea (*Gaṅgā-vārdhiyoḷ*), thus becoming celebrated; and by his own friend destroying the qualities and character of (?) Saṅga, established with pride the victory of his arm."[2] Though the meaning and reference in the latter part of this passage are not clear, yet it is evident that the poet was apparently referring to the

[1] *EI*, Vol. VII, p. 38.

[2] Ed. by B. Lewis Rice, in the *Bibliotheca Carnatica*, Bangalore, 1898, pp. 3-4.

achievements of his patron's father, who must have accompanied his sovereign Indra III when the latter overran northern India. The exact date of this victory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas cannot be settled; but it appears to have happened some time between 915 and 918 A.D. For the Nausari grant of Indra III which is dated in 915 A.D., contains no reference to these victories; and the Daṇḍapur stone inscription of his son Govinda IV shows that he was dead sometime before 23rd December, 918.[1] The defeat of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras appears to have been complete; but the Rāṣṭrakūṭas could not take full advantage of their victory because of the confusion in which they were involved after the death of Indra III. Amoghavarṣa II, who succeeded his father, was probably killed and dethroned by his younger brother Govinda IV, and the latter in his turn, " being caught in the chains of the eyes of women," took to " vicious courses " and met his destruction.[2] It is however likely that Govinda IV retained some hold on the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley till about the 10th May, 930 A.D., the date of his Cambay plates. For in verse 28 of that inscription " the Gaṅgā and Yamunā are mentioned as doing service in the palace of Govinda IV." But there is unquestioned epigraphic evidence to show that the Gurjara-Pratīhāras recovered a substantial portion of their dominions, probably by taking advantage of this weakness of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power. The Asiatic Society's plate of Vināyakapāla (*alias* Mahīpāla ?), which was issued from Mahodaya, shows that Vārāṇasī-*Viṣaya* in the Pratiṣṭhāna-*Bhukti*, was still under the Gurjaras in 988 V.S. (931 A.D.). The Rakhetra stone inscription of the same prince shows that the Gwalior region was under him in V.S. 999-1000 (A.D. 942-43). In his attempts to recover his dominions Mahīpāla appears to have been helped by a number of his feudatories. One of the Candella fragmentary

1 *JBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.; *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 222 ff.; *JL*, Vol. X, pp. 66-67.

2 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 204-05 and 416-17; *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 34-35; XIII, p. 328. *JBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 250-51.

stone inscriptions of Khajuraho claims that either Harṣa or his son Yaśovarman placed Kṣitipāla on the throne.[1] The Guhila prince Bhaṭṭa, who appears to have been a contemporary of Mahīpāla, is credited in V. 26 of the Chatsu inscription of Bālāditya with having defeated the armies of the kings of the south at the behest of his overlord.[2] It is not unlikely, as has been suggested, that "the kings of the south were no other than the chiefs of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army by defeating whom king Mahīpāla regained his territories."[3] There is therefore some incontestable evidence that Mahīpāla succeeded in recovering a portion of his dominions with the assistance of his feudatories. There is nothing to shew what the limits of his revived empire were. But there is every reason to believe that the blow inflicted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas helped to bring about a new relationship between the imperial government and its vassals which in the end proved fatal to it. Thus, though many of the subordinate kings still acknowledged the supremacy of the imperial power in their official documents, they resisted by physical force every attempt of the sovereign to exert any real authority over them. The best example of this state of things is found in the records of the Candellas. Though Dhaṅga retains the name of Vināyakapāla, apparently a Gurjara king, in his inscription even as late as A.D. 954, he none the less described his father Yaśovarman as having been "a scorching fire to the Gurjaras."[4]

Mahīpāla-Vināyakapāla ruled at least up to about 942-43 A.D. The following records may be referred to his reign :

(1) *Haḍḍālā grant.*—This was discovered near "Haḍḍālā, a large village on the old road from Dholka to Dhandhūkā, but

1 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 121-22, line 10; the name of the prince who helped Kṣitipāla is lost. Kielhorn, who edited the inscription, took this prince to be Harṣadeva, while Hoernle thought that he was probably his son Yaśovarman; see *JRAS*, 1904, p. 654 and fn. 1.

2 *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 12 and 16, V. 26.

3 *JL*, Vol. X, p. 68.

4 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 127 ff., V. 23.

belonging to Eastern Kathiawar." It consists of 52 lines, and is written on two semi-elliptical plates. On the first plate "it shows the rude conventional representation of the moon and the sun, while it is blank on the second." There are no holes for rings. The inscription begins with an invocation to (Śiva) Dhandeśvara. It then proceeds to give the legendary origin of the Cāpas from the *cāpa* (bow) of Śambhu. In the *Cāpa-vaṁśa* was born *Nṛpa* Vikramārka. His son was *Rājā* Aḍḍaka; his son was king Pulakesi; his son was king Dhruvabhaṭa; his younger brother was king Dharaṇīvarāha, resident in Vardhamāna (mod. Wadhwan in E. Kathiawar), who was *Samadhigat-āśeṣa-mahā-śabda-Mahāsāmantādhipati*, and who through the favour of *Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara Śrī*-Mahīpāla-deva ruled the Aḍḍāṇaka-*deśa* named after his own grandfather. This prince granted to Maheśvarācārya on the day of the winter solstice the village named Viṁkala, which is connected with the Kanthikā-*sthalī*. It is dated in *Śaka*. S. 836 and was written by *Sāṁdhivigrahika* Mahindaka. Taking the date of the inscription into consideration, Bühler calculated the date of Vikramārka, the founder of the feudatory line, as about 800 A.D. The same scholar also identified Aḍḍāna with the modern village of Haḍḍālā.[1]

(2) *Asni stone pillar-inscription*.—It is recorded on one of the faces of a square sandstone pillar that was found at Asni, a village about 10 miles north of Fatehpur, the chief town of the district of the same name in U.P. The inscription consists of 14 lines of incorrect Sanskrit prose written in northern Devanāgarī of the 10th century. The record opens with the sign ९ and then mentions *Pb.-M.-P* Mahīṣa(ndra?)pāladeva-*pādānudhyāta Pb.-M.-P.* Mahīpāladeva. In his reign, in the (V) year 974, this inscription was set up in a certain *caitya* of the god Yogasvāmin. It made some arrangements for the worship

1 Bühler edited the inscription in 1883 from a facsimile, a paper rubbing, and an impression on lead of the second half of the grant in *I.A*, Vol. XII, pp. 190-95. The date of the record was read by Fleet, *ibid*, 1899, Vol. XVIII, p. 90.

of the god by Brahmans and ascetics of the locality. The record was written by Suvarṇabhadra.[1]

(3) *Bengal Asiatic Society's plate.*—The find-spot of this plate, sometimes spoken of as the 'Benares plate' from the fact that it mentions in line 10 Vārāṇasī-*Viṣaya*, is not known. It consists of 17 lines, and is written on one side of a single plate. "On to the proper right side of the plate there is soldered a thick and massive seal with a high raised rim all round it;......it is rectangular, except that the top of it is raised into an arched peak with a slight depression on each side of it. In the arch thus formed, there is a standing figure facing full front of a goddess, doubtless the *Bhagavatī*," who is mentioned in the inscription. Below this, across the surface of the seal, there is the legend in 16 lines in relief. The seal and legend are exactly similar to those in the Dighwa-Dubauli plate of Mahendrapāla. The additional information in the legend of this inscription is as follows:—Mahendrapāla-*devastasya puttras tat-pādānudhyātaḥ Śrī-Dehanāgā-devyām utpannaḥ Parama-vaiṣṇavo Mahārāja-Śrī*-Bhojadevas *tasya bhrātā Śrī*-Mahendrapāladeva-*puttras-tayōḥ-pādānudhyātaḥ-Śrī* - Mahī-devī-devyām *utpannaḥ Paramādityabhakto Mahārāja-Śrī*-Vināyaka-pāladevaḥ. The inscription begins with *Oṁ svasti*, and then tells us that it was issued from the *Skandhāvāra* situated at Mahodaya. Then it again repeats the genealogy given on the seal. Next it records the gift of 'Pratiṣṭhāna-*Bhuktau* Vārāṇasī-*Viṣaya-sambaddha*-Kāśi-pāra-*Pathaka-Pratibaddha*-Ṭikkarikā-*grāma*,' to the Bhaṭṭa Bhullāka, a student of the Atharvaveda, by Vināyakapāla. The village of Ṭikkarikā has been identified

1 Edited by Fleet in *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 173-75, in 1887. The reading of the name of Mahīpāla's predecessor is not certain. Fleet read it as Mahīṣapāla; Mr R. D. Banerji (*MASB*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 65) read the name as Mahindrapāla from an impression of this inscription in the Allahabad exhibition of 1910. This reading however is not supported by the plate given by Fleet. The pillar-inscription is now in the Municipal garden attached to the Town Hall of Fatehpur.

with the modern Tikari, 4 miles due south of Benares. The date (*V*) *Samvatsara* 988, comes last.[1]

(3) *Rakhetra stone-inscription.*—This inscription was found on the right bank of the river Orr within the limits of the village of Rakhetra, not far from the old site of Chanderi in Gwalior. It is written in Sanskrit and incised on a rock-tablet. It is dated in V.S. 999 and 1000, and apparently records the construction of some sort of waterworks at a cost of 95 or 96 crores (of coins) by Vināyakapāla. As there is no overlapping of dates, we may with some certainty identify him with Mahīpāla *alias* Vināyakapāla.[2]

Mahīpāla-Vināyakapāla was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla II by his queen Prasādhanā-devī, some time before V.S. 1003. The existence of this prince was revealed by the discovery of the *Partabgarh stone-inscription.* This stone was found affixed to a platform at Partabgarh, the capital of the state of that name in Southern Rajputana. The inscription contains 35 lines of writing and is naturally divided into four parts. It records a series of grants in favour of various shrines attached to the monastery of Hari-Ṛṣīśvara, who originally lived in Daśapura (mod. Mandasor). The inscription opens with 2 verses invoking the sun-god, followed by two verses in praise of the goddess Durgā. Then comes the statement that the inscription was issued from the *Skandhāvāra* situated at Mahodaya. Next is given the genealogy of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, which is the same as in the Asiatic Society's plate of Mahīpāla as far as Mahendrapāla. *Tasya-putras tatpādānudhyātaḥ Śrī*-Mahādevyām-*utpannaḥ Paramāditya-bhakto Mahārāja-Śrī*-Vināyakapāla-devas

[1] This inscription was first noticed by Dr. R. L. Mitra in 1848 in the *JASB*, Vol. XVII, part I, pp. 70 ff. In 1862 Dr. F. Hall noticed it in *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1 ff. In 1864 a lithograph of the record was published in the same journal Fleet next edited it from the original plate in 1886 in the *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 138-41. He however read the date as (Harṣa) S. 188. It was corrected by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in the *JBRAS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 405 ff.

[2] *ASI*, 1924-25, p. 168.

tasyaputras tatpādānudhyātaḥ Śrī-Devathāddhi(?)-*nāma-nija-kula*-Prasādhanādevyām-*utpannaḥ Parama-māheśvaro-Mahārāja-Śrī*-Mahendrapāladevaḥ. This last named king grants the village of Kharpara-padraka in the holding of Tala-vargika Hariṣaḍa and situated in the vicinity of Ghoṇṭā-varṣikā, in the western *Pathaka* of Daśapura, to the goddess Vaṭa-Yakṣhiṇī Devī, whose temple was connected with the *maṭha* of Hari Ṛṣīśvara. The grant was made in V.S. 1003 at the request of Dhana-Śūra. The record was written by *Purohita* Trivikramanātha under the orders of Jajja-Nāga. It ends with *Svahasto'yam Śrī-Vidagdhasya* (line 13).

The second grant opens with a praise of the princes of the *Cāhamānānvaya*, who, we are told, were a source of great pleasure to Bhojadeva. Then comes the name of Govindarāja, of this lineage ; his son Durlavarāja ; his son Indrarāja built the great temple of the Sun-god known (as Indrādityadeva at Ghoṇṭā-varṣikā). This is an entirely new Cāhamāna family, which appears to have risen to importance in the service of Bhoja I (*c.* 836-90). Next we are told that there was one Mādhava, who was *Mahāsāmanta-Daṇḍanāyaka* in Ujjayinī, and Śrī-Śarman appointed by Kokkaṭa, who was *Balādhikṛta* serving at the feet of *Parameśvara* (*i.e.*, Mahendrapāla II?) at Maṇḍapikā (mod. Mandu) (line 20). The aforesaid Mādhava (here called *Tantrapāla-Mahāsāmanta-Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*) (line 21) having come to Ujjayinī on business and having bathed at the temple of Mahākāla, granted on the Mīna-Saṁkrānti day the village of Dhārā-padraka for repairs to and maintenance of daily services to the temple of Indrāditya deva, at the request of *Cāhamānānvaya-Mahāsāmanta-Śrī*-Indrarāja, son of Durlabharāja. In line 26 is recorded a grant of a field. It comes to an end with *Svahasto'yam Śrī-Mādhavasya Svahasto'yam Śrī-Vidagdhasya.*

Part three opens with the date (*V*) *Saṁvat* 999, which marked the grant of a field named Vavvūlika by the side of the river Nandyā in the village of Palāśa-kūpikā to Indrāditya-deva of

Ghoṇṭā-varṣi by *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhartṛ-paṭṭa, son of Khommāṇa. G. H. Ojha has identified this prince with Bhartṛ-paṭṭa II, son of Khommāṇa III of Mewar, of the Guhila family. The same scholar has suggested the identification of Palāśa-kūpikā with Parasia, about 15 miles south of Mandasor.

Part four of the inscription records about four minor grants to various deities connected with the same *maṭha*. Last comes the date (V) *Saṁvat* 1003.[1]

The facts revealed by the inscription mentioned above show that the Gurjaras in 946 A.D. held the Malwa region; and it is not unlikely that their power was still acknowledged by the feudatories in South and Eastern Rajputana and Central India. Mr. R. D. Banerji therefore is certainly wrong when he asserts that Mālava had never been reoccupied after the northern campaign of Indra III.[2] However nominal the allegiance paid by these feudatories stationed at Mandu, Ujjayinī, and the places near about Partabgarh and Mandasor, it is clear that the occupation of Ujjayinī by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was not continuous till the time of Kṛṣṇa III (*c.* 940-70 A.D).)

(Mahendrapāla II, appears to have been succeeded by his brother or half brother Devapāla on or before 948-49 A.D. The existence of this prince was revealed by the *Siyadoni stone-inscription* discovered about 10 miles N. N. W. of Lalitpur near Jhansi, at Siron Khurd, in the precincts of the Jain temple of Śāntinātha. The inscription contains 46 lines of incorrect Sanskrit influenced by the local vernacular. It is divided into two parts. The first part (lines 1-39) is written in prose, and records a large number of donations made at different times from the (V) year 960 down to the (V) year 1025 by some feudatories and private individuals in favour of the god Viṣṇu and various other Brahmanical gods at Siyadoni (mod. Siron). In line 1, which is much damaged, we have with the date (V) S. 960 the

1 Edited by G. H. Ojha, in *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 176-88.

2 *JBORS*, 1928, December, p. 486.

names of the *Pb.-M.-P.* Mahendrapāladeva (meditating on the feet of *Pb.-M.-P.* Bhojadeva). In line 4, with the date (V) S. 964, the same two princes are mentioned in the same order. In line 28, with the date (V) S. 1005, occurs the name of *Pb.-M.-P.* Devapāladeva, meditating on the feet of *Pb.-M.-P.* Kṣitipāladeva. As line 40 speaks of a ruler of Mahodaya who granted some land to certain Brahmanas of Siyadoni, Kielhorn rightly assumed that these rulers were Gurjara-Pratīhāra kings of Kanauj.[1])

It is significant that, unlike the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of Vināyakapāla, which mentions his predecessor and brother Bhoja, this inscription does not give the name of the reigning king's brother and predecessor Mahendrapāla II. It is not unlikely therefore that the succession of Devapāla was not entirely peaceful, and that he may have omitted to mention the name of one whom he looked upon as a mere usurper. If this was so, then these internal dissensions must have hastened the decline and break-up of the Gurjara dominions. Another important cause that appears to have helped towards the dismemberment of the Gurjara empire was the revival of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas' attacks on Northern India. (The Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III, dated in *Śaka* 880 (A.D. 959), refer to his victories in the North.[2] V. 25 of this inscription, in which he claims to have "conquered Sahasrārjuna," has been rightfully interpreted by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar as referring to his victories over some Cedi rulers of Northern India. In V. 31, we are told that "all the feudatories from the eastern to the western ocean and from the Himalayas to the island of Siṁhala bowed to him out of fear of severe punishment, though he himself was obedient (*i.e.*, subordinate to his father)." Such vague claims in Indian

[1] The inscription was first noticed by F. Hall in *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 6-7. This was based on a very imperfect copy of a transcript of the record. Kielhorn then edited it in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 162-79.

[2] *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.

records of course mean nothing. But V. 30 of the same inscription contains more definite information. It runs as follows: "On hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern region simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gurjara."[1] These claims of conquests in Northern India are supported by the recent discovery of several inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa III in the Ahmedabad district of Gujarat and the Maihar State in Baghelkhand Agency (C.I.). Two of these were found at the village of Harasola in Ahmedabad, and record grants of land in V.S. 1005 (A.D. 949) by the Paramāra Sīyaka, apparently a feudatory of *Pb.-M.-P.* Akālavarṣa (Kṛṣṇa III), the son of Amoghavarṣa.[2] The third inscription was discovered on a stone slab at the village of Jura in the State of Maihar. It is written in Kanarese, and "contains the name and the different titles or *birudas* of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, Akālavarṣa, the son of Amoghavarṣa III, *alias* Baddega."[3] These inscriptions show that some time before the middle of the 10th century Kṛṣṇa III had attacked the Gurjara dominions from the south-west and the south-east, and it would seem that he even succeeded for a time in capturing the famous forts of Citrakūṭa (Chitor) and Kālañjara from the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.[4] The Deoli and the Karhad plates seem to indicate that most of these victories of Kṛṣṇa occurred during the lifetime of his father, who died some time before 940 A.D.[5] We have seen that the attack of Indra

[1] *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 284; V. 30 also occurs in the Deolī plates of the same king, see *JBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 247, lines 7-8 of the second side of plate II.

[2] *PTOC*, Madras. 1925, pp. 303-08; *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff. *JBORS*, December, 1928, pp. 479 ff.

[3] *MASI*, No. 23. *The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*, pp. 11 and 117; *JBORS*, December, 1928, pp. 476 ff.

[4] Mr. R. D. Banerji suggests that the Citrakūṭa of these inscriptions should be identified with the place of the same name near Kālañjara, in the Banda District. See *JBORS*, 1928, p. 481. But I think that the famous fort of Chitor is here meant. The two forts were apparently the objective of the two expeditions which penetrated the Gurjara territory from the S.W. and S.E.

[5] *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 279.

of Mahendrapāla of the Partabgarh inscription.[1] Another difficulty is the identification of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahīpāla of the Bayana stone-inscription of Citralekhā, dated in V.S. 1012 (*c*. A.D. 956). This inscription consists of 22 lines of writing, and records the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu by a queen named Citralekhā during the reign of Mahīpāla. Citralekhā was the daughter of one Rājayika and married Maṅgalarāja, who may perhaps be identified with the Kacchapaghāta prince of the same name mentioned in the Gwalior Sāsbahū temple inscription of Mahīpāla, dated in V. S. 1150. The inscription records the grant of two villages to the god Nārāyaṇa. Of the villages mentioned Gograpura has been identified with modern Gogera in tahsil Weir, Nāgapallī with modern Nāvali in tahsil Bayana, and Hāḍhapallī with mod. Hadholi a village in the district of Hindaun in Jaipur state.[2] Mr. R. D. Banerji's suggestion that the Mahīpāla of this record is a prince of the imperial Pratihāra line of Kanauj, is certainly plausible, and if accepted will give us a Mahīpāla II. As the Bayana inscription gives no genealogy of Mahīpāla we can only accept the tentative suggestion that he may have been a son of Devapāla and grandson of Mahīpāla I. The situation is further complicated by the discovery of a fragmentary *stone-inscription at Osia* of the Pratīhāra Vatsarāja, dated in V.S. 1013. The inscription was found incised on a slab built in the wall of the *maṇḍapa* of a Jain temple.[3] As an epigraph of Vatsa the father of Nāgabhaṭa II was found at Osia, it may be assumed that the place was still situated within the Gurjara dominions. Was this Vatsa then a Pratīhāra of Kanauj? If so, where are we to place him on the genealogical table? His

[1] *IA*, 1928, p. 233.

[2] *ASI*, *WC*. 1919, pp. 43-44; *ibid*, 1920, p. 47. *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 10; *ibid*, Vol. XV, pp. 36 ff.

[3] Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *ASI*, *WC*, 1907, Section XI, p. 15; see also the list of inscriptions, *ibid*, p. 7, No. 2302. Mr. D. C. Ganguli drew my attention to this epigraph. V. Smith in his article on the Gurjara-Pratīhāras has confused this Osia inscription with the Osia inscription of Vatsa the father of Nāgabhaṭa II, and has wrongly given the date of the latter epigraph as V.S. 1013, thus placing the father 141 years later than the son; see *JRAS*, 1909, p. 66, No. 1.

date of course places him after the Mahīpāla (II?) of the Bayana inscription. The acceptance of this Vatsaraja as a member of the imperial family of Kanauj would then involve us in the supposition that three princes, Vināyakapāla II, Mahīpāla II, and Vatsa II, ruled in rapid succession, during the period V.S. 1011-13. This of course is not impossible, but at the same time the suspicion that the last two rulers may have been representatives of local branches of the family cannot entirely be avoided. The Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire was certainly declining since the capture of Mahodaya by Indra III. The renewal of the invasions under Kṛṣṇa III helped to disintegrate the empire and give rise to local lines, some of whom at least may have been related to the imperial stock. In the present state of our knowledge however it is better to keep an open mind and await the discovery of fresh material before formulating any definite opinion on the point.

Three years after the date of the Osia inscription we find a *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* Mathanadeva, son of *Mahārājādhirāja* Sāvaṭa of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra family (*anvaya*), acknowledging allegiance to *Pb.-M.-P.* Kṣitipāladeva-*pādānudhyātaḥ Pb.-M.-P.* Vijayapāladeva. This is revealed by the *Rajor stone-inscription,* discovered among the ruins of the city of Parnagar, which lie south of the village of Rajor or Rajorgadh in the Rajgadh district of Alwar State, about 28 miles S.W. of the town of Alwar. The inscription contains 23 lines of writing, and is dated in the reign of Vijayapāla in (V) S. 1016 (A.D. 960). On this date Mathanadeva, who resided in Rājyapura (mod. Rajor), granted Vaṁśapotaka-*Bhōga-sambaddha*-Vyāghrapāṭaka-*grāma* (probably mod. village of Baghor near Rajor), to the god Lacchukeśvara Mahādeva (so named after his mother Lacchukā). An interesting fact in connection with this grant is the separate mention of fields cultivated by the Gūrjaras (*Gūrjjara-vāhita-samasta-kṣetra*).[1]

[1] The inscription was first published by Dr. R. L. Mitra in the *PASB*, 1879, pp. 157 ff.; it was then printed in the *Prācīnalekhamālā* of the *Kāvyamālā*, Vol. I. pp. 53 ff. Kielhorn next edited it in *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 263-67.

This Vijayapāla may with some certainty be said to be another son of Mahīpāla I. The decay of Gurjara-Pratīhāra power is amply shown by the assumption of imperial titles by his feudatory Mathanadeva. The addition of the title *Parameśvara* to his father's *Mahārājādhirāja* may indicate the gradual growth of independence in the local dynasty at the cost of the imperial power. This inscription therefore further illustrates the tendency towards the disintegration of the empire which was first observed in the Candella records. The Khajuraho inscriptions of Dhaṅga (V.S. 1011), though it mentions the name of Vināyakapāla nevertheless gives the area of Dhaṅga's dominions as extending "as far as Kālañjara, as far as Bhāsvat, on the banks of the river of Mālava, from here to the banks of the river Kālindī, and from here also to the frontiers of the Cedi country and even as far as the mountains called Gopā" (V. 45).[1] The area indicated includes practically the whole of the province of Central India. The possession of Kālañjara shows that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were expelled from that fort by the Candellas, the nominal feudatories of the Gurjaras, some time before 954 A.D. The capture of the fort of Gwalior and the extension of Candella power to the Jumna must have struck severe blows at the very foundation of Gurjara-Pratīhāra sovereignty; and it was not long after this that the whole imperial structure crumbled into pieces, giving rise to independent dynasties in the provinces. The Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman informs us that the *Narendra* Dhaṅga, "having defeated on the battlefield the king of Kānyakubja, (who had subdued) all princes obtained exalted sovereignty (*sāmrājya*)."[2] This defeat of the Kanauj monarch must have happened some time after 954 A.D., and it is significant that the name of the

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 129 and 134.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 197, V. 3.

Gurjara-Pratīhāra sovereigns does not occur in Candella inscriptions after this date. In the Sāsbahū inscription of Mahīpāla, the Kacchapaghāta Vajradāman is said to have "by honest means put down the rising valour of the ruler of Gādhinagara, his proclamation drum......resounded in the fort of Gopadri, conquered in battle by his irresistible strong arm."[1] The date of Vajradāman is supplied by his fragmentary Gwalior image inscription dated in V.S. 1034 (A.D. 977).[2] It seems likely that the Kacchapaghātas during this period acted as the subordinates of the Candellas, who were gradually growing powerful in Bundelkhand. The Baroda plates of Mūlarāja dated in V.S. 1030 (A.D. 974) show that the Caulukyas had established themselves in Gujarat and Kathiawar.[3] As the recently discovered Ahmedabad grant of Paramāra Sīyaka II is dated in V.S. 1026 (A.D. 970),[4] it seems probable that the Caulukyas ousted the Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatories from that area between 970 and 974 A.D. Pushed from the west by the Caulukyas, the Paramāras were gradually driven into Malwa, which must have passed into their possession some time before V.S. 1031 (A.D. 973-74). For in that year the Paramāra *Mahārājādhirāja* Vākpatirāja issued his Dharmapurī grant from Ujjayinī.[5] It should be noted in this connection that this city and Mandu were in the possession of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras at least up to V.S. 1003, the date of the Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II. In the East and South-east the Kalacuris had already established themselves as independent powers in the U.P. and the Central Provinces. There is some reason to believe that the Kalacuris, like the Candellas, were also at first feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.[6] In the Kalha plates of Soḍhahdeva Guṇāmbodhi

[1] *IA* Vol. XV, pp. 36 ff.
[2] *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, p. 393.
[3] *WZKM*, Vol. V, p. 300.
[4] *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 177-79.
[5] *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 51 ff.
[6] *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 884, V. 9; Vol. I, pp. 254 ff. V. 17; Vol. II. pp. 305 ff., V. 7.

is said to have obtained some land from Bhoja I, while in the Bilhari plate of Yuvarājadeva II and Benares grant of Karṇa Kokalla I is said to have supported Bhoja I in the north. In V. 8 of the Goharwa plates of Karṇa one of his predecessors, Lakṣmaṇarāja, is said to have defeated the Gurjara king along with other princes of Northern and Southern India.[1] As Lakṣmaṇarāja is four generations earlier than Gāṅgeya, who died about 1041 A.D., he can be safely placed in the neighbourhood of the middle of the 10th century A.D. In the west the Cāhamānas had already become an independentp ower before V.S. 1013 (A.D. 957), the date of the Harṣa stone-inscription of Vigraharāja,[2] while in the south-west the Guhilots appear to have become also independent soon after V.S. 1003. The Partabgarh inscription of that date contains the record of a grant of some land by the (Guhila) *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhartṛpaṭṭa in V. S. 999 (A.D. 943). The fact that he married a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess [3] may indicate that he allied himself with the traditional enemies of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. This alliance may have been brought about after the capture of Chitor by Kṛṣna III. In the North-west the pressure of the Muhammadan Turks, which was to drive the Śāhis of Kābul beyond the Sutlej, had already commenced. [4] Thus when Rājyapāla, son of Vijayapāla ascended the throne, some time between 960 and 1027 A.D. the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire probably did not extend much beyond the Ganges-Jumna *Doab*.

I have already referred to the part played by the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire in stemming the tide of Arab invasions from Sind.[5] Fortunately for the Hindu principalities in the interior of India, the Arab power in Sind declined in the 9th century and

[1] *Ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 142.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 124; see also p. 119 for another inscription of the same prince, dated in V. 1030.

[3] V. 4 of the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra, *IA*, 1910, p. 191.

[4] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 13; see also *supra*, pp. 80 ff.

[5] See *supra*, pp. 10, 15-17, 570-71 and 578-79, etc.

became moribund simultaneously with the decay of Gurjara-Pratīhāra power.[1] But soon after the middle of the tenth century the Turks appeared before the north-western gates of India, carrying the banner of Islam. The establishment of the Yamīnī dynasty at Ghazni in the last quarter of the 10th century A.D. synchronised with the dismemberment of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire. Before the inevitable 'political readjustment' could take place, the hungry Turks had swooped down upon the smiling Indian plains, carrying fire and rapine. The process thus set in motion culminated in the establishment of the Muhammadan Turk as the imperial power in Northern India. It was probably not the first time that India was invaded and conquered by the Turks. But those Turks as well as other foreigners who entered India before this time had become gradually assimilated into its elastic social system. This time however the Turks entered India as the proselytes of Semitic Islam, which refused to compromise its fundamental social and religious tenets. Thus the 10th century of the Christian era, which saw the dismemberment of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire and the arrival of the Muhammadan Turk in India, marked an epoch in the history of India. Since then, in spite of efforts at rapprochement on both sides, India has practically remained divided into two mutually repellent units. The problem that confronted Indian administration in the tenth century remains still unsolved after the lapse of more than nine hundred years.

When Sabuk-tigīn ascended the throne in about 977 A.D., he found his way into India blocked by the Śāhis of Kābul. He and his son Maḥmūd had to fight a series of engagements before they could destroy these guardians of the north-western gates of India. Of these, two were very important; and if we may believe some late historians, a confederacy of North Indian princes helped the Śāhi kings on these two occasions. One of these was fought in about 991 A.D. between Laghman and

[1] See *supra*, pp. 16-17.

Ghazni, probably in the Kurram valley. We are told by Firishta that "the neighbouring Rajas supplied troops and money, particularly those of Delhi, Ajmir, Kalinjar, and Kanauj, whose forces having united in the Punjab, the whole composed an army of a hundred thousand." The names of these princes are not found in the *Ṭabqāt-i-Akbarī*. But what is more significant is that even the contemporary 'official history,'[1] of 'Utbī fails to give the names of any of these princes.[2] It is curious that an author who was in such intimate relations with the Yamīnīs, and whose object in writing his *Kitāb* was certainly not to conceal any facts which would tend to increase the glory of his master's house, should fail to mention these princes if their contingents were really present in the battle-field. In any case the assumption that any Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler personally took part in the struggle appears to be unsupported by any evidence. Even Firishta only alludes to the "supply of troops and money" by the princes, in response to the appeal of Jayapāla. The same arguments also apply in the case of the battle which took place in about 1008 A.D. According to Firishta, the Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanauj and Delhi entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced towards the Punjab. It is surprising, that 'Utbī notices no such awakening to a common danger amongst the princes and peoples of India, which, according to Firishta, led to something like a national confederacy against the Islamic invaders, and even omits from his account the names of all these kings and principalities. Under the circumstances it is, I think, useless to speculate as to the identity of the princes who may have participated in these campaigns.[3] The dates of the battle show that if the lists in Firishta's *Ta'rīkh* are not later fabrications,

1 Margoliouth, *Arabic Historians*, University of Calcutta, 1930, p. 14.

2 The *TKA* of Ibn ul-Athīr, which was composed within a century of the death of Maḥmūd, also does not mention the names of these allies of the Sāhis. See Bulak edn., 1874, Vol. IX.

3 See *supra*, pp. 83 ff., and 91 ff.

the Gurjara-Pratīhāra princes who might have participated in these battles were either Vijayapāla or Rājyapāla.

The existence of Rājyapāla is revealed by the *Jhusi grant* of Trilocanapāla, dated in V.S.1084 (A.D. 1027).[1] We know from this inscription that *Pb.-M.-P.* Rājyapāla meditated on the feet of *Pb.-M.-P.* Vijayapāla. He thus appears to have been a son of Vijayapāla, whose only date so far known is 960 A.D. Thus Rājyapāla must have succeeded Vijayapāla some time between 960 and 1027 A.D. It was probably this prince who was ruling in Kanauj about 1018 A.D., when Sulṭān Maḥmūd invaded the Ganges-Jumna valley. 'Utbī tells us that on the 20th of Rajab 409 A.H. (1018 A.D.)[2] Maḥmūd after crossing the Jumna appeared at Baran (mod. Bulandshahr). Haradatta, its prince, probably a feudatory of the Kanauj rulers, is said to have submitted to the Sulṭān and proclaimed his anxiety for conversion and rejection of idols with 10,000 followers. The chief whose fort was next attacked was Kulacandra. The position of his principality, which must have been near about Baran, is not defined; but he is said to have bravely resisted Maḥmūd. "Nearly 50,000 men were killed or drowned and became a prey of beasts and crocodiles" before Kulacandra finding further resistance hopeless, slew himself and his wife with his own dagger. Maḥmūd next came to Mathura. The city was surrounded by a wall of 'hard stone'; two gates opened upon the river flowing by it, and it "was erected on strong and lofty foundations." It will perhaps suffice to give us some idea of the magnificence of this city of temples if we only quote Maḥmūd's account of the large temple that stood in the centre of the city: "If one should wish

[1] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 33-35.

[2] Niẓām ud-Dīn (*TA*, Tr. B. Dey, p. 10) and Firishta (Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 56) also give the same date. The date 407 A.H. given by Ibn ul-Athīr (*TKA*, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, p. 98) and by Mīrkhond (*Rauẓat uṣ-Ṣafā*, Lucknow Text, 1874, p. 740) appears to be wrong. It is very easy to mistake nine, تسع (tis') for seven سبع (sab'). Khond Mīr (*Ḥabīb us-Siyar*, Text, Bombay, 1857, Vol. II, Chapter IV, p. 23), gives the correct date, 409 A.H.

to construct a building equal to this, he would not be able to do it without expending an hundred thousand red dīnārs, and it would occupy two hundred years, even though the most experienced and able workmen were employed." The beauty and magnificence of the temples however failed to protect them from destruction. For "the Sulṭān gave orders that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire and levelled with the ground." Maḥmūd next reached Kanauj, which was protected by "seven distinct forts washed by the Ganges, which flowed under them like the ocean." At the advance of the Sulṭān there was panic in the "city of ten thousand temples." "Many of the inhabitants of the place fled and were scattered abroad like so many wretched widows and orphans." Rājyapāla appears to have been almost deserted. 'Utbī specifically mentions that he had at this time but a few men with him. Finding resistance hopeless, he left Kanauj and "fled across the Ganges." The unfortunate people of the country "either accepted Islam or took up arms against him : (Maḥmūd) collected so much booty, prisoners and wealth, that the fingers of those who counted them would have tired." We are told that, the seven forts of Kanauj which must have been all deserted were captured in a single day. The Sulṭān then gave up the city to be sacked. Amongst the citizens "those who did not fly were put to death." [1]

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 41-46. I have followed the contemporary account of the *TY*; Niẓām ud-Dīn and Firishta appear to give a defective account of this campaign. They are clearly wrong when they say that Maḥmūd first captured Kanauj and then Baran and Mathura. These two places lay in the way of Maḥmūd from the Punjab to Kanauj, and it is much easier to agree with 'Utbī who says that Maḥmūd captured those places before he came to Kanauj. The name of the Kanauj prince is also wrongly given by the last two authorities. Niẓam ud-Dīn (Text, *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 12), gives the name as Kūrah (کوره) ; Firishta (Lucknow Text, 1864, p. 29), though he claims to have consulted the work of 'Utbī, blindly follows him in giving the same name. Elliot read the name given by 'Utbī as *Rāi Jaipāl*, while Reinaud gave it as 'Rājā Pāl' and 'Rajaipāl,' which all seem to be variants of Rājyapāla, see *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 45, fn. 2. In the *KZA*, p. 76, the name is given as راجپال In the British Museum MS. of the *TY*,

After the plunder and desecration of Kanauj, the city appears to have remained deserted by its inhabitants. Al-Bīrūnī, who wrote his *Indica* about 1030 A.D., describes it as "a very large town, but most of it is now in ruins and desolate, since the capital has been transferred thence to the city of Bārī, east of the Ganges. Between the two towns there is a distance of three to four days' marches." [1] It has been generally assumed from this that Rājyapāla after escaping from Kanauj established his capital at Bārī. [2] In any case Rājyapāla was not in Kanauj when in the following year Maḥmūd (410 A.H=1019 A.D) [3] "turned again towards Hind with his bold warriors." We are told by 'Utbī that "he obtained a large amount of booty before he reached the river, known by the name of Rāhib (راهب)...... Barujaybāl (برجيبال) was encamped on the other side of the river, as a measure of security in consequence of this sudden attack, with his warriors dusky as night, and his elephants all caparisoned. He showed a determination to resist the passage of the Sultān, but at night he was making preparations to escape down the river." The account then proceeds to say that at Maḥmūd's direction a detachment of his troops effected a landing on the opposite bank in spite of opposition. Encouraged by their success the rest of

(Add. 23, 341 f. 143a), the name is given as راجيال which may well be a mistake for راجپال In the Arabic Text of the same work edited by 'Alī and Sprenger (Delhi, 1847, p. 403) the name is written as راجيبال In another Arabic Text of the *TY*, printed on the margin of *TKA*, (Bulak, 1874, Vol. II, p. 79) the name of the king is given as راجيپال . *TKA* (*ibid*, pp. 98 and 115) itself gives the name as راجيپال and راجيال. In the *Rauẓat uṣ-Ṣafā* of Mīrkhond (Text, Lucknow, 1874, p. 740) the name is given as جيپال راي He appears to have mistaken the را of the name given by 'Utbī as راى He thus thought he was quite right in writing *Rāy Jaypāl* as *Jaypāl Rāy*. The *Ḥabīb uṣ-Ṣiyar* of his grandson Khond Mīr (Text, Bombay, 1857, Vol. II, Chap IV, p. 23) gives the name of the king as جيپال Thus 'Rājyapāla' was gradually changed into 'Jayapāla.'

1 Trans. by Sachau, Trübner, Vol. I, p. 199.

2 See *KZA*, p. 76, on this point. On the approach of Maḥmūd in A.D. 1019 Tarujaipāl went towards Bārī.

3 *TA*, Trans. by B. Dey, 1013, p. 12.

the army crossed the river, not without considerable difficulty, and put their enemy to flight. "Some of the infidels asked for mercy after being wounded, some were taken prisoners, some were killed, and the rest took to flight, and 270 gigantic elephants fell into the hands of the Musulmāns." There has been some difference of opinion about the identification of this Barūjaybāl. Niẕām ud-Dīn gives the name as Tarū-Jaypāl or Narū-Jaypāl, which seems to be clearly the same name as that given by 'Utbī.[1] *Barū* can very easily be transformed into *Tarū* or *Narū* in the Perso-Arabian script. It is difficult to say how the confusion first arose, but I think it is better to accept the contemporary text of 'Utbī. That Niẕām ud-Dīn was not free from mistakes is shown by the fact that he describes the battle as having taken place on the river Jūn (*i.e.*, Jumna), while 'Utbī clearly says that it was fought on the Rāhib.[2] The theory that Tarū-Jaypāl or Narū-Jaypāl must be differentiated from Barū-Jaybāl rests upon a statement of Niẕām ud-Dīn, who in giving Maḥmūd's reason for invading India in 410 A.H. writes: "It has been handed down, that when the Sulṭān heard that a *Rājā* of the name of Nandā (نندا) had slain the *Rājā* of Kannouj, because the latter had submitted and rendered allegiance to him he formed a strong resolution to destroy Nandā, and in the year 410 he again invaded Hindustan."[3] Thus it is assumed that when Maḥmūd invaded India, the Kanauj king Rājyapāla,[4] who ruled in 409 A.H., had been killed by Nandā

[1] *Ibn ul Athīr, in his TKA, (Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, pp. 115-16) gives the name as* پرو جیپال The argument that *Tarū* or *Narū* may be mistakes for *Barū* applies also for *Parū*. It is only a question of dots, the omission of which is very usual in Perso-Arabic MSS.

[2] The *KZA*, p. 76, says that the battle took place when both the armies had crossed the Ganges and when Tarū-Jaypāl was on his way to Bārī. Rāhib (راهب) is identified with modern Rāmganga, which rises in the Garhwal hills (30°5′ N, 790°12′E′) and falls into the Ganges a little above Kanauj, after a total course of about 370 miles. See *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 49, fn. 6; *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 46, fn. 1; *IGI*, Vol. XXI, p. 175.

[3] *TA*, Trans. by Dey, p. 12.

[4] Identified by these scholars with Barū-Jaypāl, or Purū-Jaypāl first mentioned by 'Utbī in connection with Maḥmūd's expedition in A.H. 409. See *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 461.

whose name is taken to be a mistake for Gaṇḍa, the Candella ruler.[1] So the prince who opposed Maḥmūd on the Rāhib must have been his son Trilocanapāla.[2] Now so far as names are concerned the following table will, I hope, show that there is no inherent improbability that the name Trilocanapāla might be corrupted in Arabic script into Barū, Parū, Tarū, or Narū-Jaypāl :

ترلو چنپال—Trilocanapāla
ترلو جیپال—Tarlūjaypāl
ترر جیپال—Tarūjaypāl[3]
برر جیپال—Barūjaypāl
نرر جیپال—Narūjaypāl
پرر جیپال—Parūjaypāl.

But there are some strong objections to the supposition that all these names refer to one and the same person, *viz.*, Trilocanapāla. The name Barū-jaybāl first occurs in 'Utbī's account in connection with the description of Maḥmūd's first expedition into the Ganges valley in 409 A. H.[4] After describing the flight of Rājyapāla from Kanauj, he proceeds to give us the account of Maḥmūd's subsequent conflicts in the same expedition with the other neighbouring princes. One of these was Chand Rāī and between him and Barū-jaybāl, we are told "there had been constant fights in which many men and warriors had fallen in the field;...at last they consented to peace, in order to save further bloodshed and invasion of their respective borders. Barū-jaybāl sought his old enemy's daughter, that he might give her in marriage to his son Bhīmpāl, thus cementing the peace between them for ever, and preserving their swords within their

[1] *JRAS*, 1909, Part I, p. 284 fn.

[2] Identified by these scholars with Tarū-jaypāl or Narū-jaypāl.

[3] This form actually occurs in the recently published text of the almost contemporary (*c.* 1048 A.D.) *KZA*, p 76. One of the MSS. of *TA*, consulted by Elliot also gives this form ; see *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 463.

[4] Note also the statement of *TA* (Trans. p. 12) that Narū-jaypāl before 410 A.H. 'had several times fled before his armies.'

sheaths. He sent his son to obtain the bride from Chand Rāī who imprisoned the son and demanded retribution for the losses which had been inflicted by the father."[1] Now the author was here describing incidents which occurred before 410 A.H., and already by this time this Barū-jaybāl was to all appearances an independent prince and a contemporary of Rājyapāla with sons of marriageable age. This difficulty was probably present in the minds of S. de Sacy and Elliot when they assumed this Barū-jaybāl to be identical with Rājaybāl or Rājyapāla.[2] The difference of the two names of course remains an obstacle in accepting the identification. But in Arabic ا is often written in MSS. as ﮈ and can readily be mistaken for a ر. It is not impossible that the initial ب was originally the Arabic preposition meaning 'to, at or with,' which was wrongly thought by the scribe to be a part of the name. The mistake thus started may have been perpetuated in all subsequent spellings of the name.[3] In any case if we accept 'Utbī's account as real history it seems impossible that Barū-jaybāl should be identified with the son and successor of Rājyapāla though it is not impossible that he may have been a contemporary ruler of some other dynasty. But there is another objection. The Dubkhund stone-inscription of the Kacchapaghāta Vikramasiṁha dated in V.S. 1145 (A.D.1188) tells us that his great-grandfather Arjuna, being "anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara deva had fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla......".[4] A Candella inscription from Mahoba tells us that Vidyādhara "caused the destruction

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 47-48.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 45, fn. 2 and p. 47, fn. 2; also pp. 461 ff.

[3] This is much more probable than the suggestion that the name should be read as Pur-i-Jaypal in the sense of 'son of Jaypal.' *Pur* is an old Persian word and is seldom used by the Persian historians in the sense of a son. It is certainly not Arabic. If the Arabic writers wanted to write 'son of Jaypāl,' they would have probably written 'ibn Jaypāl.' I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr. W. Mirza of the Lucknow University. *KZA* (p. 76), while giving the name as Tarū-Jaypāl sometimes omits the first portion and gives the name as Jaypāl. Apparently he did not consider *Tarū* as an essential part of this name.

[4] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 237, lines 10, etc.

of the king of Kanauj."[1] These two inscriptions when jointly read leave us in on doubt that this Rājyapāla was the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king of Kanauj and the same ruler whose name is spelt by the Arab writer as Rājaybāl. Thus Rājyapāla was a contemporary of the Candella Vidyādhara and the Kacchapaghāta Arjuna, and therefore alive at the time of Maḥmūd's second expedition against Kanauj when Nanda (Gaṇḍa ?), the father of Vidyādhara was still the Candella king.[2] So far as facts were available at the time, Prof. R. C. Mazumdar, I think, was right in describing as "gratuitous" the attempt to harmonise Niẓām ud-Dīn's account with the epigraphic evidence, by supposing Vidyādhara the destroyer of Rājyapāla to be the crown prince of Nanda (Gaṇḍa ?). But since he wrote I have come across the following account of these incidents in the Arabic history *Ta'rīkh ul-Kāmil* of Ibn ul-Athīr (died A.D. 1234): "In this year, 409,[3] Yamin ud-Daulah started on an expedition towards India, and he made larger preparations than he had done before. The reason of all this preparation was that when he had conquered Kanauj and its ruler, called the Rāy, had fled away... ..and Maḥmūd returned to Ghazna, Bīdā (بيدا) the accursed, who was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory and had the largest armies, and whose territory was named Kajurāha (كجوراهه), sent messengers to the Rāy of Kanauj, who was named Rājaypāl (راجيپال) rebuking him for his flight and the surrender of his territories to the Musalmans. A long quarrel ensued between them, which resulted in hostilities; and as each of them prepared to fight the other, they marched out and met and fought, and Rājaypāl was killed,[4] and most of his soldiers also perished; and this

[1] *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 219 and 222, V. 22.

[2] *JL*, Vol. 7, p. 74, fn.

[3] This date is wrong and short by one year. Though generally reliable, the Bulak Ed. of this work is not free from mistakes. Thus it has هردب for هردث on p. 98.

[4] The *KZA*, p. 76, says "In 410 A.H. Yamīn ud-Daulah led an expedition against Nandā who had killed Rājbāl, the Amīr of Kanauj, and had admonished him for running away from the armies of Maḥmūd."

The statement quoted above solves some of the problems which so long confronted the historians of India. Ibn ul-Athīr clearly says that the person who killed Rājyapāla was Bīdā of Khajuraho. As Ibn ul-Athīr lived within a century of the death of Maḥmūd, his statement must be accepted as more reliable than the later account of Niẓām ud-Dīn. Thus it is apparent that the Nandā (نندا) of the latter writer was a mistake not for Gaṇḍa, as Cunningham supposed, but for Bīdā (بيدا).[1] Apart from other considerations the following comparison of the letters will show that Bīdā can be corrupted into *Nandā* much more easily than *Gaṇḍa* :

Bīdā.........	بيدا	Gaṇḍa	گندا
Nandā.......	نندا	Nandā.........	نندا

It is also important to remember that the name Gaṇḍa ends in a short *a* and therefore should *properly* be written as گند or گنده and not with an at the end.[2] That reduces further the resemblance of Gaṇḍa and Nandā. It can therefore be accepted that the person meant was Vidyādhara the son and successor of Gaṇḍa. Bīdā is a mistake for بيديا, the phonetic equivalent in Arabic of Vidyā, the first portion of the name of the Candella prince. As this statement of Ibn ul-Athīr agrees with epigraphic evidence, there remains absolutely no doubt that about 409-10 A.H. Gaṇḍa was already dead.

Another problem that is solved is the question about the causes that induced Maḥmūd to invade India about 410 A.H. On the authority of Niẓām ud-Dīn it was assumed by V. A. Smith that Rājyapāla was killed by an ' alliance ' of Hindu states for

1 It was in the middle of the 19th century, that Cunningham first suggested that Firishta's *Nandā* was a misreading for *Gaṇḍa*; see his *ASR* for 1862-63-64-65, Vol. II (Simla, 1871), p. 452. This has been accepted by most scholars. E. Hultzsch in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 219; B. Dey in the *TA* (Bibliotheca Indica), Trans., p. 12, fn. 1; V. Smith in *JASB*, 1881, p. 11; in *IA*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 128 and *JRAS*, 1909, Part I, pp. 278-80 and fn. 1; Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, in *JL*, Vol. X, p. 74, fn.; the *CHI*, Vol. III, also apparently accepts it on pp. 21 ff. and p. 665 under 1022 A.D.

2 But as Dr. Barnett points out we no doubt sometimes find both راجه and راجا.

submitting to Maḥmūd. The latter says he "was furious when he heard at Ghazni of the punishment inflicted upon the prince whom he regarded as a feudatory, and resolved to take a speedy vengeance on the audacious confederates."[1] Smith disregarded 'Utbī, who assigned no other reason for this expedition except ambition and love of plunder. Nowhere again does 'Utbī say that Rājyapāla after he escaped from Kanauj submitted to Maḥmūd. Now Ibn ul-Athīr makes it clear that the attack on Rājyapāla by Vidyādhara was to punish the former for his flight and surrender of his territories to the ravages of the Muḥammadans, and not for becoming a feudatory of the Yamīnīs. He also makes it evident that the cause of that expedition of Maḥmūd was not Vidyādhara's attack on the Kanauj prince but because of the Candella prince's intention of attacking the territory conquered and annexed by Maḥmūd in India. The third point that appears to be solved is the question of the identification of Barūjaybāl. I have already pointed out that 'Utbī represents him to be a prince who ruled synchronously with Rājyapāla. Thus though there was no inherent objection, so far as the name Trilocanapāla was concerned, in identifying him with Barūjaybāl, this fact appears to present an insurmountable difficulty. Another difficulty is added by Ibn ul-Athīr, according to whom Parūjaypāl was killed during the expedition of Maḥmūd undertaken in 409 A.H. (410 A.H. ?), (1019 A.D). If this is accepted Parūjaypāl cannot be the same as Trilocanapāla, who in the Jhusi inscription, dated in V.S. 1048 (A.D. 1027) ' meditated on the feet ' of Rājyapāla. As Ibn ul-Athīr tells us that Parūjaypāl was killed after the death of Rājyapāla it seems that there is left no other alternative but to regard him as a prince of a separate dynasty. I would however in conclusion draw the attention of scholars to one significant fact. After referring to the death of Parūjaypāl, Ibn ul-Athīr says : " After this event Yamīn ud-Daulah started

[1] *JRAS*, 1909, Part I, pp. 278-79.

towards the city of Bārī, which is one of the strongest fortresses; and he found it deserted by its inhabitants and razed to the ground. He ordered its (complete) destruction...... ."[1] Now we have already shown that certain scholars basing themselves on the statement of Bīrūnī, held that Rājyapāla after escaping from Kanauj set up his capital at Bārī. Though neither Bīrūnī, 'Utbī, Ibn ul-Athīr, nor any other later authority distinctly says that Bārī was the capital of either Rājyapāla or of Barūjaybāl, yet from the way Ibn ul-Athīr mentions the city of Bārī it is possible to connect him with that city. Possession of the city would tend to indicate relationship with the line of Rājyapāla. This may drive us to assume the existence of another prince between Rājyapāla and Trilocanapāla. The epithet *tat-pādānudhyāta* does not necessarily indicate immediate succession. Barūjaybāl may have been either a rival brother or an usurper belonging to the same family, who for a time captured the capital by taking advantage of the confusion which was then prevailing in the Gurjara-Pratīhāra kingdom.

These expeditions of Maḥmūd nearly completed the destruction of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. In 409 A.H. when Maḥmūd first invaded the Ganges-Jumna valley, Rājyapāla was still described as "the chief of all the princes of India," to whom "all submitted their necks in obedience...and acknowledged his high rank, and great power and dignity."[2] The degradation suffered by them by their defeat at the hands of Maḥmūd and the burning of Mathura and Kanauj is probably indicated by Ibn ul-Athīr, who when referring to the princes of India during the next expedition describes the Candella Vidyādhara as "the greatest of all rulers of India." The violent deaths of Rājyapāla and Barūjaybāl (?) only hastened the complete downfall of the

[1] *TKA*, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, p. 116. This is also found in *KZA*, p. 76. It says: 'Then he (Maḥmūd) went towards Bārī and found it deserted They burnt all the temples and plundered whatever they found and from that place they marched towards the army of Nandā."

[2] *KY*, Trans. from the Persian version by Reynolds, p. 458.

Gurjara-Pratīhāras' claim to empire over the Ganges valley, real or nominal. But epigraphic evidence shows that the dynasty lingered on for some time. The existence of Trilocanapāla is revealed by his *Jhusi grant.* The inscription was discovered at Jhusi, a town on the left bank of the Ganges, opposite the city of Allahabad. It consists of 26 lines, incised on a single thick plate, and begins with the genealogy of the donor. *Pb.-M.-P.* Vijayapāladeva-*pādānudhyāta Pb.-M.-P.* Rājyapāladeva *pādānudhyāta Pb.-M.-P.* Trilocanapāladevaḥ, when in residence on the banks of the Ganges near Prayāga, having bathed in the Ganges and worshipped Śiva, granted 'Asurābhaka-*Viṣaye* Lebhuṇḍāka-*grāma*' to 6,000 Brahmans belonging to Pratiṣth(ṭh)-āna[1] on the occasion of the *Dakṣiṇayana Saṁkrānti.* The donees belonged to various *pravaras* and were the followers of various Vedic schools. The date (V) Saṁ. 1084 (A.D. June, 1027) is given at the end.[2]

The find-spot of this inscription may warrant the supposition that after the plunder and evacuation of Kanauj and Bārī, the successors of Rājyapāla retired towards the eastern portion of their fast dwindling kingdom. Nothing definite is known about the successors of Trilocanapāla. The *Kara stone-inscription* however reveals the existence of a prince named Yaśaḥpāla, who ruled near Allahabad in (V) S. 1093 (A.D. 1037). The inscription which was obtained from the gateway of the fort of Kurrah (mod. Kara) in the Allahabad district (U. P.), consists of 17 lines of writing, and opens with the date (V) *Saṁvat* 1093. The epigraph records that on this date *Mahārājādhirāja* Yas(ś)apāla (while encamping) here at the illustrious Kaṭa, granted 'Kaus(s)āmba-*Maṇḍale* Payalāsa-*grāma*' to Māthura Vikṭa (Vikaṭa?) of Pabhosa. Of the places mentioned in this

[1] A town situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna near mod. Jhusi the find-spot of the grant.

[2] The grant was incidentally referred to by F. Hall in *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, p. 8 note. Kielhorn then edited it from an ink impression of the plate in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 33-35. The grant is now in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society.

inscription Kauśāmbi has been rightly identified with Kosam, near Allahabad. The village of Payalāsa has also been identified with modern Paras or Pras, some 30 miles N.N.W. from Kosam.[1]

The name of the prince and the date and locality of the inscription naturally raise the suspicion that Yaśaḥpāla was a Gurjara-Pratīhāra prince, presumably an immediate successor of Trilocanapāla. But at present there is nothing to establish definitely his relationship with the Pratīhāras and Trilocanapāla. If he was a successor of the latter, he appears to have been the last prince of the dynasty which had held Kanauj and the Ganges valley for about two centuries.

Genealogical Table.

(*Known dates only given below.*)

Raghu.

⋮

Lakṣmaṇa.

Nāgabhaṭa *alias* Nāgāvaloka (A.D. 757)

× (Name unknown)

Kākustha *alias* Kakkuka

Devaśakti or Devarāja

Vatsarāja, 783-84 A.D.

Nāgabhaṭa II, *alias* Nāgāvaloka A.D. 815-833.

[1] The inscription was first noticed by Colebrooke in 1809 in Vol. IX, pp. 440-41, of the *Asiatic Researches*. The article was reproduced in the *Life and Essays of Colebrooke*, Trübner, 1873, Vol. III, pp. 245-46. In 1836 Prinsep published an improved version in *JASB*, Vol. V, p. 731. Next fully edited by D. R. Sahni in *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 692-95. The same author noticed the inscription also in *ASI*, 1923-24, pp. 122-24.

alias Nāgāvaloka

Rāmabhadra

Bhoja I *alias* Mihira *alias* Ādi-Varāha — A.D. 836, 843, 862, 865, 875, 876, 882.

Mahendrapāla I or Mahindrapāla or Mahendrāyudha *alias* Nirbhayarājanarendra — A. D. 893, 898, 899, 903, 907

Dehanāgā-devī = Mahendrapāla I = Mahī (or Mahā)-devī.

Bhojadeva II (son of Dehanāgā-devī)

Mahīpāla I *alias* Kṣitipāla *alias* Vināyakapāla *alias* Herambapāla (son of Mahī-devī) — A.D. 914, 917, 931, 942-43

Prasādhanā-devī = Mahīpāla I

Mahendrapāla II (945-46 A. D.) — Devapāla (948-49 A. D.) — Vijayapāla (960 A. D.)

Mahendrapāla II → ? → Vināyakapāla II (953-54 A. D.)

Devapāla → ? → Mahīpāla II (954-55 A. D.) → ? → Vatsarāja II ? (955-56 A. D.)

Vijayapāla → Rājyapāla (1018 A. D.)

Rājyapāla → (?) Barūjaybāl (?) (1019 A. D.) — Trilocanapāla (1027 A.D.).

Barūjaybāl → Bhīmapāla (?)

Trilocanapāla → ? → Yaśaḥpāla (1037 A. D.)

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